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AMERICANA

January, 1928

The Forgotten General*

BY ALBERT H. HEUSSER, PATERSON, N. J.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LAST DAYS OF ROBERT ERSKINE.



WASHINGTON'S winter bivouac at Morristown (1779-1780) has come to be regarded as an especially trying period of the Revolutionary struggle, second only in its hardships to the Valley Forge sojourn. This opinion is well-founded, perhaps, for there were storms, privations and difficulties without number; to be endured, survived or conquered as occasion demanded. Yet it cannot be controverted that the vision of ultimate victory was already clearly discerned; and the temporary security of these Jersey uplands was recognized by private and Commander-in-Chief alike to be but a foretaste of the fully-recognized liberty that was to be. Hence it was a confident hope, rather than a dogged stoicism, which kept up the spirits of the snow-bound army of deliverance when the winds howled and hunger gnawed.

Robert Erskine, quite evidently, was more closely connected with Morristown during this period than the writer knew when he began this biographical chronicle. And it is to Dr. David McGregor, writing in "*The Master Mason*," that we are indebted for a considerable amount of valuable information anent this subject. In the March and April numbers of that publication (1927) wherein Dr. McGregor writes of Freemasonry at Morristown during the Revolutionary War, there are repeated references to Erskine which we unhesitatingly avail of as being both pertinent and appropriate.

Until the appearance of these articles I was unaware that Robert Erskine was a member of the Masonic fraternity, although the

*This is the final instalment of Mr. Heusser's story, which has run serially in "Americana" during the past fifteen months.—Ed.

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fact that his reverend father was prominently affiliated with this organization was set forth in the opening chapter. Dr. McGregor leads us to infer that Erskine became a Freemason while residing in London, and states that, when he came to America, he brought with him letters of introduction to a number of prominent Masonic brethren on this side of the water, among whom was the Rev. John Witherspoon, the president of Princeton College. Whether or not these fraternal ties had anything to do with cementing the friendship between Erskine and General Washington (who, as were so many of the Revolutionary leaders, was a Mason) I shall not venture to surmise.

Certain it is, however, that Robert Erskine was present at one or more important Masonic convocations at Morristown, at which also—in his simple role as a Master Mason—George Washington was likewise in attendance. In so far as the war of the Revolution was concerned with Freemasonry, it was in very fact a struggle of “brother against brother.” Very many of the officers on both sides were Masons, and I think I am not going beyond the bounds of propriety to say that much of the fine courtesy which characterized the military intercourse of rival commanders during the long drawn-out and painful struggle was actuated by a spirit of fraternity which even the stern demands of political exigency could not entirely overrule.

Stormy December, 1779, moderated sufficiently to enable the “Masonic brethren” cantoned at Morristown publicly to celebrate St. John’s Day, (the 27th of the month) for which purpose forty members of the American Union Lodge and sixty-four visiting brethren from the various lines in the army congregated at Arnold’s tavern, from whence they proceeded to the Presbyterian Church located on the other side of the green. Prominent in the procession, as representing the New Jersey line were: General William Maxwell, brigade commander; Colonel Elias Dayton; Lieut.-Colonel Anthony W. White; Colonel Jacob Arnold; Major Jeremiah Bruen; Captains Thomas Kinney, John Armstrong, John Sanford and Robert Erskine; Chaplain Andrew Hunter; Surgeon Jabez Campfield; Lieut. William Piatt.

Returning to Arnold’s tavern after the religious services, the assemblage partook of a collation, such as it was, and then ad-

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journed to the lodge room above. The session which followed was one of the most vital in the history of the Craft in America, the chief subject under discussion being the advisability of "appointing a Grand Master in and over the thirteen United States of America," such a course being necessitated because of the unhappy separation from the Grand Lodge in Europe in consequence of the American struggle for independence. A petition to effect this result was then and there promulgated, to be circulated among the brethren of the various military Lodges represented in the Army.

Dr. McGregor, in his brief biographical sketch of Erskine's career, reproduces a map of the region contiguous to Morristown, executed by Erskine two weeks before the St. John's Day celebration, "when surveying was seriously handicapped by two feet of snow on the ground." This was undoubtedly a portion of the work which Washington desired to be done when he dictated the letter referred to in the closing page of the last chapter. Dr. McGregor further states another interesting fact heretofore unknown to me, i. e., that there is to-day in the library of the British Museum, London, a copy of a "book" written and published by Erskine, being "A Dissertation on Rivers and Tides," in which he advanced new ideas bearing on the construction of bridges. That he had written articles on this subject we have elsewhere stated; but it is pleasant to learn that his work was sufficiently expansive to warrant the making of a volume.

About a month before the patriot army broke camp at Morristown to repel the threatening advance of the British toward Springfield, Robert Erskine penned a lengthy letter to General Philip Schuyler (one of the most staunch and conscientious among the truly great men of his time), partly in his own behalf, but more for the sake of the men who, laboring with him from day to day, had done so much for the common cause. The original, among the papers of the Continental Congress now treasured at the Congressional Library, bears, upon the verso, the brief notation in the hand of Schuyler: "From Mr. Erskine":

Morristown, May 7th, 1780.

Sir:

In pursuance of your desire, I beg leave to lay before you a state of the Surveying Department, for the purpose of its being adjusted as shall be thought proper, by the Honble. Committee of

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Congress appointed to regulate the different Departments of the Army, the Assistant Surveyors of which have represented their situation in a letter addressed to me, of which the following is a copy:

Morristown, February 12th, 1780.

Dear Sir:

As the Directors of our affairs undoubtedly wish to do justice between the Public and its servants, we beg leave to request the favor of you, when arrived at Philadelphia, to represent the difficulties under which the Surveying Department labors at present, which, we flatter ourselves, only requires to be known to be redressed.

Formerly common Surveyors, whose acquaintance with the business was limited by the Needle and Protractor, were paid at least fifteen shillings per day, exclusive of their expenses; while persons of acknowledged abilities received from twenty to forty shillings and upwards; which was a considerable inducement for those whose genius pointed that way to qualify themselves for the profession; WHEREAS, our pay at present is no more than two Continental Dollars a day, without any kind of allowance or emolument, except a ration and travelling expences, a charge allowed in every profession.

The officers in the line of the Army, have received a considerable addition to their pay, under the denomination of subsistence money; besides the benefit of State supplies: and the wages of other Departments of the Army, whose pay was formerly less than ours, has been greatly augmented; while we have been entirely overlooked, merely for want of having proper application in our behalf.

In the present case, we are far from wishing to raise fortunes by the calamities of our Country; but at the same time we believe our Country is as far from wishing us to present our fortunes to them, along with our services, without any prospect of reimbursement, which at present is the case. Our pay, so far from supplying us with clothes, has not been adequate, for these twelve months past, to the furnishing us with shoes, and now is not sufficient for washing.

If therefore the continuance of our Service be thought necessary, we have no doubt that the Surveying Department will be so arranged, as in some degree to make up for the Depreciation; and fix our pay in such a manner, as shall prevent the like inconvenience in future; the readiest way to do which, in our opinion, would be to regulate it by the price of Specie.

We are, &c.

Signed,

SIMEON DEWITT,
BENJAMIN LODGE,
Asst. SURVS.

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Upon this letter I shall only beg leave to observe, that His Excellency, Genl. Washington, has seen it, and is of the opinion that the allegations it contains are reasonable: to which permit me the liberty of adding, that both my former and present assistants, not only expect a recompense for Depreciation; but that such as continue in, or return to this service, look for an establishment on the same permanent footing with the officers in the Line of the Army.

The number of Assistant Surveyors has varied from two to six; the mean number employed for a Constancy, I suppose to be one Assistant Draughtsman, three field surveyors, and eighteen chain-bearers from the Line.

From Surveys actually made, we have furnished His Excellency with maps of both sides of the North River, extending from New Windsor and Fishkill, southerly to New York; eastward, to Hartford, Whitehaven, etc., and on the west to Easton in Pennsylvania. Our Surveys likewise include the principal part of New Jersey, lying northward of a line drawn from Sandy Hook to Philadelphia; take in a considerable part of Pennsylvania; extend through the whole route of the Western army under Genl. Sullivan; and are carried on from New Windsor and Fishkill northward, on both sides of the River, to Albany, & from thence to Schoharie. In short, from the Surveys made, and materials collecting and already procured, I could form a pretty accurate Map of the four States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and Connecticut, and by the help of a few Magnetic and Astronomical Observations, with some additional Surveys, a very accurate one.

The charges already incurred from this business have consisted in the Surveyors pay, of four, three and two dollars per day; chain-bearers at half a dollar, travelling expences; the purchase of provisions when beyond the reach of drawing rations; of forrage and horses, when they could not be had otherwise; and of Instruments, Maps, Drawing Papers, &c., &c.

The demands on the Department at present are inconsiderable, there being none of any consequence, except an years pay due to myself, with an allowance for extra Rations since I entered the service. Upon the whole, the money I have received from the Quartermaster General or his assistants for the above purposes, and to discharge about 1200 Dollars due on account of Surveying in Pennsylvania, before I had the Direction of the Business, amounts to 25,636 Dollars and an half, the balance of which remaining in my hands on the first instant was 320½ Dollars: the mean therefore of the expence of the Department, for twenty-three months, exclusive of the years pay due me, has been about Thirty-five dollars a day.

I must now trouble you with personal concerns, because necessary, although it is a task I enter upon with reluctance, for how-

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ever much one may be supposed interested in this case, yet the setting forth any matters relative (to) self, are far from affording either pleasure or satisfaction in the Communication.

In the spring of 1777 I began to do business for the Public, by making a sketch of the Country for Genl. Lee; a map of the Jersies for His Excellency Genl. Washington from materials furnished by Lord Stirling; and a few trivial surveys at New Windsor: but did not engage fully in the Continental Service, or receive pay, till the first of June, 1778, when the Commander-in-Chief honoured me with a Commission as Geographer and Surveyor to the Army. At this time, on my pay becoming the subject, I observed that the stated price in Britain, which myself and others of my profession received, was a guinea a day and expences; but, as at this rate, such pay would have exceeded that of a Major General; four dollars and four rations were proposed, with which I readily acquiesced; not only as I entered into the service without the view of making a profit or a fortune, but because His Excellency had left the determination of this point almost solely to my own decision: however, it is proper here to observe, that I looked on the four Dollars as a gratuity, which at some future time would be equivalent to so much hard money; and I beg leave to add that though, on a peace, I would not serve either individuals or the Public at an under price, yet I shall be far from expecting or desiring any augmentation while the war lasts, provided my services continue to prove acceptable; and the situation of my family and private concerns permit me to continue to the end of it. On this head it is necessary to be explicit, particularly on this occasion. My family are situated in the mountains, between New York and New Jersey subject to the plundering Banditti from the enemy, by whom my dwelling house has been once robbed already; the situation, however, is inconvenient only in this respect; nor could I move from thence, and continue in my present business, but to the greatest detriment, or even the annihilation of my Fortune, almost the whole of which is risked in the Continental Funds; and which, on account of the depreciation and their present precarious state, has required, and must still require, more of my attention than is consistent with the expediting of business, particularly as I have no assistant draughtsman with me at present, and only one Surveyor: It is an attention, nevertheless, I must now bestow, except I would render myself entirely dependent on my Pay and the favour of the Public; a situation by no means desirable, and which, I presume, all who have the least acquaintance with history or the World, would avoid if possible. From this representation it will be likewise apparent that I could not remove into a Southern Climate even supposing my Constitution would bear the change, which am of opinion it could not; because on that supposition, I must

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unavoidably subject myself to the risque I deprecate; and leave a beloved wife a prey to cares, anxieties and Banditti, under which she could by no means subsist; her health having been frequently impaired already from the troubles and solitudes she has met with, though, thank God, hitherto her resolution and happy flow of spirits, with the little attention I could bestow, have in some measure helped to restore her.

I gladly now quit a subject that has given me pain in the recital, which the justice I owe myself rendered necessary, to observe; that the original protractions and plans already surveyed by the Geographers of the Army are contained in upwards of two hundred and fifty sheets of paper; that with a proper number of hands, which I suppose to be five surveyors and two draughtsmen, such additional surveys of the roads and rivers might be taken in the course of a year, as would afford sufficient data for the forming an accurate map of the middle States; and, that though there would be occasion, at any rate, for Geographers to attend the Army in order to survey and lay down particular districts on a large scale and other purposes; yet the best way to execute this general business with accuracy and dispatch, especially if extended to the other States, would be the establishment of a permanent office for this purpose, but still under the direction and disposal of the Commander-in-Chief during the war.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obliged and Exd. most obedt. humble Servant,

ROBERT ERSKINE.

Honble. Philip Schuyler, Esq.

Rather enlightening is this frank avowal of Erskine's sentiments. By inference we gather that it had been proposed to send him South, following the path of the war. To this suggestion he demurs. Another fleeting "side-light" is vouchsafed in his references to Mrs. Erskine and his much-disturbed home-life at Ringwood. Man-like, he seems to have regarded himself as indispensable to the happiness of his spouse. Yet, as we shall see, when the very worst (as he imagined it), was to become an actuality, the beloved one was not to be left destitute in her grief nor to lack solace in the person of another protector. But so goeth the way of life, and such is the manner of womankind!

But—putting aside any small cynicisms which may be ascribed to the bachelor estate enjoyed (or endured) by the biographer—and reverting again to cold facts, let it be set down that Erskine was not urged to join the Southern army.

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Washington, coming again into the Jersey hills after the Springfield encounter, progressed so far as old "Ramapough" (the site of Erskine's Bellegrove repository) and—in his Order Book,¹⁴¹ which contains the daily entries of happenings at headquarters,—thus refers to Ringwood:

"Headquarters Ramapough, *June 30, 1780.*

Colo. Livingston's Regiment will take post in the Clove near the old barracks, and, joined by the Detachment of Genl. Clinton's brigade, already there, will furnish such guards as may be necessary for the security of the stores at Ringwood."

Upon another page of this manuscript volume it is noted that General Hand is to be sent from Ramapough to Ringwood and there quartered, with a strong body of troops, to protect the stores.

As to Erskine's activities during the early summer of 1780 there is not much available data. A little survey of the Hudson which has come down to us indicates that he was still busily at work in this branch of the service. Although unpretentious, this Erskine map is of particular interest because it is the only specimen of his work which remained among the papers of Washington when he turned them over to Congress. It is now at the Congressional Library, and I believe it to be "No. 112," marked as being "missing" from the fine collection of Erskine's charts at the New York Historical Society. (See Appendix.)

Among the praiseworthy episodes of the Revolution, in so far as sincerity of purpose is concerned, was the so-called "affair of Block-house Point"; yet, because of its partial failure, the incident brought forth from the Tory and British element in New York a storm of ridicule upon the heads of the patriot participants.

Three or four miles below Fort Lee, at the base of the Palisades, was a little village called Bull's Ferry. Just below the settlement, on Block-house Point, was a stockaded enclosure, occupied in the summer of 1780 by a British picket for the protection of the neighboring Tories. In the immediate vicinity, under this "Royal protection," were large numbers of cattle and horses, the capture of which seemed to General Washington to be an object of sufficient importance to warrant the sending of General Wayne, the hero of

¹⁴¹This "Order Book," once-upon-a-time in the possession of Wm. S. Andrews, the actor, is now at the Washington Headquarters, Morristown, N. J., and covers the period May 28th to August 2nd, 1780.



THE KITCHEN AT WASHINGTON'S MORRISTOWN HEADQUARTERS

In some respects, this is the most attractive of the many historic apartments in the Ford House. It is scarcely to be doubted that before this ample hearth not only Washington has sat, but most of those renowned officers who comprised his official family during the winter of 1779-'80. Not unlikely is the supposition that Robert Erskine himself, returning from his surveying operations, was glad enough to "thaw out" in the genial warmth of this great, low-ceiled room.



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT LOWER
PREAKNESS, N. J.

The fine old mansion of Colonel Theunis Dey, friend of Robert Erskine, and host to the Commander-in-Chief in July, and also in October and November, of 1780.

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Stony Point, with some Pennsylvania and Maryland troops, to effect the business.

The little block-house proved to be too strongly fortified to be taken by assault, although the Americans sacrificed some sixty-four men in killed and wounded in the attempt. The live-stock, however, was captured without loss, and the herds driven away to the American lines by "Light Horse Harry" Lee's dragoons. It was this incident which inspired Major John André of the British army to write his exceedingly laughable poem, "The Cow Chase," which appeared in *Rivington's Gazette* a few weeks thereafter; at the very time, as fate would have it, that the unfortunate author was a prisoner in the hands of the Americans awaiting execution as a spy.

Charles H. Winfield, in his account of the Block-house Point incident, which appeared in the *Magazine of American History*, Sept., 1880, prefaces his article as follows, incidentally referring to Erskine:

" . . . Assisted by Robert Erskine, Geographer of the Continental Army, Wayne visited Closter (N. J.) on the 17th of July, and carefully considered the possibilities of the British crossing the (Hudson) river from Phillips farm and pushing on to New Bridge (North Hackensack) by way of Closter Landing," etc.

We are free to assume that Erskine came into frequent and almost daily contact with Washington while the latter was quartered at the mansion of Colonel Theunis Dey, at Lower Preackness, N. J., from July 1st to 29th. This fine old house, not so very far from Ringwood, but nearer to the present great city of Paterson, still stands in lordly isolation, privately owned, despite many efforts to acquire and preserve it for the public as an historic shrine.

Of Washington's sojourn in this peaceful valley much has been written,¹⁴² yet the fine colonial homestead made famous by his presence is one of the least visited of all his transient abodes. This may be accounted for by the fact that it is "off the beaten track," being situated on an infrequently used country road. Washington Irving, in his "*Life of Washington*" has given us some delightful

¹⁴²See "*Baker's Itinerary of General Washington*"—pp. 181 to 183; 194 to 199; and Volume II of "*In the Footsteps of Washington*," by Albert H. Heusser.

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glimpses of life at the Preakness Headquarters,¹⁴³ mentioning the visits of Lafayette and the Marquis de Chastellux, with an account of the daily routine, and the frequent conferences of Wayne and Knox and others among that notable band of immortals who shared the anxieties and now enjoy the glory of Washington. But here again has Erskine been forgotten. The "man in the shadow" must often have comprised one of the company around the table of the Chief. For some years he had been a near neighbor of Colonel Day, and most likely was a frequent visitor at his home before the exigencies of war prompted Washington here to establish headquarters. Erskine himself has left not a word anent the doings at Preakness; history has likewise ignored any part he may have had in the councils of the patriot leaders. Again it is to an ancient periodical that we are indebted for a solitary reference to his name as associated with the Dey family; and then only because of the "war-work" in which his "better half" was engaged.

In an issue of the "*New Jersey Gazette*" of July 5th, 1780, there appears a list of the ladies banded together "in aid of the Continental soldiers in Bergen County," and among them are "Mrs. (Colonel) Theunis Dey, Mrs. Fell, Mrs. Kuyper, Mrs. Robert Erskine and Mrs. (Major) Dey."

Late September of 1780 demanded the presence of Washington in Connecticut, there to confer with the French allies. Then came the discovery of Arnold's treason and many bitter disillusion.

Robert Erskine, was, however, not destined to know aught of these happenings, nor to participate in the closing events of the Revolution. Nor was he to see the resumption of peaceful relations between the land of his adoption and Great Britain. Whatever "after-the-war" plans he may have cherished for himself, for his employers, or for his foster-country, were never to be unfolded. Like many another great man and good, he was bidden to depart for the "far distant country" while yet in the midst of his labors.

¹⁴³During the summer and autumn of 1780, the main American army was encamped at Totowa, being ranged along the hills running parallel with the river Passaic. Practically all of this camp-ground may be said to be included within the present city of Paterson and its suburbs. The left wing, under "Light Horse Harry" Lee, lay at Wagaraw; the center was not far from the "great falls of the Passaic"; and the right wing, in the neighborhood of Little Falls, commanded the approach through the "Great Notch." General Washington's headquarters at Preakness were well behind the centre of the line.

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According to the inscription upon his tomb at Ringwood, he died on the second day of October, 1780; a date which has been made notable because of the execution of Major John André, which occurred at Tappan, not many miles distant, that same afternoon. It has been current tradition in these parts for many years that Erskine's fatal illness was due to a fever, occasioned by exposure incident to some surveys he was making in the Hudson Highlands. His nephew, Ebenezer Erskine, has left the only known details.¹⁴⁴ He says that, on the 18th of September, Robert Erskine "caught a severe cold and sore throat, which produced fever, and within the space of a fortnight terminated in his dissolution." During his last illness, according to Ebenezer, physicians were dispatched from the camp (then on the shores of the Hudson) to administer medical aid to him, and "his funeral was most respectably attended."

Ebenezer Erskine appears to have been most attentive to the dying man, being present at the closing scene, upon which he comments as follows:

. . . . "Thus died my uncle, Robert Erskine. Through the whole of his life he strictly adhered to the principles of religion, honour, and justice; had a clear judgment, and a most sympathizing heart for the distressed, whom he was ever ready to relieve to the utmost of his power. Upon his death-bed he began to reap the benefit of such a life; for, when free of bodily pain, his mind was all calm and serene; and he is now in the full enjoyment of bliss in the realms above. Poor Mrs. Erskine is in the greatest distress. Never, I believe, was a couple more firmly united by the most sincere esteem and tender affection for each other."

What I myself know, positively, is this. Among the Erskine papers which have passed through my hands there was a half-sheet of foolscap, torn and much be-scribbled.¹⁴⁵ It was a memorandum of accounts, for the most part in Erskine's own writing, but showing a disjointedness of thought and great feebleness of hand. It is headed "this 2nd of October" and appears to have been the brave attempt of a stricken man to arrive at a final balance,—to leave a concise statement of his affairs before he died. It was never completed, nor was it signed. This seems to indicate that the illness of Erskine was neither so protracted as to have permitted

¹⁴⁴From the journal of Ebenezer Erskine, quoted in Rev. Donald Fraser's *"Life and Diary of Rev. Ralph Erskine."*

¹⁴⁵Now in the possession of Mr. Erskine Hewitt.

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him properly to wind up his business affairs, nor so sudden as to have robbed him of consciousness and intellect at one fell swoop; hence corroborating his nephew's statements.

Without a doubt Washington attended the funeral ceremony, which occurred a day or so later; but it is my private opinion that the Commander-in-Chief was at Ringwood on the day of Erskine's *death*. Historians agree that Washington was not present at the execution of Major André, while it is further recorded that the headquarters at Tappan appeared to be forsaken on that tragic day. Until further evidence be adduced to establish the whereabouts of Washington on the 2nd of October, 1780, I am satisfied to believe that he had already set out from Tappan *before the execution*, in the knowledge that his friend was nigh unto death. Such an errand of mercy would have furnished him with a welcome excuse to absent himself from an ignominious spectacle.

The distance between Tappan and Ringwood does not exceed twenty miles, and Washington could have covered it with ease in a long afternoon. Indeed, I should imagine that the flight of hours mattered little to the care-burdened general at this particular time. Those who love the personal Washington and appreciate the real warmth of his friendship for the men in whom he confided, may understand something of his return from Ringwood after the laying away of his friend. Admirer of Nature though he was, the gorgeous woodland surely wasted its charms that day. Abstractedly he must have turned his face toward the Hudson; scarce noticing the fast falling leaves of russet and crimson which bestrewed his path, the conversation of the staff-officers who rode beside him, or even the proffered attentions of devoted black—"Billy" who cantered behind. Rather were his thoughts upon his erstwhile friends—Benedict Arnold, who had "gone to the enemy," and Robert Erskine, who had gone to meet his God—both lost to him forever! And who can doubt that there was much of kindly pity for poor André, "more unfortunate than criminal!"

The last resting-place of Erskine is marked by a respectable brick table-tomb, topped by a marble slab.¹⁴⁶ I have heard it said

¹⁴⁶The present stone, bearing the inscription, is a replica of the original, which—having become broken and defaced,—was replaced some forty years ago by the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, owner of Ringwood Manor.

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that Washington himself caused this monument to be erected. But this is highly improbable. Ebenezer Erskine is authority for the statement that his uncle's prosperity in the new world fully equalled his expectations, and,—while this assertion may be discounted to some extent,—it is certain that Robert Erskine did not die in circumstances bearing any semblance to destitution. Mrs. Erskine was amply provided for, without a doubt; and Washington—as is well known—was not given to the expenditure of money without occasion, although ready enough to aid the poor and needy. Therefore, we may discredit this far-fetched tradition about Erskine's tomb. But there is a prettier and truer story.

Upon the occasion of a subsequent visit to Ringwood, in 1782, Washington planted an elm-tree beside the grave of his faithful geographer. For over a century it shaded the tomb, until—a few years ago—it was blasted by lightning. What remains of it is now carefully preserved in a corner of the ample portico of Ringwood Manor House.

The making of Erskine's coffin-plate, according to his nephew's account, was a labor of love performed by his devoted friend and assistant in the Surveying Department, Simeon De Witt. Upon it, neatly inscribed in "gilt letters," was the following legend:

"In memory of
ROBERT ERSKINE, F. R. S.
Geographer and Surveyor General to the Army of the
United States of America.
Born Sept. 7th, 1735. Died October 2d, 1780.
Aged 45 years and 25 days."

The same words comprise the epitaph upon the marble slab of the tomb, with the added sentence: "Son of the Rev. Ralph Erskine, late minister at Dunfermline in Scotland."

The place of Erskine's burial is surpassingly lovely, by reason of its situation upon a slight rise bordering the miniature lake, beside the farther shores of which, nestled among tall trees, are situated the present palatial Manor House, and the older out-buildings of the Ringwood Estate.

Around this peaceful retreat, where Erskine has lain undisturbed these many years, a tiny graveyard has grown. Many of the humble folk among the villagers and workmen whom he knew, have

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here been laid away beside him for their last long sleep. Then too, there are the soldiers' graves to which we have referred. These brave hearts, also, rest forever in the quiet sanctity of God's acre beside "the forgotten general."

But Erskine's closest companion in death is Robert Monteath, his youthful scrivener, like himself a son of the Land of Heather. Of this young man nothing is known save the fact that his name occurs with more or less frequency upon Erskine's books and among his papers. He died in 1778, aged 33 years, and was (so I am inclined to think) the predecessor of Ebenezer Erskine as the accountant and assistant of the Surveyor General, looking after much of the routine work of the iron manufactory during the absence of the master of the mines. Excepting the monument of Robert Erskine, that of Monteath is the only table-tomb in the cemetery. It closely resembles that of Erskine himself and is in its original condition. Were nothing else known concerning Robert Erskine of Ringwood, this tomb of "Robert Monteath, born at Dunblain in Scotland, Clerk to Robert Erskine" would speak volumes. Erskine, it cannot be doubted, was possessed of a natural spirit of kindness and a grateful appreciation of faithful service: and it was he himself who erected this memorial to his young accountant, little dreaming that, ere long, he, too, was to keep him company in that long silent watch, "until the day break and the shadows flee away."

Surely so notable a man as Erskine is entitled to a ghost, through the medium of which (or "whom") to re-visit his quondam haunts. And, according to some of the older negro residents of Ringwood village, such a spiritual visitor has actually made his appearance more than once,—a military figure, so they assert, sitting upon the tomb and musing beside a flickering lantern with a bluish and sepulchral flame. I think I should like to meet this unearthly apparition; there are so many things about which we might converse with profit. This spectre ought surely to be interested in hearing of the happenings of the intervening years; and I doubt not that he, on his part, could clear up for us a great many puzzling historical queries.

Nevertheless, I am persuaded that hours of darkness are times inopportune to attempt communication with the spirit of Robert

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Erskine. The rather do I seek him in the sunny morn, when the rosy light—coming up over the hills behind the site of his old forge by the dam—bathes his lowly tomb in the glory of a new born day. Or when, more often, I stand eagerly beside his grave when the stone whereon is chiseled his worthy name is shadowed with leafy tracery and the sun is high. And yet again, at the close of day,—when feathered songsters render for him their sweetest evening carols,—I, too, have come to say good night.

The life of Robert Erskine has been to me an inspirational study and a source of joy. Having been led, as I believe, into an intimate knowledge of the little known circumstances attending his career, I have become convinced that it is a sacred duty to tell his story, because it is an example well worthy to be followed. Moreover, it were a pity indeed that the name of one so true and steadfast should sink into oblivion.

As may be inferred, I have gone many times to Erskine's grave, but seldom alone. Invariably my companions have been one or more of the boys I love, and in whose lives—as American citizens of the future—I am concerned with an interest as deep as is my admiration for Robert Erskine,—an eminently outstanding example, from the years that are past, of true Christianity, upright character and unalloyed patriotism.



CHAPTER XIV

WHAT HAPPENED AFTERWARD

In the "*New Jersey Gazette*," of Wednesday, Oct. 18, 1780, appeared the following brief but appreciative obituary notice:

"Fish Kill, Oct. 12—

Died the 2d instant at his home at Ringwood, Robert Erskine, F. R. S. and Geographer to the Army of the United States, in the 46th year of his age. A man in whom were united the Christian and the gentleman.

His integrity and unbounded benevolence have rendered his death a loss to the publick, and a subject of sincere regret to all his acquaintances.

He made laws of justice the invariable rule of his conduct, and upon this principle espoused the cause of America, in which he served his country with approbation and universal esteem."

In a letter to the President of Congress, bearing date the 26th of November, 1780, General Washington, (writing from the Dey Mansion at Preakness, N. J.) says:

. . . . "The death of that useful and valuable officer, Robert Erskine, Geographer to the Army, makes it requisite that a successor should be appointed. I beg leave to recommend Mr. Simeon Dewitt; his being in the Department gives him a pretension, and his abilities are still better. From the character Mr. Erskine always gave him, and of what I have seen of his performances, he seems to be extremely well qualified"

Washington, while paying tribute to General Erskine in the above communication, gives us a last "side light" upon the character of the departed, who in having always spoken well of his subordinate (for Dewitt, as we know, had been his assistant in the surveying work of the army) displayed thereby a spirit of appreciation not always to be found in present-day heads of military departments.

Simeon Dewitt served acceptably in the capacity of Surveyor General through the concluding years of the War for Independence. Into his custody came the precious maps of Erskine (at least the major portion of them) and, when the troublous times had passed,

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they appear to have been treasured by him to the end of his days as personal possessions. You may see them to-day in the library of the New York Historical Society, into whose possession they came many years ago from members of the Dewitt family.¹⁴⁷ A consummate artist and draughtsman, as well as a surveyor, Erskine has injected so much personality into his charts that one can unfailingly recognize his work. Rich in color are some of them, too, showing that the labor was not that of an hireling, but that their making was a task of love and a source of profound delight. A few other scattered maps of Erskine are known to be in existence. Mr. Erskine Hewitt of Ringwood Manor and New York City has several fine specimens; another is in the J. P. Morgan Library; and, quite recently, the writer was called into the map-room of the New York Public Library to identify a choice specimen of Erskine's work hitherto attributed to one of the French engineers in the service of the Continental Army. Unquestionably it was "an Erskine," and a beauty, at that, bearing all his peculiarities of lettering and those unmistakable and artistic touches which individualized his work.

If, by a perusal of these pages, any of my readers have come to appreciate the labors of "the forgotten general," fail not to visit the library of the New York Historical Society and personally examine his maps. Consider also, as one by one you turn them with reverential tenderness, that great Washington himself has done likewise. Doubtless his fingers, time and again, have traced the lines of the mountain roadways; his deep-set eyes have looked upon the very sheets over which you pore; some of the folds and rents we see to-day may have been made while these charts were being hurriedly stuffed into his saddle bags, for all we know to the contrary.

I regard Erskine's maps as his tangible legacy to the American people. More and more frequently will they be consulted as time goes on, and their existence and value become universally known. It is eminently fitting that they are so well housed and cared for. In the possession of the New York Historical Society they are most truly a part of our public records, and are accessible to any inquiring student.

¹⁴⁷They were presented to the N. Y. Historical Society in 1845 by Richard Varick DeWitt.

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Erskine's disposal of his worldly effects, though purely a personal matter, is certainly a part and parcel of his biography. And as such, the last will and testament of the erstwhile merchant of London, Ironmaster of Ringwood, and Geographer of America's struggling army, seems to round out his life story. It is an epilogue after his own design, in his own words, and as he himself would have it.

The document, now preserved in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton, N. J.,¹⁴⁸ is an autograph copy of the complete original with codicils. The first draft, which appears to have been executed at New York City, in January of 1776, must, in some way or another, have come to grief, else why the necessity of a "copy"? The British occupation of Manhattan may have had something to do with it.

The preamble of Erskine's will comprises a most striking and evangelical confession of his religious faith. To those unfamiliar with ancient documents of this character it may seem high-sounding and pharisaical, but I can bear witness to the fact that many another testator of these olden days, far less righteous than Erskine, has prefaced the directions for dividing his property with a theological discourse of much greater length. In the present matter-of-fact age, these devotional introductions (after the manner of our prayers, I fear) have been much curtailed, yet—as a people—we are probably as truly devout as were our forefathers, having—despite all that may be said to the contrary—the same firm and abiding faith. Happily, the substance of Erskine's will proves his sincere goodness. First of all he provides for his life-partner; then (as the years bring added prosperity) his codicils mention his old creditors beyond the sea:

WILL OF ROBERT ERSKINE

"A Copy, through the mercy of God, wrote this 28th day of March 1779, by Robert Erskine.

I, Robert Erskine, son of the reverend Ralph Erskine, Author of the "Gospel Sonnets &c"; by the providence of God at present in America for the purpose of directing, conducting and taking charge of several iron works and other lands and property belonging to Gentlemen in England who style themselves the proprietors

¹⁴⁸Filed as item No. 1302 H of Wills; also copied in Book 23 of Wills, page 118 et. seq.

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of New York and New Jersey Iron Works, being now in good health of body and sound in mind, make this my last will and testament as follows:

When it shall please my Gracious and Merciful Father, God Almighty, to call me hence after my days are completed (the number of which he knows), my body I commit to where his providence pleases to deposit it till the resurrection of the Just, and my soul flies now (and at the hour of death I trust will be enabled to fly) to the merits of my Gracious and merciful redeemer, our Lord Jesus Christ, for protection against the wrath of a justly offended God. He came to call sinners to repentance; blessed be the name of the father, son and Holy Ghost, One God, that I ever heard the call, that I ever felt myself inclined to obey it, through the influence of his Blessed spirit. Oh! may me & mine and all that belongs to me hear and know the joyful sound, let the whole earth be filled with the glory! let my Mediator's Kingdom extend from sea to sea! May he go forth the conquering and to conquer poor miserable sinners to himself!

Before I proceed to the disposal of all my worldly effects, I think it proper to premise what follows with respect to my former and present circumstances. God, in his providence (and I trust by his Fatherly Chastisements) was pleased to deprive me of the patrimony bequeathed by my parents, which I lost in trade;¹⁴⁹ it appearing by my Books forever that had I got payment from my debtors I would have satisfied my Creditors, they in general gave me Letters of Licence for two years, on my giving up all my Bonds, Note, and Book debts; they not requiring my household goods and the whole of my effects upon oath as in the case of Bankruptcy; none of them thought proper to renew their demands during the space of seven or eight years. Afterwards their demands became extinct in law; they indeed looked for payment to a person abroad in whose hands the greatest part of their and my effects lay, who—I believe—has made them some remittance.¹⁵⁰

Being thus deprived of my patrimony, what I have now acquired of worldly goods has, by the blessing of providence, been obtained by my labour and industry as surveyor and Engineer since quitting the mercantile profession, and the present Emoluments I enjoy for conducting the Iron Works.

My personal estate in this country is trivial at all times, often little or none; and whatever engagements I am under on account of the Proprietors or their works, they, their works & property in America are indebted to me for the Amounts, and they are fully able to answer all demands upon them, should it please God to take me to his mercy before my connection with the works is terminated;

¹⁴⁹Reference is here made to the failure of "Erskine & Swinton."

¹⁵⁰Swinton, Erskine's former partner, who is said to have emigrated to the Colony of Virginia.

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the business relating to them will be found in my Books in New York and theirs in the Country, which I have endeavored (and shall, if it please God, to continue) to keep as clear and distinct as possible; this much I have thought necessary to premise. And now with respect to my worldly effects:

I hereby give and bequeath all my worldly effects and debts due me, of whatever nature, to my dearly beloved and loving wife Elizabeth Erskine, my true and faithful friend and companion of my sorrows and my joys; all my effects I give and bequeath as aforesaid, consisting at present in household goods and other goods, Negroes and Servants, and debts and balances due me from the Iron Works, both on account of my own proper Salary & likewise on account of my transacting all the business as Agent.

All which and what it may please God in future to confer on me, I give and bequeath unto my beloved wife Elizabeth Erskine, appointing her my sole Executor and Administrator and heir to all my property, to be disposed of as she sees fit:

Excepting that I have directed her to apply part of the money arising from the Agency Commission, when she receives it, in the manner mentioned in the Schedule Annexed on the other side of this writing, And as I have been author of several Inventions which may prove of benefit to the country (but which have produced little or nothing to myself but the making me known as a person of some Genius, which no doubt recommended me in business) I follow therefore, though I should reap no benefit from the said Inventions in my lifetime, yet if it is thought an object worthy of notice to do justice to my memory by some public reward for the encouragement of others, particularly for a Machine called Centrifugal Engine and the consequent improvement of pump Work in Navy¹⁵¹ I bequeath $\frac{1}{2}$ of such reward to the Creditors of Erskine & Swinton in gratitude for their indulgence, and the other half to my said heir and Executor.

In Witness this being my last will and testament wrote by my own hand, I have signed the other side and have signed and sealed and published and declared this to be my last will before witnesses in New York this 11 day Jan. & 1776 year of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

ROBT. ERSKINE (wax and wafer)

Signed, Sealed and }
delivered before us: }

WILL PAGAN¹⁵²

ROBERT MERCER

ROBERT MONTEATH¹⁵³

¹⁵¹Compare this with what is set down in the second chapter of this volume.

¹⁵²A kinsman of Erskine.

¹⁵³Erskine's clerk, now buried beside him at Ringwood.

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Philadelphia April 27th, 1779
Acknowledged before us:

ROBT. AITKEN
JOHN THORNSON
ROBERT SMITH

} witnesses

The original Sealed with the same seal of wax & wafer as above
by Robt. Erskine.

SCHEDULES AND CODICILS (on reverse side of Will.)

(A) Commissions from June 1774 to Jan. 1777; on money at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, Sales from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, & goods purchased at 5 per cent Amounts to about £1000 Curren^y; please God, when the Books are closed for last year, this shall be further elucidated. About the above Sum however is due me, as the proprietors have thrown the whole of this concern upon me without granting any credit or assistance for transacting this Business. Should it please God to take me to himself, therefore, I would have my dear Ex^{rs} dispose of it as pr Ca:— (R. E.)

¹⁵⁴ To Richard Atkinson	300.—.—
Robert Muir	47.—5.—
Wm. Graham Taylor	100.—.—

God in his mercy grant me health and strength further to my own satisfaction, & that of all my Concerns, for my Saviour Jesus Christ's sake:

Ringwood Jan^y 1776

ROBT. ERSKINE.

(B) *Ringwood May 28th, 1778.* The Balance due me the first of the year was £3764.3.8 and is now about £4500. Exclusive of Cash for the use of the works, there is deposited at Ringwood £10,040 in Continental Loan Office certificates for the payment of my own Balance, for what I owe on account of the proprietors, and the rest for their use or order. My own property of whatever kind I freely give and bequeath to my sincere friend & Dearest wife Elizabeth Erskine as above in the foregoing will.

ROBT. ERSKINE.

(C) *Ringwood April 5th, 1779.* By the Providence and blessing of God I am favoured with the opportunity of adding what follows, Thanks to his Mercy:—

The effects I now possess, besides Servants, household goods &c. Consist in Loan Office Certificates amounting to £6600 New York Cur^y, the interest of which is payable in Bills of Exchange

¹⁵⁴Three members of the London Syndicate who were Erskine's especial patrons. He had corresponded with them frequently, before and after his arrival in America.

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upon France. My personal account with the proprietors being nearly upon a balance.

Concerning which money, I recommend to my dear Executor, Elizabeth Erskine, to remit the above specified Sums amounting to £448¹⁵⁵ (Bills of exchange can be purchased at 200 pr ct or under), and likewise one hundred pounds sterling more at the same exchange of two hundred percent, to Philip Taylor, (formerly packer in Leadenhall street)¹⁵⁶ with whom I once lodged, or to his wife or heirs; reserving the residue for her sole use and disposal as she shall see fit—

Though I am not lyable by Law to pay any of my Partnership's debts as set forth in my foregoing will, yet there are several of my Partnership's Creditors who in equity are entitled to my remembrance, particularly those who used me with humanity and benevolence and who had a first claim,—in which number I include several of those who sued me as well as those who did not,—of this however I am not at present Complete judge, it being necessary to be acquainted both with their Circumstances and my own. Should providence see fit to spare me, I mean, when possible, to make proper inquiries to this purpose, but meantime must observe that it is on this account that I take no notice now of my Blood relations, for all of whom I have an affectionate regard, but with whose circumstances, however, in general I am likewise at present unacquainted.

With respect to the Iron Works under my charge, I cannot, as things are now situated, do the owners greater justice than by Committing them to my Dear Executor's care till they take the charge off her hands; Recommending her to call for the assistance of any person or persons of honour and skilled in Accounts she thinks proper to settle their affairs, pay their debts, and do justice to the best of her and their Judgment, she being fully acquainted with the integrity of my actions and intentions respecting the Owners and all concerned, and I being in every respect fully assured of her benevolence, honour and integrity.

Witness my hand & Seal

ROBT. ERSKINE.

(The above added to the original this day and date as above by Robt. Erskine.)

Philadelphia, April 27th 1779

Acknowledged before us:

ROBT. AITKEN	}	witnesses
JOHN THORNSON		
ROBERT SMITH		

Erskine's will and its appendices provide numerous bits of

¹⁵⁵The payments required to be made under Codicil "A."

¹⁵⁶Refer to the first chapter of this biography.

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prima-facie evidence as to the testator and his circumstances. That negro slavery existed at Ringwood is undoubted: as yet this dusky corner in the family-closet of American sociology had not been vacuum-cleaned. It further appears that Erskine, despite all adverse circumstances, was finding his way out of the dark woods of financial distress; yet—instead of hoarding gold—was content to trust his hard-earned gains to the future of America, having freely accepted of the Continental currency. Finally, his qualified remembrance of those friends of other days (who had been lenient with him in his early misfortunes) indicates the full measure in which he would have squared his old accounts had he been permitted to round out the traditional span of life.

Just why Erskine journeyed all the way to Philadelphia to have the last codicil acknowledged is not apparent. Possibly he realized that it would require the traditional skill of a "Philadelphia lawyer" to unravel the tangled threads of his estate; maybe he had some verbal explanations to make. We do not know, of course, whether his will remained there until it was probated in 1780, or whether it was in Erskine's personal keeping at Ringwood. Appended to the document is the following affidavit, in evidence that it was filed for probate in November following his death:

"Gloucester Co., N. J.

Robert Aitken and Robert Smith, two of the witnesses to the Will and Codicil, being duly sworn, saith that they saw Robert Erskine sign and seal the same, and that John Thomson was present at the same time.

Sworn at Gloucester,
21 Nov. 1780."

The records of the Secretary of State at Trenton, N. J., give no further information in the matter other than an entry attesting to the fact that Mrs. Erskine soon qualified for her appointed task as executrix, being "sworn" in Bergen County, December 6th, 1780.

Of this worthy lady, whom the departed Surveyor General had endowed with all he had to give, and who, as the "widow Erskine," now found herself foot-loose and the lonely mistress of a large household, (with the added cares and complications incident to a great industrial enterprise), history has left us several glimpses, most interesting of which, perhaps, is the record of her re-marriage, for she did not long remain without protection. In September of

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1781, she was again bound in holy wedlock; the man of her second choice being the Honorable Robert Lettis Hooper, Jr.,¹⁵⁷ one of the owners of the Durham Iron Works, and a Deputy Quartermaster General in the American army.

In the interval between the death of Erskine and this auspicious event, the Ringwood Manor House was frequently visited by the friends of the late Surveyor-general and by those persons of gentility who happened to pass through this section of the country.

The Marquis François Jean de Chastellux, friend of Lafayette, stopped at Ringwood, December 19th, 1780, and of course called at the Manor House to pay his respects to Mrs. Erskine. He says, in his "*American Travels*," (published after his return to France):

"Ringwood, strictly speaking, is but a hamlet of 7 or 8 houses, forming the manor of Mrs. Erskine and the forges which she operates. I had been forewarned that I should find there all manner of resources, either to put up there, if I should desire to stop, or to obtain all the necessary directions of which I might be in need. As it was still early, and I had as yet gone only 12 miles (he had come up from Pompton—A. H. H.), I alighted at Mrs. Erskine's only to beg her to direct me to an inn where I might pass the night, or to give me recommendations as to where I would find hospitality. I entered a very handsome house, where I found everyone in mourning (Mr. Erskine having died two months previously). Mrs. Erskine, his widow, about 40 years of age, looked none the less fair and calm, despite her bereavement. She had with her one of her nephews, (presumably Ebenezer Erskine—A. H. H.) and Mr. John Fell, a member of Congress. They gave me all the directions I needed, and after taking a glass of Madeira, according to the custom of the country, which forbids one to leave a house without having quaffed a glass, I remounted my horse and plunged anew into the woods." (Then he goes on to tell how he lost himself en route to Tuxedo Lake and "the Clove.")

In January of 1781, the so-called "Mutiny" of the New Jersey troops stationed at Pompton caused the Commander-in-Chief to dispatch Major General Robert Howe, with five hundred New England troops of unquestioned loyalty, to the scene of disturbance.

¹⁵⁷For a sketch of the life of Robert Lettis Hooper, Jr., (the middle name sometimes spelled "Lettice") see the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. 36, pp. 60 et seq., wherein is printed a very comprehensive article by Charles Henry Hart. Hooper came of a distinguished Pennsylvania family; and was the third to bear that name.

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Howe soon succeeded in reducing the recalcitrant soldiers to routine discipline, after finding it necessary, much to his regret, to execute two of the ring-leaders in the uprising.

Due to this circumstance, Washington in person repaired to Ringwood, (which is about ten miles north of Pompton) on the 26th of January, where he remained until the 28th, being entertained by Mrs. Erskine. Of Washington's correspondence during this brief visit to Ringwood, at least one specimen is in existence, that being a two-page letter dated at this place the 27th of January, in which the General refers to affairs of the Quartermaster's department. This is now, most appropriately, in the possession of Mr. Erskine Hewitt.

Dr. Thatcher, in his "*Military Journal*," tells us that, on the evening of Jan. 26th, 1781, the officers of General Howe's command, (who had arrived from West Point by forced marches) were regaled at Ringwood by Mrs. Erskine. He says:

"We were entertained with an elegant supper and excellent wine. Mrs. Erskine is a sensible and accomplished woman, who lives in a style of affluence and fashion; everything indicates wealth, taste and splendor, and she takes pleasure in entertaining the friends of her late husband with generous hospitality."

Because of her natural spirit of good-comradeship, Mrs. Erskine, being unavoidably thrown into contact with many gentlemen holding high place among the patriot legion, could not, I suppose, be indifferent to their polite attentions. Nor should she be censured for accepting the hand of Colonel Hooper; although I admit a certain feeling of resentment toward that gentleman for presuming to take the place of Robert Erskine. Undoubtedly, Hooper had been one of Erskine's personal friends, for his services in the Quartermaster's Department, covering certain counties of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, must have thrown him repeatedly into contact with the proprietor of the Ringwood Iron Works. That he was known and favorably regarded by Washington is also a fact indisputable, for it was into his care and custody that many of the officers of the British general staff captured at Saratoga (among them Baron Riedesel and Gen. William Phillips) were entrusted on parole. Indeed, the man who wooed and won the heart of the gentle mistress of Ringwood within a twelve-month was no

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slouch. Nevertheless, I cannot bring myself to like Hooper, simply because he strove to win for himself the affections of her whom Erskine had adored. It has always seemed unbelievable that another could possibly supplant Erskine; and rather would I have recorded the fact that his sorrowing wife, refusing to be comforted, had gone to her grave wearing widow's weeds. But time, the healer of all things, is strange and mysterious in its workings, and without doubt Colonel Hooper did his best to turn the hands of the clock ahead.

There is a very interesting letter of Hooper's now preserved at Ringwood Manor, bearing date of September 7th, 1781, and written from the home of his fiancée to a very dear friend and business associate in Pennsylvania.¹⁵⁸ Therein Hooper announces the forthcoming nuptials, setting down with evident complacency the fact that his betrothed is a lady of many charms and virtues, added to which she has a "plentiful fortune."

And so, in mild September, Mrs. Erskine and Colonel Hooper were married, and we have no reason to doubt that they "lived happily ever after." Together they contrived to keep the iron works in operation,—for a time at least,—being assisted by Ebenezer Erskine, the nephew of the Surveyor General, who continued to remain a member of the Ringwood household. Incidentally, Ebenezer was a bachelor, and probably endeavored to make himself as little of a nuisance as possible. The fact that Mrs. Erskine regarded him with favor is shown by the circumstance of her settling upon him a snug sum of money about the time of her remarriage¹⁵⁹

Until the end of the Revolution, Ringwood maintained its importance, not only because of the iron works, but as a half-way station between Morristown and the Hudson. The fact that Col. Hooper had succeeded General Erskine as the Lord of the Manor does not seem to have caused any of its former noted guests to avoid its comforts nor to refuse its hospitality.

Washington himself again visited Ringwood on March 29th or 30th, 1782. He was accompanied in this instance by Mrs. Washington. Together they had left Morristown on the morning of the 28th,

¹⁵⁸To Richard Backhouse, Esq.—(Both he and Robert L. Hooper, Jr., were interested in the Durham Iron Works, according to Mr. B. F. Fackenthal, Jr., of Riegelsville, Pa.)

¹⁵⁹See record of Ebenezer Erskine's will. This gentleman subsequently removed to Trenton, where he resided until his death.

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en route to Newburgh, where the General was about to begin that long period of nearly permanent residence which continued, with occasional brief absences, until the end of hostilities. Washington and his lady were escorted over the mountains on this occasion by two officers and a squad of twelve dragoons. The original order for this detail is now preserved at Ringwood Manor.

What was in all probability the most important occasion in the Revolutionary history of Ringwood Manor-house, was the conference which was held here on Sunday morning, April the 20th, 1783, between General Washington and the Secretary-at-war,¹⁰⁰ relative to arrangements for the release of British prisoners. Quite likely, Colonel Hooper was present. Upon the previous day, notice of the proclaimed peace with England had been posted at Newburgh and there was joy and gladness on every hand. Washington's visit to Ringwood must have been made in great haste; for, having left Newburgh at noon on the 19th, he was back again at headquarters by the following evening. In his book of Accounts with Congress we find this entry:

“April 1783—To the Expences of a Trip to meet the Secretary-at-War at Ringwood for the purpose of making arrangements for liberating the Prisoners, etc. . . . £8.10.8.”

It is interesting to recollect that, but two or three weeks later, the establishment of American independence was a fact so well recognized by our late enemies that when Washington and Sir Guy Carleton met in conference at Dobbs Ferry on May 8th, the British ship of war in the Hudson thundered a salute of seventeen guns—the first official recognition of the new nation.

The good old-fashioned way of drawing a story to a conclusion was for the author to tell just what became of each of his characters. Now styles have changed, and “psychological endings” are in greater favor. But, as I am dealing with real old-fashioned people, and what I have told happened a long time ago, there is no excuse whatever for being “up-to-date” in this regard. I have but to

¹⁰⁰The “Secretary-at-War” was Major General Benjamin Lincoln. Having been chosen for that position Oct. 30, 1781, he served until the end of the struggle. He it was who received O'Hara's sword of surrender at Yorktown.

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record the fate of the Ringwood iron works and to detail the closing events in the lives of the Hoopers; then my tale will be told.

The final settlement of the American investments of the London capitalists (who had been led to play such heavy stakes upon the strength of Hasenclever's representations) was never accomplished. Erskine had dreamed of some such happy consummation of affairs, whereby each and every one interested in the New York and New Jersey Iron Works should receive dollar for dollar of his original investment, with interest added aplenty; but this ideal adjustment was never to be attained.

During his life-time, Erskine had wrought two achievements for the stock-holders. Prior to the war, he had succeeded in making the works pay for themselves: then, despite the severance of relations with Great Britain, he had been successful in preventing the official confiscation of their property.¹⁶¹ All through the period of the Revolution the vast landed estates of these London Proprietors were preserved to them inviolate and intact, while around about and on every hand the property of other Royalists was sold under the hammer for the benefit of the patriot cause.

Quite naturally, I suppose, Robert Lettis Hooper, Jr., felt no such sense of personal obligation as did Erskine. There is no reason for the belief that any of the *American* creditors of the iron works went "a begging" for their claims, being probably reimbursed from balances in the hands of Mrs. Erskine; but it is equally certain that the *English Proprietors* were entirely unremembered, simply because there were no means available. An examination of Erskine's books reveals the fact that his London employers were actually indebted to *him* for upward of £586, which he had paid out of his own pocket to satisfy claims against them. It is also noted by Ebenezer Erskine that, in 1781, Mrs. Erskine burned the evidence of these obligations, she apparently having no disposition to negotiate for a settlement.

The following official item of New Jersey legislation, being one of the "ACTS passed in the Fifth year of Independence, A. D. 1782,

¹⁶¹James Board, one of the old settlers in the Ringwood region, and a son of Cornelius Board, the pioneer, was a member of the Bergen County commission to arrange for such divestments of property. Neither among his records, nor in any other of the "*Lists of Confiscated Lands in the County of Bergen*" is mention made of Ringwood. The confiscatory sales, according to all available records, were held between June 10th, 1779, and March 8th, 1787.



THE IMMEDIATE PRECINCTS OF THE RINGWOOD
MANOR HOUSE OF TO-DAY

The larger tree is one of those planted in 1815 by Mrs. Ryerson; and the portion of the mansion illustrated is contemporary with this period. Erskine's house covered a part of the present lawn and the gravel path in the foreground.



ROBERT ERSKINE'S GRAVE AT RINGWOOD, N. J., AS IT APPEARED
IN 1900, SHOWING THE TREE PLANTED BY GENERAL WASHINGTON

The table-top tomb at the right is that of Erskine. Beside him lie the remains of his clerk, Robert Monteath.

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WILLIAM LIVINGSTON, ESQ., GOVERNOR, At a General Assembly at Trenton, from the fifteenth day of May to the twenty-fourth day of June, 1782," shows some disposition on the part of Hooper to bring things to a settlement:

"AN ACT to vest ROBERT LETTIS HOOPER, the younger, and ELIZABETH, his wife, and the survivor of them, with Powers of Agency, to take charge of and manage the Estate of the AMERICAN COMPANY, commonly so called, in the Counties of Bergen and Morris and elsewhere in this state, for the purposes mentioned therein.

FORASMUCH as ROBERT LETTIS HOOPER, the younger, by petition to the Legislature, hath set forth that RICHARD ATKINSON and sundry other persons residing in Great Britain, usually styling themselves 'THE AMERICAN COMPANY,' heretofore purchased certain lands in the Counties of Bergen and Morris, and thereon erected extensive works for the Manufacture of Iron; that ROBERT ERSKINE, late of RINGWOOD, in the said county of Bergen, Esq., deceased, was about twelve years since appointed Manager and Agent for the said Company, in which capacity he continued until his death, from whom the possession and care of the said estate developed upon the Petitioner by his intermarriage with Elizabeth ERSKINE, relict, sole Executrix, and Devisee of the Said Agent; that the property of the said Company is considerably indebted to the estate of the said Deceased, and also to sundry persons who are inhabitants and citizens of these States, for many of which debts the said Robert ERSKINE was, and the Petitioner is become, responsible;

THAT, by the ACT of twenty-ninth of December, One Thousand, Seven Hundred and Eighty-one, for taking charge of and leasing the Real Estates of the subjects of the King of Great Britain lying within this State,¹⁶² the respective Agents for the Counties in which the said lands and works are situated, have power to take possession of and lease the same, which the Petitioner alledges would tend to involve him in great inconvenience and distress, (liable, as he is, for the debts of the aforesaid), and would be very prejudicial to the said Estate, inasmuch as the proceeds in the present condition thereof are scarcely adequate to pay the Taxes chargeable upon it, and Lessees may be tempted to impair the same to the loss of all the future use and profits; that the accounts of

¹⁶²This was the "Confiscation Act" passed Dec. 29, 1781: "An Act for taking charge of and leasing the Real Estate of the subjects of the King of Great Britain, lying within the State." The preamble of this enactment is as follows: "WHEREAS it is highly necessary that Agents should be appointed for taking charge of the Real Estate lying within this State belonging to the subjects of the King of Great Britain for preventing waste and damages being committed thereon, and also to prevent the rents or profits arising from the same being conveyed to the enemy . . ."

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the Estate of the said Company are so blended and interwoven with the personal concerns of the said Deceased, that the Books and Papers cannot be transferred to the Agents of the said Counties without subjecting the whole to much derangement, and the Petitioner to much risque and detriment;

AND THEREFORE PRAYING that an Act may pass to vest the said Petitioner and Elizabeth, his wife, and the survivor of them, with POWERS OF AGENCY, for taking charge of and managing the Estate of the said Company, and closing the affairs of the said the late agent, ROBERT ERSKINE, under such conditions, limitations and provisions as to the Legislature may seem meet, and forasmuch as the said Request appears reasonable."

SECTION I

BE IT ENACTED by the Council and General Assembly of this State, and it is HEREBY ENACTED by the authority of the same, That the said ROBERT LETTIS HOOPER, the younger, and ELIZABETH, his wife, and the Survivor of them, be, and they hereby are, empowered to take charge of the Estate of the said Company in the said Counties of Bergen and Morris, or elsewhere in this State, and the same or any part thereof to let or lease at public auction for any term not exceeding three years, under such terms and restrictions as may be most effectual and conducive to preserve the same in full improvement and value; to prosecute in their own names or in the name of the survivor of them, his or her executors, any Action or Suit in law of equity, for the recovery of Debt, Demand, Possession or Right, due, owing or belonging to the said Estate and Company, and to receive, adjust and satisfy any lawful demands against the same; and generally to order, direct, defend and administer all the affairs and concerns of the said Estate and Company, from the commencement of the management and agency of the said ROBERT ERSKINE, deceased, to the present time and henceforward.

SECTION II

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the authority aforesaid, that the said ROBERT LETTIS HOOPER and ELIZABETH, his wife, and the survivor of them, shall, yearly, or as often as thereunto required, lay the accounts, that the same may be examined and balanced, and that a report and state thereof may be laid before the Legislature for such order and disposition as they may think proper to take or direct thereon.

SECTION III

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the authority aforesaid, That on all payments made into the Treasury of the State, if any be, the Agents hereby empowered are entitled to the like al-

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lowance for their expenses and trouble as the agents in the respective Counties appointed by the Act of twenty-ninth December, One Thousand, seven hundred and eighty-one, above recited, are entitled to and may retain."

Things did not go well at Ringwood, however. Post-war conditions brought a decided business depression. The following advertisement, in the "*New Jersey Journal*" of April 23rd, 1783, tells a dismal story of an auction sale—which was to be the beginning of the end in so far as Ringwood was concerned:

TO BE SOLD!

"By way of PUBLIC VENDUE, on Wednesday, the 30th of April, at RINGWOOD IRON WORKS, in the state of New Jersey and County of Bergen, the following articles, viz:

Milch cows, horses, mares, and colts; feather-beds, sheets, blankets, bed-quilts and counterpanes; plain and painted bedsteads, mahogany dining and tea tables, desks with drawers, fitted for counting houses; looking glasses of various sorts and sizes; a variety of kitchen furniture, china, glass and queen's ware; two eight-day clocks.

The following articles will be sold AT PRIVATE SALE, if applied for any time before the day of sale, viz:

Refined bar-iron, forge and furnace plates; forge hammers and anvils, carts and wagon-boxes, whip-saw plates; a quantity of old iron suitable for nails, rods or smith's use; carpenter's and joiner's tools; scale beams of all sizes; cast metal weights from 1 pound to 112; several pair of furnace and forge bellows, in good order; a large assortment of furnace and forge tools, blacksmith's bellows, bick-horns, vises, hammers, etc.: several complete sets of nailers, and miner's tools; one pair of grist-mill stones.

ALL THOSE WHO ARE INDEBTED TO THE AMERICAN RINGWOOD COMPANY by bond, note or otherwise, are requested to pay off their balances at RINGWOOD on the first day of May next, or they will be proceeded against as the law directs, and those who have any demands against said company are desired to attend at that time to have them settled.

Attendance will be given by the subscriber at RINGWOOD, from the 30th of April to May 3rd.

ROBERT L. HOOPER, JR.

Trenton, March 19th, 1783."

Perhaps it was an evidence of wisdom on the part of Mr. and Mrs. Hooper thus to sell out and retire from the hopeless entanglements of Ringwood; but this melancholy ending to the expectations

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of twenty years of investment and effort on the part of the English proprietors and of Robert Erskine,—their final hope of salvation,—is enough to bring tears from the eyes of a sphinx. It were just as well, for Erskine's peace of mind, that he was "beyond the smiling and the weeping."

Shortly thereafter, the Hoopers moved from Ringwood to the neighborhood of Trenton, where together they resided at the beautiful estate called "Belleville" at the falls of the Delaware, about a mile above the city. Mrs. Hooper died in 1796; and her husband passed away on the 30th of July, 1797, being in his 67th year. He served as one of the Justices for Hunterdon County and as Judge of the Common Pleas for 1782, 1787 and 1792; succeeding John Cleves Symmes as Vice President of the Council of New Jersey in November, 1785. This office he continued to hold for three years, being chairman of the Joint Meeting of the Legislature in 1788, and during the absence of the Governor, acted in his place.¹⁶³

There is a puzzling hiatus in the story of the Ringwood Estate. Concerning the dozen years and more immediately following the removal of the Hoopers, little or nothing has come to the knowledge of the writer.

On June 25th, 1795, Sir George Jackson and Robert Muir, "Trustees" of the American Iron Company, by Phineas Bond, their American agent and attorney-in-fact, made a contract with one James Old of Pool Forge, Lancaster County, Pa., for the sale of the Ringwood estate, "supposed to comprise about 12,000 acres in the County of Bergen, State of New Jersey." The stated consideration was £9000, to be paid in gold or silver, in four installments covering the years 1796 to 1799. In order to meet these obligations, Old endeavored to sell portions of the property to other Pennsylvania iron men, but the transactions seem to have miscarried; and on Jan. 1st, 1798, he shifted the burden to the shoulders of his son John Old.

There is good reason for the supposition that neither of the Olds met the requisite payments, nor that either of them ever had a full and debt-free title to the vast tract of land at Ringwood. As

¹⁶³See "The Penna. Mag. of Hist. & Biography"—Vol. XXXVI, No. 141, Jan. 1912, pp. 88, 89, 90.

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an upshot to their affairs, and as a death-blow to whatever interest the poor proprietors may have had, High Sheriff Bell of Bergen County soon took matters in hand and disposed of the estate for accumulated and unpaid taxes, these delinquencies covering a period of many years.

In the "*New York Herald*" of November 5th, 1803, the Ringwood estate is again advertised for sale, it being stated that the property belonging to the Long Pond and Ringwood Iron Works consists of two tracts totalling 12,800 acres, of which 600 were "cleared land" and 250 "good meadow land," and that the iron mines on the estate were "numerous and good."

Somewhere about 1807 Martin Ryerson acquired title to the "forges and manor of Ringwood." Until his death in 1839 he operated the iron mines and furnaces with great success, accumulating one of the largest fortunes hitherto amassed by any Jerseyman in that field of endeavor. Early in his régime he caused the old homestead where Erskine had dwelt (so graphically invested by historic fact and fiction) to be demolished; replacing it with a new mansion, portions of which are comprised in the Manor house of to-day. In 1815, in commemoration of the Treaty of Ghent (marking the close of the War of 1812) a row of thirteen trees was planted before the mansion. Many of these stately monuments of Nature remain to this day, dignifying the beauty of the well-kept grounds.

The sons of Martin Ryerson possessed neither the ability nor the adaptability of their father. After continuing the iron works for a dozen years with indifferent success, they succumbed to new business conditions and unfavorable tariff legislation. In 1853 William S. Hogencamp, Sheriff of Passaic County, was called in to readjust matters, and by deed of sale, dated Sept. 1st of that year, conveyed the property to Peter Cooper, the eminent inventor and philanthropist of New York City—and the founder of Cooper Union. Since that time, the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the estate and its manufacture into pig-iron has given employment and been the means of prosperity for many hundreds of workmen.

The Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, son-in-law of Peter Cooper, and for more than fifty years the controlling spirit in the industrial enterprises of Cooper, Hewitt & Co., was the first to interest himself in

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the career of Robert Erskine. And it is by reason of the author's professional services for Mr. Hewitt's family,—who have spared neither means nor energy in the effort to bring to light the documentary evidence requisite to establish Erskine in his true position as one of America's great characters of the Revolutionary period,—that the data presented in the foregoing pages has been made available, and to whom we are all indebted for so complete a presentation of the authoritative facts making up the life-story of "The Forgotten General."

APPENDIX

The following itemized summary of Erskine's Maps, is—in the main—a copy of his own autograph index, preserved at the New York Historical Society, together with the major portion of the maps themselves, and entitled:

*"A List of the—
Rough Draughts of Surveys by Robert Erskine, F. R. S.,
Geogr. A. U. S. and Assistants, begun A. D. 1778"*

incorporated with which are a few more detailed listings of minor surveys mentioned in the account of General Sullivan's expedition against the Indians, published by the New York State Legislature in 1879; and referred to in the text.

Num ^r	Principal Places
1	Road from Suffrans to June's, King's Ferry, Fort Montgomery &c; on the other side, Peekskill, Teller's Point, Tarrytown &c. Sheets A. B. & C. D—Nichol's hill N. R ^r .; Butter Hill &c. E—(Contraction.)
2	Road from Ft. Montgomery to West Point &c.
3	—— from D ^o . to Forrest of Dean &c.
4	—— from June's up the Clove.
5	—— Clove continued to Newborrough. (Newburgh—Author.)
6	Newborrough to Fishkill.
7	—— Fishkill to Peekskill & West Point.
8	Roads from Peekskill to White Plains, Mamaroneck &c. &c [several sheets joined.]
8 ^(2nd)	White Plains.
9	Road from White Plains to Dobbs Ferry.
10	D ^o . from D ^o . to East Chester.
11	Tuckeho Road.
12	Road from Tarrytown to Crotton River.

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- 13 Sawmill River Road, Valentine's Hill, Post Road.
- 14 Road from Harman's to Gen'l. Gates, W. Plains.
- 15 — from Artillery Park W. Plains to Dobb's Ferry R^d.
D^o.
- 16 Cross Road above Dobb's Ferry and Post R^d. to Saw Mill.
- 17 Road between Sawmill & Tuckeho, N. & S.
- 18 Young's Tavⁿ. to White Plains.
- 19 Cross Roads to East Chester & above. 284384
- 20 Cross Roads between Mamaroneck, Rye &c.
- 21 D^o. from White Plains to King's Street, Wright's Mills.
- 22 From Andrew Purdee's towards Davanport's, & from Carpenter's towards Sing Sing.
- 23 From Croton Bridge towards N. River.
- 24 From Saw Pits to Stamford, Bedford, Croton. [Several sheets joined.]
- 24^(2d) & from Stanwich to King's street, (1 sheet).
- 25 A Contraction of Ditto. (Joined to N^o. 59.)
- 26 R. from "15 mile-Stone" near Suffrans to Ft. Lee, Hackensack, Closter, Tappan, Clarkstown, Haverstraw, &c. by Capt. John W. Watkins, A. B.
- 27 Roads about Clarkstown &c.—by D^d. Pye, Esqr.
- 28 from Bedford to Ridgefield, [3 sheets] Danburry &c.
- 29 from Fishkill to Fredericksburg, Croton Bridge, Quaker Hill &c. [5 sheets].
- 30 from Pines Bridge or Croton towards Fredericksburg & Cross to Peekskill. [4 sheets.]
- 31 A contraction from Bedford to Danburry.
- 32 A Ditto. Peekskill to Pines Bridge—(Join'd to No. 59.)
- 33 Road from Stamford to Greenwich.
- 34 A contraction of D^o.
- 35 A D^o. from Fishkill to Danburry &c.
- 36 A D^o. from Newborrough to Fort Lee.
- 37 General Contraction [2 miles to an Inch] by R. E.=3 pieces & 1 D^o.
- 38 Road from Judge Jay's near Fishkill to Robertson's Mills &c.
- 39 Road from New Milford to Hartford & back to Bull's Iron Works, 11 sheets marked 39—A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, & L.
- 40 Course of Farmington River,—the Bearing taken by Mr. Porter, 1765.
- 41 Road from Ringwood to Slott's, Mace's &c.
- 42 from D^o. . . . to Pompton, Suffrans &c.
- 43 from Woodbury to Crumpond, 5 sheets: A, B, C, D, & E.
- 44 Contraction from Danbury to Crumpond.
- 45 D^o. from Robertson's Mill to Peekskill.

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- 46 Road from Pompton towards Morristown.
 - 47 ——— to Morristown.
 - 48 ——— from Rockaway Bridge to Horseneck, to Totawa Falls, and up to Pompton, 3 P's (3 pieces).
 - 49 Contraction from Quaker Hill to Hartford, (1 mile to an inch).
 - 50 Road through Peekskill Hollow A. & B.
 - 51 ——— near New Windsor through Chester to Mace's.
 - 52 from Albany to Schoharie & Contraction; 4 pieces, etc. (surveyed by Capt. Wm. Gray of the 4th Penna. Regt.)
 No. 52A—Road from Albany to Schoharie, double route.
 52B—Schoharie River, Cobus Kill, etc.
 52C—Albany to Man's Grist Mill, double route.
 52E—Butler's route to Cherry Valley, Ona-
 naughquago, &c.
 —— Draft of a part of Schoharie and West
 bank of the Delaware, with Col. Wm.
 Butler's line of March, Oct. 2-16, 1778.
 - 53 Road from Ringwood to Longpond toward Warwick.
- 1779*
- 54 General Contraction, [4 miles to an Inch] by R. Erskine.
 - 55 Road from Quibbletown to Amboy & places; by bearings from Capt. Scull.
 - 56 Road from Pompton, Paramus, great falls &c.—A. & B. Sheets.
 - 57 Road from Bethlehem to Broad Ax and Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania; A, B, C, D, & E.
 - 58 Contraction of D°.
 - 59 D°. about White Plains.
 - 60 D°. D°. D°.
 - 61 Plan; Charlestown, S°. Carolina—by J. Watkins.
 - 62 Draught of the Southern Coast of Lake Erie; A., & B. a contraction of D°.
 - 63 Map of Niagara R. (iver) on the Straits between Erie & Ontario.
 - 64 Map of the Ship Channel on Lake St. Claire.
 - 65 Part of the Susquehanna & Delaware—Ononoughquago, &c.
 - 66 Small Contraction, 8 miles to an inch, from S. Dewitt.
 - 67 Road from Forks Passaic to Scotch Plains A. B. C. & D.
 - 68 From Chester to Easton, a Contraction of the following:
 - 69 from near Chester to Bethlehem, 10 sheets marked 1st, 2nd & 3rd &c.

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- 70 Road from Duyckinks mill to Germantown.
 - B. from Cross Roads through Pluckemin towards Morristown;
 - C. Past Baskingridge and from Bebouts towards Quibbletown;
 - D. from Mt. Bethel M. Hse. to near Quibbletown, and from Quibbletown to Brunswick.
 - E. from Brunswick to Bound Brook.
 - F. from Bound Brook to Duyckinks Mill.
- 71 Road from Duyckink's Mill to the South Branch (both sides of the River).
 - (A & B) Garison's, Somerset, Bound Brook, from South Branch to Reddington, Brokaw's (C) & from near headquarters to S°. Branch.
- 72 From Duyckink's Mill to the White House, Potterstown, Germantown, Lamatunck, (A & B).
- 73 From Skeepack Road, cross Corriells ferry to Morristown (7 sheets.)
- 74 From Boundbrook, Quibbletown.....Elizabethtown, Wood Bridge, Amboy.....Piscataway, Brunswick, Somerset and Vanveghton's Bridge—A, B, C, D, E, & F. Sheets.
- 75 Morristown, Bottle hill, Chatham, Springfield, Elizabethtown, Raway, Westfield, towards Short Hills: A, B, & C.
- 76 Road from Headquarters to Middlebrook, Pluckemin, &c.
- 77 Roads by Potterstown, Hickory Tavern, Muscanecunk Mountain, Reddington, Johnston's Forge, Easton: A, B, C, D, from letter B to the Road from Corriell's to Morristown; E from near Henry Camp's on the road from Corriell's to Morristown to Reddington.
- 78 From Short Hills Tavⁿ. to Spankton & Craig's Tavⁿ.
- 79 From Elizabethtownpoint, Newark, Acquackanonck, Wesel, Totawa; A B & C.
- 80 From Near Garrison's Tavⁿ. to past Gen'l Heard's, & from near Heard's to Princetown, Somerset, through Kingston. (1st & 2nd Sheets).
- 81 Rough Contraction in the Jerseys (8 miles to an inch).
- 82 Contraction from Elizabethtownpoint to Totawa (2 miles to an Inch).
- 83 Contraction to Easton & Corriell's Ferry (4 miles to 1 inch.)
- 84 Road from Widow Van Ambrose to Forrest of Dean, & Cross roads from Smith's Clove; A & B.
- 85 From Smith's Clove to Chester.
- 86 From June's to Archer & Warwick.—A. B. & B2.

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- 87 Roads from near Somerset Court House by Pennytown to the Different Ferrys to Trenton, to Bristol, Philadelphia, Coopers Ferry, Mount Holly, Allenstown, Cranbury & Brunswick;—A, B, C, D, E, F, G; & H;—from Chesnut Hill to Philadelphia.
- 88 The county of Albany by Mr. Vromer & a contraction of D°. (A & B.)
- 89 The River Schuylkill from Falls to Reading, by D^d. Rittenhouse; with the Depths, A, B; D, a Contraction of D°.
- 90 From near Warwick to Morristown, Boonetown, & from Pompton by Charlotteburg Iron Works; Newfoundland, to the Warwick Road—A. B. C.
- 91 91A From Easton to Wyoming, and from 91B Northumberland to Wyoming
Contraction, (2 miles to an inch.)
- 92 From Easton to Wyoming to Tioga; A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H,—2 miles to an inch; J, K, L, M,—1 mile to an inch.
92A—From Wyoming towards Tioga, across the Lackawanna towards Tunhannunk,—1 mile to an inch.
92B—Ditto, Tunhannunk and Meshoppen Creek.
92C—(Missing.)
92D—Ditto—past Learn's Tavern.
92E—Ditto—past Toby Hana Creek.
92F—Ditto.
92G—Ditto—to Bullock's House.
92H—Ditto—comes to Wyoming.
92I. K.—(Missing).
92L—Ditto—towards Tioga, past Wialusing.
92M—Ditto—from Wialusing to Sheshekemunk Flats, (where the army encamped.)
- 93 From Newborrough to Albany and from Albany to Fishkill; 20 Sheets—A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V.
- 94 Contraction of above from Albany to Newborrough & Fishkill (2 miles to an inch.)
- 95 From forks Susquehanna to Wioming; A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, K.
No. 95A—From the forks of the Susquehanna (at Sunbury) towards Wyoming.
95B—Ditto:—continued.
95C— “ — “
95D— “ — “
95E— “ — “
95F— “ — “

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- 95G— “ — “
 95H— “ — “ Past Shickohinna.
 95I— “ — “ “ Nanticoke Falls.
 95K— “ concluded to Wyoming.
- 96 Rout from Fort Sullivan to Chemung, & to Newton: A, B, B2nd, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, K.
 No. 96A—From Fort Sullivan past Chemung.
 “ B—Past Newton to Catharines town.
 “ B2nd—Fort Reed to Cayuga Branch.
 “ C—From Catharines Town down Seneca Lake.
 “ D—Down Seneca Lake past Appleton.
 “ E—To the outlet of Seneca Lake.
 “ F—Road across the outlet of Cayuga Lake.
 “ G—up the Cayuga Lake past Chonodote.
 “ H—to the upper end of Cayuga Lake.
 “ I—from the end of the Lake towards Newton.
 “ K—to the place adjoining Newton.
- 97 From Seneca Lake to Chenissee: A. B. C.
 No. 97A—through Cannadisago towards Chinnissee, past Kanandogue.
 “ B—Ditto, through Haunyauna.
 “ C— “ to Chinnissee Castle.
- 98 Contractions in the Jerseys (2 miles to an inch) A. B. C, Large Paper, by Capt. Scull.
- 99 Projections of Lat. & Departure for Closing &...?... the meeting of Surveys (2 miles to an inch) A. B. C. D. Large paper, by Capt. Scull.
- 100 Spherical Projections (2 miles to an inch) by R. E. 4 sheets, large paper.
- 101 From Hartford, New Haven, Norwalk, Bedford &c.—A, B, C, D & E.
- 102 Contraction of D° (4 miles to an inch) by R. E.
- 1780
- 103 D°. of the Rout of the Western Army (2 miles to an Inch) A, A2nd, B, C, & D., by Lt. Lodge.
 No. 103—Sheet I—Route of the Western Army, General Contraction, Albany to Seneca Lake, rough draft, unfinished.
 No. 103—Sheet 2—Ditto.
 General contraction, 16 miles to an inch, Albany to Chinnissee Castle—unfinished.
 No. 103A—Route of the Western Army under Gen. Sullivan, 1779. 2 miles to an inch. (Lehigh to Wyoming and 21 miles above) Lehigh to Butter Milk Creek.

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- No. 103A^{2nd}—Ditto (Sunbury to Wyoming).
 “ B—Ditto (from 21 miles above Wyoming to Chemung).
 “ C— “ (Chemung to north end of Seneca and Cayuga Lakes.)
 “ D—(Kanadesago to Chinnissee Castle.)
- 104 Roads about Camp at Morristown A, B, C, D, & E. From near Chatham to Horseneck.
 - 105 Survey of Morristown by the Chain only, by R. Erskine.
 - 106 Contractions in the Jerseys (1 mile an inch) by S. De Witt (A. B.)
 - 107 Roads between Chatham, Scotch plains, Turkey & Springfield.
 - 108 — from Col. Dey's to the Ponds, & from Wykoff to Bellegrove.
 - 109 From Little Falls to Acquacknunk.
 - 110 From Dobbs Ferry to Paramus.
 - 111 Contractions in the Jerseys (2 miles an inch) Amboy, Brunswick, Pluckemin, Morristown, Newfoundland, Charlotteburg, Paramus, by R. E.
 - 112 Width of N. R., (North River) at Closter. (A); and (B), at Dobbs Ferry, measured with a Theodolite, by R. E.
 - 113 Roads between Suffrans, Tappan, Kakiate, Paramus, Dobbs Ferry, Clarkstown, &c. (2 sh.)
 - 114 Contraction of D^o. & Sundry places Rectified.¹⁶⁴
 - 115 Country between Hudson & Delaware.
 - 116 Between Passaic & Paramus, Hackensack & Zabriskie's.
 - 117 From Mt. Pleasant to New Germantown, & from Pluckemin to Black River, A. B. & C.
 - 118 From Morristown towards Sussex C. H.—by J. Armstrong,—A. B. & C.
 - 119 From Sussex C. H. to Pittstown & Ringoes and back past the Union, & from Hackettstown to N. Germantown. A, B, C, D, E & F.
 - 120 from the Sawmill River road towards the Brunks to near Tho^s. Thompson's.
 - 121 From where a road branches off to Middle Bush to Trenton. A. & B.
 - 122 The Environs of Kingsbridge.
 - 123 The Slote(?) (4 ch. to an inch.)
 - 124 The route to York in Virginia.—A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, & U.

¹⁶⁴Item No. 114 is the last entry in the hand-writing of Erskine in this “index” at the New York Historical Society. Nos. 115-116 have been entered in an autograph strikingly similar to that of Washington himself. The remainder of the charts are, with the exception of one or two, listed in De Witt's writing.

THE FORGOTTEN GENERAL

- 125 The route from Virginia.—A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, K,
 and a half-sheet.
- 126 Camp at Verplancks Point.
- 127 The line between Pennsylvania & Maryland.
- 128 Roads from New Windsor to Goshen, Florada, Chester, &c.
- 129 Moore's Land at W. Point.

NOTE.—Mr. A. J. Wall, the librarian of the New York Historical Society, records the following numbers as "missing" from the collection of Erskine maps there preserved: Nos. 1 B, part of No. C, Nos. 2, 4, 8, 10, 14, 17, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 37, three pieces 39, 49,—62, 63, 64, 65, 76, 80, 83, 85, 88, 89, 94, 101, 109, 111, 112, 114, 115, 126, 129.



Thomas Coram in England and America

BY E. M. BUNBURY, LONDON, ENGLAND



VER the waters in London, England, a notable battle is being waged concerning the future of the old Foundling Hospital and the two beautiful Squares Mecklenburgh and Brunswick that abut on to it. The Hospital is known and honoured throughout the English speaking world; its history extends over two hundred years, and has engaged the interest of Hogarth, Handel, Dr. Mead, a leading physician (pioneer of factory reform), Sidney Smith, Dickens, Thackeray and a host of other lovers of humanity. To-day, in its grey old age, guarded by superb plane trees it stands a worthy memorial to the seventeen years of its founder's unwearied effort, empty, derelict, and attracts the hungry eyes of the housebreaker and the speculative builder.

It is known that since 1913 at least, the Governors of the Charity had decided to realise on the immense value of their Estate, and to remove the children from London into the country (although the health record of Bloomsbury is very high). Their plans were achieved, when on the 25th November, 1926, the greater part of the purchase price of £1,650,000 was handed over to the Secretary and the children removed to temporary premises. The purchasers are Foundling Estates Limited, a newly formed Company, financed by the Parent Trust and Finance Company, of whom the Chairman is Sir Arthur du Cros. This gentleman is also Chairman of the Sites Committee of the Beecham Estates and Pills Limited, a company that owns Covent Garden Market. The Sites Committee has had in view an alternative site for Covent Garden Market and evidently thought the open spaces of the Foundling Hospital Estate suitable for their purpose. The Beecham Estates Company have therefore secured a first option on the Foundling Hospital site and the Squares, while a Bill for the necessary powers to carry out their intention and to remove Covent Garden Market to Bloomsbury (as the neighbourhood has with slight inaccuracy come to be called)

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is now before Parliament. Its fate will probably be known by the time these words are in print.¹

The promoters, however, have no easy road before them. Unfortunately for the purchasing syndicate, there lived certain persons on the estate who not only strongly disagreed with the ideas of their future landlords, but did not rest until they had made the issue a public question. An Association was formed, backed by leaders of thought in England, and supported by all parties, to protect the historic Estate. It claimed (1) that the case for a market in Bloomsbury would not bear examination, (2) that the beauty and health giving properties of the open spaces on the estate should render them immune from attack, (3) that a district of London, laid out on the generous and dignified lines of the eighteenth century, and fulfilling the necessary function should be protected from violent changes out of keeping with its character, which by reason of its proximity to the University is becoming increasingly of an academic quality.

Finally, but by no means least, it viewed with the strongest disapproval the contemplated destruction of the Foundling Hospital and its famous Chapel, a memorial to a very great Englishman. The scheme was declared to be an affront, not only to Bloomsbury and to London, but to England and the Empire, that looks proudly to London as its capital. To-day practically the whole of the English press is with the Association, and there is good reason to hope that the Bill will be thrown out. Nevertheless, the syndicate is supported by some of the wealthiest financiers in England; and friends of the movement against the market dare not be overconfident.

The great Founder of the Hospital, Thomas Coram—Gentleman, Master Mariner, Master Shipwright—was intimately connected with New England.²

¹The Bill was withdrawn at the Second Reading.

²A fuller record of his life and work may be found in a charming and erudite little book by the Rev. H. F. B. Compston, a distinguished scholar of Oxford and London. This book should be supplemented by some highly interesting and characteristic letters written to the Rev. Benjamin Colman of Boston, which were recently read by Mr. Ford before the Massachusetts Historical Society and published in their journal October-November 1922. There is also a paper read by Mr. H. A. Hill to the American Antiquarian Society in 1892, called *Thomas Coram in Taunton and Boston*. Well worth reading, but less easily obtained, is the history of the Foundling Hospital (edition 1847 or 1858) by J. Brownlow, a former secretary of the Foundling Hospital, and a great admirer of Coram. Of special value in this book is a eulogy of the Founder by Dr. Brocklesby (a friend of Dr. Johnson) quoted from a tract called "Private Vertue and Public Spirit Display'd."

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The Corams or Corhams were an old Devonshire family, connected for many years with Ottery St. Mary and Kinterbury. Thomas was born in 1668, his father was a sea captain who had settled in Lyme Regis, a port on the English Channel between Devon and Dorset with a trans-Atlantic trade; and no doubt, like young Raleigh a century before, little Tom had often listened wide-eyed to tales of the New World across the sea.

At the age of eleven, his mother having died when he was seven, and his father now marrying again and preparing to leave Lyme for Hackney near London, Thomas Coram was sent to sea. Five years later he was recalled by his father and apprenticed to a Thames Shipwright. At the end of his term he returned to the high seas to be the youthful master of a vessel trading between England, Scandinavia and Virginia with cargoes of pitch and tar. At that time English political thought was much exercised over the question of how to maintain and increase the Navy. Exorbitant prices were perforce being paid for "Naval Stores" (a generic term for everything used in a ship, from oak and pine to hemp and tar) which had chiefly to be obtained from foreign countries, especially Sweden; and, alarmed at the decay of ship building and hence of the supply of vessels for the Navy "wherein under God the wealth and safety of this Realm were so much concerned," English political thinkers were looking to the West, hoping that the resources of the Plantation might provide a means whereby this deterrent factor in the development of a strong navy could be eliminated. Companies were formed, financed by London merchants, and favoured by those in high places, for the purpose of promoting shipbuilding in New England; and it was doubtless by one of these that Coram, whose ability and integrity had already been proved by Naval officials, was chosen to explore openings in Massachusetts. Taking with him a cargo of merchandise, a company of skilled artisans, and an introduction to the Governor, Sir William Phipps, he crossed the Atlantic and set up a shipyard in Boston in the year 1693, being then only twenty-five years of age. Three years later a Commission was appointed by the Board of Trade and Plantations to report on the opportunities for the supply of naval stores, and its members would hardly fail to meet the intelligent and adventurous young shipwright, whose mind we are told "was early possessed by a warm and sincere attachment to the true interests

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of his country," and who came to America under the special protection of the British Government.

Coram remained in Boston about five years, then went to Taunton, building shipyards in Zebulon in South Dighton. Here his relations with his fellow townsmen were far from happy. He describes his neighbours as "ye most malignantly inveterate of the dissentors." Yet staunch churchman, as he was, we know from his character and his friends that non-conformity alone would not have drawn from him the characteristic description of Tauntonians as a "Generation of Vipers." One reason may be found in the letters written in his old age. In the bitter New England winter, "though the land was encumbered with Timber Trees, their Cows Calved out a dores and the Calves were Frozen to Death for want of a Shead or Covering for the Cows to Calve under. Those lazy Vermin would ly all night by one another's fire sides contriving how to hurt their Industrious neighbours rathen than take a little paines to preserve their own Cattle." This is authentic Coram.

In another letter he calls to mind how "snorting Vile Fellows" broke bond with him, defrauded him, and "spoke fals and injuring things of him" and "the Generality of the People were taight to believe that he was a vile Fellow, an enemy to God's people," even as they libelled other innocent men. It is in no rancorous tone that Coram, now an old man, speaks; he remembers those difficult days in New England, half humorously perhaps but with a spark of the old indignation, specially kindled by the reminiscence of another man's wrong. His letters show him just and magnanimous. He was forced to engage in several law suits in which "even the Inferior Judges of the Court as well as most of the Jurymen (not all) and other vile Fellowes did all the Divel could put in their heads to ruin" him. One such suit had an interesting sequel. A certain Sheriff Burt had ordered one of Coram's shipyards to be seized. On appeal to the Higher Courts it was proved that Coram had right on his side, and he was in consequence given fifty-nine acres of Burt's land in compensation. On his way to claim it his enemy made two attacks upon his life. Coram then, as always, careless of gain, and in this case specially moved by his narrow escape from death, and by filial devotion to the Church of England, refused to take the land for himself, but gave it to King's Chapel, Boston,

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with the proviso that if ever the people of Taunton should become more civilised and desire a Church of England, or a school, they were to have a part or whole of the land. Later, Taunton evidently became "much mended" for there were sufficient Church people to decide to build a church. Application was made to King's Chapel for Coram's land, but whereas the Trust provided that the request must be supported by forty rateable men, only twenty-six names appear on the original subscription list, so evidently the required number could not be made up. Thus, the conditions were unfulfilled and the grant refused. Nevertheless, the church was built, and Coram—ever an enthusiastic distributor of literature—sent a goodly parcel of books as the nucleus of a free library, among them "*A Friendly Admonition to the Drinkers of Brandy.*" After Coram's death the land at Taunton was sold, and the money used for rebuilding King's Chapel.

In Boston, where he appears to have resided alternately with Taunton, Coram had friends. His introduction to Sir William Phipps has been mentioned, and doubtless this led to other acquaintances. In 1700 he married Eunice Waite of Boston, a "Sincere Christian of a humble, meek, and Quiet Spirit," in contrast to her pugnacious husband, who must have found her gentle temper peculiarly soothing in his exasperating experiences of human ineptitude. The two had forty years of happy married life; Brocklesby reminds us that Coram's probity, affection and cheerfulness were evinced as much at home as in public—"his character was uniform and devoid of hypocrisy." It is very delightful to read in his letters his references to his wife's family in Boston; he invariably refers to them as if they were his blood relations. "My sister, Mrs. Stirling" "my Mother an ancient Good Woman we both love her" "my good Mother Mrs. Waite." The names of both Coram and his wife are perpetuated in the unbroken succession of little Thomases and Eunices at the Foundling Hospital. In 1703 Coram "sailed out of Boston harbour vindicated in his character and confirmed in the possession of all his rights." On his arrival in England he at once threw his energies into the movement already referred to for replacing foreign naval stores with produce from the Plantations with such effect that in 1704 an Act was passed providing a bounty of tar, etc., imported from America.

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This had hitherto been obtained under monopolistic prices from the Tar Company of Sweden. The Act resulted in employment for many thousands of families and the saving of a million pounds to the nation.

The next sixteen years or so Coram spent sailing the seas, as a merchantman, trading chiefly between England and America, and "acquiring a large and particular knowledge of the needs and possibilities of Colonial Enterprise." (Compston). Coram was a true empire builder—it was not only trade that he realised might flourish in the new lands, but human beings; there was great and increasing poverty and unemployment in England, and he longed to transplant some of the human material for which no work could be found to the lands where industry was sure of a reward. The great Doctor Bray, a friend from apprenticeship days, recognized "the great pains I for many years took for having a proper settlement made on the lands lying waste and derelict between New England and Nova Scotia." This was probably between 1715-21. Coram became recognised as one with a practical knowledge of the Colonies and an intelligent outlook as to their use, whom it was wise to consult. In later years he was described by Horace Walpole as the "honestest, and most disinterested, and the most knowing person about the Plantations I ever talked with."

Coram's last voyage appears to have been made in 1719, when his ship the "Seaflower" was stranded and plundered near Cuxhaven in Hanover (then part of the British Realm). He settled at Rotherhithe, and a new outlet for his public spirit now revealed itself. "It is related," says Brownlow, "that Captain Thomas (his) avocations obliging him to go early into the city and return late, he frequently saw infants exposed and deserted in the public streets; and as there was but one step in his active mind from the knowledge of an evil to a desire for remedying it, he immediately set about enquiring into the probable causes for so outrageous a departure from humanity and natural affection." Coram was now fifty-four, Eunice forty-three; as far as we know they had no children. Doubtless they often discussed together the strange phenomenon of mothers exposing, or worse, murdering their infants and the best means of preventing such tragedy, and of salvaging of citizens for England. From the experience of other

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countries, the establishment of a hospital for the children seemed the best solution. Coram began by ventilating this scheme in all his conversations shared with others, to discover whether it appeared practicable; and found that members of all ranks shared his sentiments. He believed that if at the first misfortune, the child were taken away, the mother might be able to start life afresh, no longer branded as beyond the pale of society. Coram was inspired by an intense pity for women, and an equally intense consciousness of the value of human beings. In spite, however, of much sympathy, it took seventeen years of unceasing effort to achieve his design, and it was not until he "appealed to the ladies" that the work began to go forward. The Charter of Incorporation was granted in 1739, its presentation taking place at Somerset House, and "Six Dukes, eleven Earls, and a throng of Lords and Honourables, Knights and Squires of high degree" attended the function.

The first foundlings were housed temporarily in Hatton Garden, the great Hospital in Lamb's Conduit field being begun in 1742. As has been said, Coram's project for the London Foundling did not exclude other interests. In 1729, Doctor Bray, then on his deathbed, formed an Association of certain philanthropic persons of repute, of whom Coram was one, to whom he committed his design of a settlement in America for the relief of "honest poor families who through unemployment, and religious persecution were reduced to poverty." His plan materialised in the colony of Georgia, for which a charter was obtained in 1732, Coram being one of the thirty-seven original trustees. He went himself to Gravesend to see the little colony sail. Oglethorpe was the first governor and Coram, with his liberal ideas and first hand experience found much to criticise in his policy though he found hardly any support among the Trustees. He drew up a letter explaining the reason for his criticism, demanding that it should be placed with the records. Among other things he disagreed with the system of land tenure by which women might not inherit their fathers' land (Coram's ideas of women's rights were in advance of his time). He also warned Oglethorpe against an arbitrary Military form of Government, conceiving that for English Settlements the Government should approximate that of Great Britain. George II, however, was incurably addicted to military methods. Many years

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later, when Coram was informed that Georgia was being deserted by its settlers, he referred to his letter in justification of his warning.

The Corams' home was evidently well known as one where stranded colonists in London might find immediate assistance. Coram mentions some whom he helped and repeatedly urged upon Dr. Colman the necessity of establishing a bank for the relief of those from New England who fell into distress in the home country. No effort was too great for him to make, no detail too small for him to attend to, in the assistance of those who needed his help.

Within a year of his achievement of his "Darling Project" the Foundling Hospital, Coram lost his beloved Eunice. "I am afraid my dear wife's death will break her poor mother's heart," he writes to Dr. Colman. "This," says Brownlow, "was the only loss for which he ever showed much regret" and he appears to have tried to bury his grief by devoting himself more than ever in public affairs, so neglecting his own that he was reduced to great poverty. Then his friends—and they numbered many noble, outstanding characters of the eighteenth century—stepped in. Doctor Brocklesby is deputed to ask the old man as delicately as possible if he would accept a pension. Coram's reply has a classic quality: "I have not wasted the little wealth of which I was formerly possessed in self indulgence and vain expenses, and am not ashamed to confess that in this my old age I am poor." A subscription list is opened and very soon a pension is provided and rooms are found near Leicester Square. But he still goes on working and loving, and now over eighty years of age, the old man might now be seen petition in hand, pleading for the education of North American Indian girls.

At the age of eighty-four, on Friday, March 29th, 1751, Thomas Coram died. There was a wonderful funeral at which the choir of St. Paul's directed by Doctor Boyce, a leading musician of the day, gave voluntary attendance. Coram asked to be buried at the Foundling Hospital and one hundred and forty-three other persons have felt the shadow of his grave an honoured place of burial, even though the ground is unconsecrated.

In what he describes as an "hasty and imperfect sketch" Dr. Brocklesby writes as one "who loved to contemplate his character."

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“His merits and virtues were extraordinary he did not affect public spirit to cover any private views. His experience was his principal guide and from thence he learned to consider rational liberty, active industry, unblemished probity as the only principles upon which national prosperity could be built. . . . Not contented with serving his country faithfully in his private and particular capacity he ventured to step out of the common road, and exerted himself in favour of many projects. . . . Captain Coram had a notion that if a man’s hands were not empty they could not long be clean. What he thought he spoke; what he wished he declared without hesitation, pursued without relaxation or disguise, and never considered obstacles any further than to discover means and surmount them. A singular and memorable man.” And the writer ends with the words of another friend of Coram’s: “When others are remembered by titles and adulation, his shall be the nobler fame to have lived above the fear of everything but an unworthy action.”



Jean-François Coste

CHIEF PHYSICIAN OF THE FRENCH EXPEDITIONARY FORCES IN
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

BY JOHN E. LANE, M. D., NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT



INTRODUCTION—The training of most of the medical officers who served in the armies engaged in the American Revolution was small, and many of the physicians and surgeons were incompetent or of little ability.

In the American Army “medical appointments seem to have been made in a most haphazard manner, without any regular system whatever” except in the case of the Massachusetts troops where “the examinations were sufficiently rigorous in character to maintain a high standard in the medical corps.”⁵⁸ The war was the “making of medicine in this country” and it brought into prominence many men active in its development.

In the British army in the Revolution “no medical corps in the modern sense of the word existed. Ever since the time of Charles II, there had been a Physician General and a Surgeon General, and since 1758, Inspectors of Hospitals; but little is known regarding their functions. According to the regulations, a surgeon and mate were attached to each regiment of foot. They were, however, essentially regimental officers. Although holding their commissions of the king, they were really appointed by the colonel, whose servants they had originally been.”⁴⁸

With the Hessian troops attached to the British army was Johann David Schoepf, the Anspach-Beyreuth surgeon, who came to America in 1777 and remained after the war was over to travel and study conditions in this country. His writings, which contain much valuable information on medical and other conditions of the time, are well known, as three of his books have been republished here, two of them translations.

The organization of the Medical Corps and of the military hospitals of the French army of this period was far in advance of that

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of the other European countries and the personnel was in general of a higher quality.⁴⁵

The Chief Physician of the French Expeditionary forces, Jean-François Coste, had begun to acquire a reputation in France and he was later to become still more prominent. As a military physician and sanitarian from 1766 till his death in 1819, he held one position after another in the Medical Corps of the French Army and was the first elective mayor of Versailles, occupying that position for two years.

He served under Louis XV, Louis XVI, through the vicissitudes of the French Revolution, under Napoleon and Louis XVIII. With Lafayette and Rochambeau, he kept his head through the French Revolution, while many who had served with them in America went to the guillotine.

On the Fourth of July, 1918, there was a celebration in honor of Coste at the Hôtel-de-Ville of Versailles. The address was by M. Simon, Mayor of Versailles, and the Franco-American civil and military authorities were represented. A brief abstract of a French account of this celebration has been printed in this country.³² A few brief notes in regard to Coste have also been published, but with these insignificant exceptions, so far as I have been able to learn, he has escaped the notice of historians of the American Revolution.

I have attempted to sketch Coste's life from French sources and to gather scattered scraps of information about his activities in America. The results have been small, as the materials are scanty. American records contain little information of details of the administration of the French Army, and the French records were taken back to France by Rochambeau. It is possible that in the records in the French Ministry of War, in the Hôtel-de-Ville of Versailles, in the Hôtel des Invalides, and in the military hospital, Val-de-Grace, there may be official reports of Coste's activities in America. Doctor Charles Picquet, from whose detailed account of Coste's life I have obtained much information, made use of these records, but his interest was chiefly in Coste's work in France and he adds little information on Coste's American experiences to that found elsewhere.

Education and Early Years of Practice—Jean-François Coste.



JEAN-FRANÇOIS COSTE

From a painting in the Mayor's office in the Hotel-de-Ville of Versailles.

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the son of Pierre Coste, a physician, was born on June 14, 1741, at Villes-en-Michaille, a little village in that corner of France which touches Switzerland just north of Geneva. He had his early education at Belley and at Lyons. At eighteen he began his medical education at Paris, where the celebrated Antoine Petit, an old school mate of his father, was a member of the faculty. He completed his medical education in Paris, but went to Valence for his final examinations because the examinations were less onerous there, and the expense connected with them less. Having received his degree at the age of twenty-two, he returned to Villes to begin practice with his father.

Very shortly after his return an epidemic broke out in Gex, near his home. A governmental order sent him there and he soon succeeded in checking the disease. His first published writing was an account of the epidemic, and his management of it gained him the post of "médecin pensionné de la ville et des états du pays de Gex."³⁸

His activities gave him some local reputation and it was at about this time that he became acquainted with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and with Claude-François Passerat de la Chapelle, Chief Physician of the French Army, who was born nearby at Chatillon, and who owned a chateau there. It was here that Coste met Voltaire, and "by caring for the inhabitants of Fernay where the epidemic also existed" won his esteem.³⁸

Voltaire became sufficiently interested in Coste to write to the Duc de Choiseul the following letter of recommendation which Coste himself delivered.

À Monsieur le Duc de Choiseul.

Request of the Hermit of Ferney presented by M. Coste, Physician.

July 16 (1769)

Nothing is more proper than the prayer of an old patient for a young doctor. Nothing is more just than an increase of a small salary when the work increases.

My Lord knows perfectly well that formerly we had nothing but scrofula in the desert of Gex, and that since the troops came, we have something much worse (*de plus fort*). The old hermit who, to be sure, has received neither of these two blessings of Providence, but who is sincerely interested in those who are honored with them, takes the liberty of painfully and respectfully call-

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ing your attention to the fact that Sir Coste, our very amiable doctor who is planning to prevent us from dying, has not the wherewithal to live, and that in this respect he is in a condition just the opposite of that of the great physicians of Paris. He begs Monseigneur to be good enough to take pity on a little district of which he is the only hope.⁶⁶

That both the letter and Coste himself made a good impression on the Duke is shown by the fact that Choiseul gave Coste 600 francs for the expenses of his trip to Paris and a pension of 1200 livres, and a little later appointed him physician to the Hospital of Versoix.^{42, 66}

He remained at Versoix for a short time and from there was transferred to Nancy. Here he wrote several articles, and was admitted to the local Academy. While in charge of the hospital at Nancy, Coste demonstrated his integrity and independence.

He had for a short time been in charge of the hospital at Nancy, when he discovered that his patients were the victims of the corruption of the administrators of the establishment. Angered by such conduct, he openly attacked the guilty ones without ceasing and without mercy. He said, "For a long time I struggled to some purpose, but after the death of the honest Marshall Dumy, Inspector Richard who had made a pretense of supporting his justice and firmness, promptly went over to the side of my detractors. I saw that it was impossible for me to check the abuses and I courageously resigned the office I could no longer fill without compromising my sense of duty." His resignation was accepted and he was without a position, without money, and heavily burdened with a large family to support. But his virtues and his talents were not long in restoring to him what his nobility of character had caused him to lose. Without applying for it, he was shortly reappointed to the hospital service and sent to Calais.^{38, 42}

Coste had been physician of the Hospital at Calais for about five years when, through the influence of the Duc de Choiseul and of his sister, the Duchess of Grammont, he was appointed Chief Physician to the army the French were sending to America under Rochambeau.³⁴

In America—Rochambeau's army left Brest on April 12, 1780, and reached Newport on July 11. In anticipation of the arrival of the fleet, DeCorny, the Commissary General of the French Army went to Rhode Island and with Doctor James Craik, who had been

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sent by Washington to meet him to make arrangements "to provide hospitals and such refreshments as may be wanted in the first instance for the sick which may be on board the fleet of His Most Christian Majesty when it arrives." After some difficulties, suitable quarters were found in Newport and in Providence.^{58, 61}

When the fleet arrived after the voyage of seventy-two days there were 600 or 700 soldiers and 1000 sailors suffering with scurvy. The landing of the sick took four days and 400 were put in hospitals at Newport, 280 in the hospital at Papoosquash Point and 300 were sent to Providence.⁶¹ During this time, Coste was probably supervising the hospitals in the different places. It is recorded that in Newport he was quartered with William Lindon at 456 Back Street,⁶¹ and in Providence at the house of Tillinghast on "the main street this side the bridge."⁵⁶

Blanchard, Commissary of the French forces, records that, with Coste and Demars, the steward, he visited Papoosquash on July 13th to "examine an establishment which M. deCorny had arranged for our sick," and that on July 19, there were already 280 sick there.⁴⁶ The patients with scurvy were doing well on a plentiful supply of cherries and vegetables, and Blanchard had time to note that the women were "generally pretty and the bovines as handsome as those of Poitou."

In September about a tenth of the army was sick and many had dysentery which did not seem to be dangerous. Coste, with Blanchard, inspected the hospitals and on September 12 was at Providence where the hospital was found to be "in very good order."⁴⁶

In December the cold was very severe and Admiral de Ternay was taken sick and brought on shore. Coste was sent for and found him very sick. He died at the house of Joseph Wanton of "putrid fever" on the fifteenth.⁴⁶

Such are the meager records of Coste's stay in Newport. Shortly after his arrival, on July 25th, he finished his *Compendium Pharmaceuticum*, a brief pharmacopoeia in Latin for the use of the hospitals under his charge, which was printed by Henry Barber at Newport in 1780.¹⁵ It was, I think, the second pharmacopoeia to be published in this country. According to Garrison, the first one, likewise for use in military hospitals, was prepared by Doctor

William Brown of Virginia for use in the Continental Army and was issued anonymously from the Military hospital at Lititz, Pennsylvania, in 1778.* A second edition was published with the author's name attached in 1781.⁵¹ Both of these works are rare. The only copy of Coste's Compendium that I have been able to find is in the Surgeon General's Library. It is a pamphlet of sixteen pages giving seventy-nine formulae under fourteen headings and a postscript. The inscription on the title page is:

Quid quid praecipies esto brevis. Hor, art, poet.
(Whatever you enjoin (prescribe), let it be brief.)

The introduction is as follows:

The doubtful changes of war, the ocean and a long voyage urge few remedies. This necessity smiled in no slight way upon my hopes, a necessity which allows only the most excellent things in the art. For the simpler the art of medicine is the better it is and the more truly rich. This would be all the more becoming to men with whom under the auspices of the spirit of liberty, just as in health, only heroic things must be tried and done, so only heroic help will be of use in restoring to health both their country and their friendly military union.

In spite of the brevity of this little pharmacopoeia, Coste elsewhere intimates that it might well have been briefer still.

To the military hospitals of the French in North America I had dedicated a compendium pharmaceuticum published in 1780 at Newport, Rhode Island, than which there is none more simple, more brief. Nevertheless, we did not call into practical use a tenth part, perchance, of the approximately 100 formulae of which it consisted.¹⁷

*Note.—There is a formulary of 71 formulae at the end of the translation of Van Swieten's book which was published in 1777 "for the use of Naval and Military Surgeons in America," at the suggestion of "a gentleman of the faculty in the City of Philadelphia . . . who is desirous of affording every help in his power, towards a successful termination of the present American Measures, for the Defense of Liberty."⁶⁵

As to when Coste visited Connecticut no information was found. He may have gone there after the cessation of the scurvy in his hospitals gave him a little leisure, or he may have visited Lebanon where Lauzun was wintering and comparing the town to Siberia, or he may not have been in the state except when he passed

through with the Army on its march to and from Yorktown. Yet his observations on Connecticut indicate that he found time to visit a few of its burying grounds and to make some observations on the inhabitants.

In what they had called New England, if there is any faith to be put in the inscriptions on their monuments, it is clear that this (40) is the average length of life as they say in North America. Nevertheless, especially in the mountains of Connecticut, I have found very many men and women more than forty years old, some more than 80, certain ones nearer 100, some even who had become 100. To this end clearly contributed the purer atmosphere, the sound food, the temperate method of life, the best habits, the status of fortune and rank amongst the citizens, more balanced, so to speak, and equal. By the very nature of the region, not less than by the wise constitution of the state, the necessity of toil is imposed. Pennsylvania, more beautiful, has perchance more wherewith to please the eyes but Connecticut more wherewith to delight the heart.

“*Beatus ille qui procul negotiis*”

(“Happy is he who far from business cares”)

If you must find the happy man of Horace you must seek in Connecticut or give up.^{17, note 20.}

I have been able to find no other trace of Coste's activities until he reached Yorktown. The sickness among the troops had probably disappeared before they left New England, for on the march of 750 miles between Newport and Yorktown, cases of sickness were rare. Abbé Robin says that “The attention of the superior officers very much contributed to this by the care they took in obliging the soldiers to drink no water without rum in it to remove its noisome qualities.”⁵⁴

More sickness occurred on the arrival before Yorktown for Blanchard states that “At the beginning of the siege we had four hundred of them.” There were a few more sick and wounded just after the fall of Yorktown.⁴⁶

During the siege of Yorktown the French Army had a hospital in the field with Coste, and Robillard, the chief surgeon, in charge of it. Nearby, in the rear of Lafayette's headquarters was the field hospital of the American wing of the army in charge of Doctor James Craik.^{61, 62} On service in this hospital were Doctor James Thacher and his assistant Doctor Aeneas Munson. It is rather

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curious that Thacher makes no mention of Coste, and says little about the French Medical service.

Shortly after the surrender of Cornwallis on October 19, 1781, the French troops were stationed at Williamsburg where they remained till June of the following year. James Thacher describes the town as it then appeared as follows:

This is the capital of Virginia, but in other respects is of little importance. It is situated on a level piece of land, at an equal distance between two small rivers, one of which falls into York, the other into James River. The city is one mile and a quarter in length, and contains about two hundred and fifty houses. The main street is more than one hundred feet in width, and exactly one mile in length—at one of the extremities, and fronting the street, is the capitol, or state house, a handsome edifice, and at the other end is the college, capable of accommodating three hundred students, but the tumult of war has broken up the institution. The college is about one hundred and thirty feet in length and forty in breadth, with two handsome wings fifty by thirty. Their library is said to consist of about three thousand volumes. Near the center of the city is a large church, and not far from it the palace, the usual residence of the governor, which is a splendid building. The water in this vicinity is extremely brackish and disagreeable.⁶²

The College of William and Mary was given over to the French army and was used as a hospital. During their stay the College Building was damaged and the President's house was burned. This was repaired later and the President's house rebuilt at the expense of the French Government.⁵³

Doctor James Tilton visited the French hospital here. His account of it follows:

After the siege and capture of Yorktown in Virginia, Gen. Washington returned to the northward and the French troops were cantoned in Williamsburg. I was left in charge of the sick and wounded Americans, who could not be moved. Being thus in a French garrison, I had some opportunity of observing the French practice and management of their sick. In passing the wards of their hospital, their patients appear very neat and clean, above all examples I had ever seen. Each patient was accommodated with every thing necessary, even to a night cap. Nevertheless, they were not more successful than we were. Even their wounded, with all the boasted dexterity of the French to aid them, were no more fortunate than ours. I was led to attribute their failure princi-

pally to two causes. For ease and convenience, they had contrived a common necessary for their whole hospital, the college, a large building, three stories high, by erecting a half hexagon, of common boards, reaching from the roof down to a pit in the earth. From this perpendicular conduit doors opened upon each floor of the hospital; and all manner of filth and excrementitious matters were dropped and thrown down this common sewer, into the pit below. This sink of nastiness perfumed the whole house very sensibly and, without doubt, vitiated all the air within the wards. In the next place their practice appeared to me to be very inert. When passing their wards, with the prescribing physicians I observed a great number of their patients in a languid and putrid condition, and asked, occasionally, if the bark would not be proper in such cases? The uniform answer was no, too much inflammation. And when they attended my round of prescription and saw me frequently prescribe the bark, in febrile cases, and even for the wounded, they lifted up their hands in astonishment. Few or no chemical remedies were employed by them. One of their regimental surgeons declared that he never used opium. Their hospital pharmacopoeia consisted chiefly of potions, decoctions and watery drinks, fitted only for inflammatory disorders. All these circumstances considered, satisfied my mind, why their ample accommodations gave them no advantage of us, in the result of practice. I was the more surprised, as Doctors Coste and Borgelli both appeared to be men of science, well qualified to make research.⁶³

The "hospital pharmacopoeia" referred to is undoubtedly Coste's "Compendium" described above.

If the reported date, (1780) is correct, shortly after his arrival in Newport, Coste was requested, through the French Ambassador, by the Humane Society of Philadelphia, to write an article on asphyxia.²⁹

The Humane Society, for the recovery of drowned persons, was established in 1780. Its objects were enlarged by extending the efforts of the members to cases of asphyxia and other cases which might suspend animation in human beings for a time. . . . This society also offered prizes for dissertations on suspended animation, etc.⁶⁰

Several references to this article entitled "Mémoire sur l'Asphyxie," and its English translation, have been found. As it appeared in the same year as the founding of the society, it may have been its first publication and may have been requested in order to give the society a worthy start. The pamphlet must be extremely

rare for it is found in none of the catalogues that I have been able to consult of the large libraries in this country or Europe, nor in the libraries of historical societies that I thought might possibly have a copy of it. That it was satisfactory to the Society is evident from the fact that Coste was elected to membership.

Rochambeau's troops remained at Williamsburg till June of 1782. On the twelfth of that month Coste received the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine from William and Mary College.⁶⁹ This appears to have been an unusual honor, for according to the records of the College, honorary degrees were rarely bestowed and their recipients were men of the highest distinction. The list up to the end of that year is:

Benjamin Franklin, A. M., 1756.

Chevalier de Chastellux, General in French Army, LL.D., 1782.

John F. Coste, First Physician in French Army, M. D., 1782.

Thomas Jefferson, LL.D., 1782.

There were no degrees conferred again until 1790 when the Rt. Rev. James Madison received that of Doctor of Divinity.⁵³

On the day on which Coste's degree was conferred a convocation was held at the College and Coste delivered a Latin oration before a large audience which included the faculty, officers and many soldiers.

The theme of the oration is that the medical philosophy of the Ancients befits the New World. After the usual complimentary remarks to the Faculty and audience, he urges the necessity of keeping medicine free from all allegiance to masters or systems. Medicine must be free. So long as it is subjected to the authority of even the most celebrated masters it is nothing but a slave. You have established the independence of the New World; may independence in medicine shortly follow that of the nation. He points to Hippocrates as the example of sound doctrine, and shows the comparative uselessness of systems of medicine established since his time.

In the second part of the oration he takes up the causes of diseases prevalent in the United States, the constitution of the inhabitants and their manner of life, and the methods of improving both. He notes the deplorable conditions of medicine and suggests remedies that should be used for bettering it.

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One passage referring to the character of the inhabitants of different regions may be quoted.

The inactivity in exercise and toil which obtains in the New World belongs to the southern regions much more than to the northern. To other reasons for this difference I add that there are more aristocrats with wealth and more slaves to be seen in the south especially in Virginia. If the vigour and activity of the people of Boston and Connecticut is greater, perhaps the moral and political condition of the region contributes no less than the physical qualities of the climate and atmosphere. Since the politics of Virginia tend rather to aristocracy, those of Boston and Rhode Island to democracy.

It is to be clearly noted that in those qualities which look toward military bravery, in all those which are founded and promoted, established or accomplished for the sake of the general welfare, the Virginians showed themselves distinguished by many and eminent deeds in the whole course of the war. So much could the love of liberty accomplish.¹⁷

He closes with good wishes for the Americans and addresses eulogies to the leaders of the War of Independence, and especially to Washington.

The oration was long and learned and perhaps one of Coste's French biographers was not mistaken in saying that "the learned body of this Society listened religiously, and was astounded at the scientific attainments, the talent and the lofty eloquence of our compatriot," and that at its close, "long applause greeted this peroration. The entire audience rose and gave an imposing ovation to the eminent orator who had bound it with the charm of his science and of his oratory."¹²

In addition to caring for the French Hospital, Coste must have rendered some service to the American Hospitals during his stay in Williamsburg as shown by the letter which Washington wrote him a few months later.

Headquarters 7th October 1782.

Sir:

Your humane attention to the American Hospitals which were established at Williamsburg after the Siege of York has been properly represented to me. I beg you to be assured, Sir, that I entertain a due sense of your kindness upon that occasion, and take this

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opportunity of testifying how much I think myself and the public obliged to you.

I am Sir

Your most ob^t & h^{ble} serv^t

Doc^t Coste

Physician General

to

The Army of H. E. Count de Rochambeau⁶⁷

Where Coste was during the rest of his stay in America is uncertain. Rochambeau's army left Boston for home on December 24, 1782, and it is probable that Coste went with it. In the meantime, he undoubtedly visited Philadelphia for, according to the records in the office of the Dean of the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania, the "Honorary Degree of M. D. was conferred upon Johannes-François De Coste, Physician General to the French Army in America, on December 23, 1782."⁶⁸

If Coste left with Rochambeau's army he could not have received this degree in person nor could he so have received his election to the American Philosophical Society which took place on January 18, 1783.⁶⁵

Coste's services, as well as the environment, must have contributed to keeping the health of the French Army good. Of it Blanchard says:

Notwithstanding the changeable weather which I have observed at Rhode Island during the whole winter, the country is healthy, the rest of my sojourn proved it to me. I have always had fewer sick persons in our hospitals than in France, and when our army set out in the latter part of 1782, after staying in America two and a half years, we had not ten sick in a thousand men.⁴⁶

Des Cilleuls says that Coste also probably "saved the life of Rochambeau, who had typhus, though the latter in his Memoirs speaks neither of his sickness nor of his saviour."³⁶

Picquet quotes Munaret as reporting an incident of Coste's homesickness.

In Coste one sentiment dominated all the others; noise of camps could not take it from him, the ocean was not wide enough to separate him from it; it was his love for his native land. The soldiers saw him, more than once, standing on the seashore of the New World, his eyes turned toward France. One of his friends,

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an officer, surprised him one day in the midst of his homesick revery. Coste said, "It is a piece of childishness that will make you laugh, but I cannot resist seeking in the fantastic shapes of the waves, the illusion of my more beautiful mountains of Bugey."⁴²

The French Government recognized Coste's services to The French Army in America by the bestowal of a brevet of Médecin de la Marine and a pension of 3000 francs.²⁹

Mayor of Versailles—On his return to France in 1783, Coste resumed his position as physician to the Hospital at Calais. The following year he was made Chief Consulting Physician of the Camps and Armies of the King and was shortly after sent to Versailles to the war office to take charge of the correspondence with the military surgeons.²⁹

In 1785 he was made Inspector of the Sanitary Corps of the Departments of Lille, Amiens, Valenciennes, Chalons, Metz, and Paris. The following year he visited many places, and made a trip to England at his own expense to study military hospitals. In 1790 he published his book on Military Hospitals.

Coste was still at Versailles when the Communes of the kingdom were directed to reorganize their municipalities in compliance with the decree of the Constituent Assembly of October 14, 1789. The election at Versailles was held on February 8, 1790. Coste was elected on the second ballot and was inaugurated, the first elective mayor, on March 9th.

On April 24, Coste addressed the National Assembly and presented to it his work on Military Hospitals. In the official record of the meeting are found the words of thanks which the President addressed to him.

Health is one of the blessings of heaven the presence of which does not make happiness, but the absence of which destroys it. We only know its value when it leaves us. Your works help to console those who have lost it. You have deserved well of humanity. It is in its name that the National Assembly receives the homage of your talents and allows you to be present at its meeting.⁴²

Later, October 14, 1790, the Committee of Health of the National Assembly wrote him the following letter:

The Committee of Public Health, formed in the heart of the National Assembly to attend to all affairs of public health, recog-

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nizing the claims to general esteem which M. Coste has acquired by his services in the different positions he has occupied, and wishing to take under consideration all matters pertaining to military hospitals in order to bring these establishments to the highest degree of usefulness to which they are susceptible, invites Monsieur Coste to join the Committee and invites him to its meetings there to present his views in regard to the Service which is under so great obligations to him.⁴²

As mayor, Coste was diligent in striving to assure the vitality of the city of 50,000 inhabitants, which had few resources and was in a serious condition after the departure of the Court. He was active in providing work for the poor and in quieting the agitations that were caused by the pitiful condition of a large part of the population. "The astonishing calmness which he exhibited in the midst of popular agitations, to which he owed his success in avoiding the suppression of riots by brutal and bloody means was seen again and again." Broussais said: "The day will never be forgotten on which this fearless magistrate, standing alone between an army and a population equally turbulent, restrained both by his invincible firmness."⁴²

Brillat-Savarin called his administration "active, kind and fatherly."³⁴ Simon said: "By his energy, his eloquence and his uprightness he was able to maintain peace and harmony in his municipality in the bloody hours of the Revolution."³¹

He was courageous in his public utterances and tried to impress upon his hearers the duties of citizenship. Referring to the oath they had taken, he said, "Citizens, these words are sacred. They express your duties, your rights and the advantages which result from them." At another time he said:

"My oaths are sacred; the time for their fulfillment has come. Public order ought to be the first effect of their accomplishment; such was the object of the reforms which our patriotism urged, such is the goal toward which all our effort should tend.

On the occasion of the death of Mirabeau he said:

Brushing aside the thoughts of his private life, the errors which humanity is heir to, let us draw a religious veil over the weaknesses of the man and look only upon the services he rendered the fatherland which are evident to everyone. Let the people weep for Mirabeau! The people whose best friend he was. The people to

whom he restored the name and dignity that belonged to them. May they ever maintain that dignity as they keep in mind the rights of man, never forgetting the duties of the citizen.⁴²

As he distributed the prizes at the recently secularized schools he said:

Though education was always an inestimable good, it has become strictly a necessity under the condition of affairs established by the Constitution. Not all citizens are called upon to be administrators but do not forget that they are all called upon to choose their administrators.⁴²

At the last official ceremony as mayor, that of the proclamation of the Constitution, he closed his speech with, "Remember, citizens, that, in the social order, the more one is a slave of the law, the freer one is."⁴²

On another occasion he wrote:

I learned from these true philosophers . . . to detest license as the most cruel enemy of liberty. I learned from them that submission to law is its greatest support. In their school I learned that the social rights of man have no solid basis except the duties of the citizen.⁴²

It was natural that one of his first projects as mayor should have been to reorganize the hospitals and put them on a good basis. He was also "one of the founders of the Library of Versailles under the following circumstances. At a meeting of the Council in April 1790, a municipal officer presented it with a book entitled 'Demetrius or the Education of a Prince.' The next day the Mayor presented a work entitled 'Hospital Service restored to its true principles.' These two works were the first to start the library of that city which today numbers more than 100,000 volumes."⁴²

On November 13, 1791, there was a new election of officers. There were two ballots before a majority vote was obtained.

On the third, Richard Hyacinthe was elected by 650 votes out of 1169, and proclaimed Mayor of Versailles. This vote brought about the resignation of a number of municipal officers and, Coste, on the occasion of his departure, received many visits and tokens of friendship. . . . Among these expressions of sympathy that of the Twelfth Section especially affected him. The president of the Twelfth Section with his colleagues and a number of the more important citizens of that part of the city came to his house and

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addressed him as follows: "Mr. Mayor, we are instructed to offer you the sincere regret and the respectful homage of the Twelfth Section of Versailles. This task would inspire us only with a sense of affliction if we were not convinced that your example, your talents and your virtues, will create a valuable emulation in the minds of those who will be called to fulfill the functions which you have so admirably performed." The delegation asked to have its address read to the Municipal Council and inserted in its minutes as "a testimonial of the regard in which the citizens of the Twelfth Section held M. Coste, the first elective Mayor of Versailles."⁴²

Later Life—After his retirement as mayor, the rest of Coste's life was filled by the work of the various military positions elsewhere enumerated which he held uninterruptedly until his death. During the Terror he was removed from his position on the Council of Health (October 21, 1793), but was later replaced. He did not cease to hold his position as Chief Physician of the Armies during that time. In 1808 he went to Milan, Geneva, and Alexandria to study the hospitals there.⁴² He served in the campaign of Austerlitz, Jena, and Eylau. In 1809 Coste was relieved from field service and went back to Paris.²⁹ He had been made Chief Physician of the Hôtel des Invalides some years before. He held this position, together with several others as long as he lived. He died on November 8, 1819, of an affection of the lungs.³⁸ Official eulogies were given by Willaume, Brassier, Broussais and Vaidy, at Metz, Strasburg, Paris and Lille. The first of these was chosen for publication "because it appeared more complete."⁴⁴

Medical Work and Writings—Coste was connected with the medical service of the army for a little over fifty years, the whole of his medical life with the exception of a few years at its beginning. His first writings were on the epidemic at Gex which brought him to the notice of Voltaire who assisted him in entering his career of military medicine. His most important writings were on military medicine and were published with a view to improving that service. Some of the subjects treated were management of military hospitals, sanitation for the army in Italy, and courses of instruction in military hospitals. His last publication, two years before his death, was the article of seventy-seven pages on Hospitals in the "Dictionnaire des Sciences Médicales."

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The book on *Military Hospitals*⁴⁹ is considered to be his best. Of it Picquet says,

It contains so complete a program of useful reforms which laid so firm a basis for the administration and organization of military medicine that we can say that today the hygiene and the organization of the military service in the hospitals still bears the imprint put upon them by the work of Jean-François Coste.⁴²

and Bégin in his history of the French Military Sanitary Service says:

When we consult the annals of academies, when we examine the progress of science, when we open the libraries, we find on all sides, in the first ranks, the officers of the military sanitary service, associating with the difficult duties of active service, observation which enlightens, meditation which is fruitful, publication and teaching which diffuses knowledge. Their names are engraved on the Arc de Triomphe consecrated to the military glories of France, as well as in the history of the benefactors of humanity.

It would be easy to cite a large number of these names, which still live in the memory of the army and of the country. It will suffice to recall, in medicine, the venerated Coste, des Genettes, Gorey, Brassier, Rampont, Vaidy, and in genius, the greatest of all, Broussais ⁴⁵

Coste was always seeking to better the conditions of the hospitals, and never hesitated to attack abuses connected with their administration. Reference has already been made to his resignation, when a young officer, because he found it impossible to correct the abuses that were taking place in the hospital at Nancy. Picquet relates that at the end of 1792 Coste was warned by the Minister Puy-Segur that if he intended to keep his position he should be more careful in expressing his opinions in regard to hospital conditions. Coste replied, "Threats cannot move me" and continued to express his opinions.⁴²

His fearlessness never left him. Brillat-Savarin gives an incident that occurred toward the end of his life.

One day when we dined with M. Favre, the curé of Saint-Laurent, our compatriot, Doctor Coste told me of the lively quarrel he had had on that very day with the Count de Cessac, then the Director of the administration of war, about an economy which the latter intended to propose for the purpose of winning Napoleon's favor.

This economy consisted in restricting the soldiers to one half of their allowance of toast water and of having the lint that was used for dressing their wounds washed so that it might be used two or three times.

The doctor had violently protested against these measures which he qualified as abominable, and he was still so full of his subject, that he became as angry as though the object of his wrath were still present.

I never was able to find out whether the count was really converted and had left his economy unrepresented; but the thing that is certain is that the sick soldiers were always able to drink as much toast water as they wished, and that all lint that had been used for dressings was thrown away.³⁴

Brillat-Savarin also says that after he had reached an influential position in the Military Sanitary Service, Coste "was constantly the friend, protector and father of the young men who were embarking on this career."

Coste's early association with Rousseau and more especially with Voltaire had much influence on him. It was by Voltaire's influence that Coste got his start in the career of military medicine and he always retained and frequently expressed a feeling of gratitude toward him. This gratitude perhaps made him a not impartial judge of his teacher. He not only makes Voltaire the greatest philosopher of the eighteenth century but places him as the rival of Newton, Sophocles, Archimedes and Plato.

Voltaire's influence accounts for Coste's interest in philosophy, and for his writings on the relation of philosophy to belles-lettres and to medicine.

Coste defines his conception of philosophy as "cultivated intelligence, (*raison*), brought to such a point of perfection as human weakness permits, and applied to ways of making men happy by the practice of virtue, the knowledge of good and the enjoyment of pleasure . . . in a word as a force of the intellect (*raison*) which results in thinking, saying and doing great things."⁴² Add to this his statement that "The simpler the art of medicine is, the better it is, and the more rich,"¹⁵ consider his admiration for Hippocrates and his methods, and it is clear that Coste had a philosophy well "suited to the study and practice of medicine."

Appearance and Character—Willaume thus describes Coste:

His bearing and his gait were noble, his manners dignified, his

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face grave, his look penetrating, his voice strong and sonorous, his language of sustained elegance, his tone solemn, in a word all his person imposed respect.⁴⁴

Enough has been said to show that Coste was an honest administrator, and a courageous critic of abuses.

In 1792 he was attacked by political enemies whom he had exposed and who succeeded in 1793 in removing him from the Council of Health. A few passages from his letter to the Minister Pache on this occasion show his method of defending his colleagues and himself.

It is my privilege, Citizen Minister, to make a frontal attack on the objection which is stated to be the prime motive, that is to say, the prime pretext of the new formation which is proposed to you. The former officers are accused of a lack of devotion to civic principles. I affirm, under oath, that I have never heard a single one of my colleagues express an opinion in our meetings that was not in accordance with the general desire. I affirm that the two colleagues with whom I conducted the inspection did not let a single chance escape to disseminate the expression of the profoundest respect for the laws and their administrators. As for myself, Citizen Minister, can anyone, in good faith, question the patriotism of him who from his earliest youth has sacrificed his time, his talents, and his family's money in the service of his Country and of its allies? Can anyone believe that he could have been the enemy of liberty or the friend or partisan of arbitrary power, who under the ancient regime, incessantly denounced and prosecuted abuses, who though having a large family dependent on him for support, was able to give up positions which assured him of food when he was not permitted to fill them as his sense of duty prescribed that he should fill them. . . . Did I fear to express myself on the subject of ministerial agents? Is there a single injustice, a single abuse against which I did not cry out? . . .

But the most cowardly, the most perfidious of their calumnies has been to attribute to me a stipend (*traitement*) on the civil list. Imagine me among the crowd of courtiers or intrigants!! Those who dare to say it do not believe it. They will not succeed in making it believed. I challenge them formally to prove that I ever made any applications to the court other than perfectly open ones prescribed by the orders of the Commune of Versailles in regard to its interests or to solicit the important assistance which I was fortunate enough to procure for its poor. Let them show the riches I have acquired!—Let them enumerate the favors that I have obtained, the positions I have occupied at Court,—or those that I have asked for!

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When Voltaire assisted me to enter the career of military medicine, I had a moderate fortune, sufficient for my needs. My numerous changes of location, all motivated by the good of the service, have used it up. I have a wife and six children. We have nothing left, absolutely nothing except the consolation which results from irreproachable conduct worthy perhaps of a better fate.

These circumstances, Citizen Minister, are not at all the reasons of my protest. Far be it from me to insist on things which I owe my Country. Such a sentiment is offensive to a free man. As a subject I will never ask a favor. As a citizen I demand only strict justice.

To any other minister I should say, The law guarantees me this: it forbids that anyone be deprived arbitrarily of his position without a trial. Let a court martial be formed to decide on my conduct. Let them introduce my words, my writings, my actions, or the neglect of duty they impute to me. I am ready to reply to the most trivial as well as to the gravest charges:

But to you, Citizen Minister, I content myself with saying: If, since 1763, zeal and success have marked my services in all the circumstances of peace and war in which a physician might be placed, if my perseverance, if my attachment to the principles of careful conduct, of simplicity and economy have led to a succession of personal sacrifices, if my known works, if the respect with which my colleagues honor me, if judgment which comes from long experience with men and affairs have given me any claim to the position which I have filled for nine years, then interest in the Republic, the love of my Country and of Humanity, make it my duty to continue the exercise of the functions which I have shown myself capable of exercising. But I assure you, Citizen Minister, that whether fortunate or not, whether I have means of subsistence or whether I am surrounded with want and privation, if by an inconceivable fate my other rights are abrogated, I will never give up that of being of service. My most earnest prayers plead for the reform of abuses which still exist in the Sanitary Service of the Armies, and all my strength will be exerted toward bringing that Service up to that degree of perfection of which it is susceptible.⁴²

Coste "devoted his entire life to the service of the noblest ideals"⁴² and "died surrounded by esteem, and respected by all the officers of the Sanitary Corps. His courage and his self denial, his devotion to the Military Sanitary Corps will surely save his name from oblivion."³⁶

The following official letter written just after his death is an interesting testimonial to the value of his services:

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Paris, November 20, 1819.

The Governor of the Hôtel des Invalides (Maréchal Duc de Coigny) to the Minister of War (Maréchal Gouvion-Saint-Cyr).

Your Excellency has been informed of the loss the Hôtel has sustained in M. Coste, Chief Physician of the Invalides. I believe that in informing you of this unfortunate occurrence I had the honor to inform you at the same time of the universal regret that it aroused.

I know that you will constantly bear in mind the so eminent qualities which were united in him when it comes to deciding upon the amount of pension due his widow. I therefore feel it my duty to give striking testimony to the superiority and indefatigable zeal which he constantly evidenced in the exercise of his functions. I will not go into details in regard to his numerous services. I limit myself to calling to your attention that for forty years he was Chief Physician of the Armies. This high position was due only to his distinguished abilities. It is particularly because of the nobility and disinterestedness with which he performed his service that I appeal to you for the exercise of all that solicitude and benevolent interest, of which you on several occasions gave him such positive proof.

I am not ignorant, Monsieur le Maréchal, that you hold M. Coste in the highest esteem. I who am in a position to appreciate his great qualities better than anyone else, share all your feelings for him. I do not hesitate to add that the King had no subject who was more intent on fulfilling the important duties and tasks which were entrusted to him.

No doubt it is not fitting for me to go into the question of what the services have been, of those Chief Physicians of the Army whose widows have been pensioned. But your Excellency cannot have failed to notice that the services of M. Coste and the rare devotion which he displayed during his long career, place him in an unique position, and that in both respects, he cannot be likened to any of his predecessors.

His family, Monsieur le Maréchal, is full of confidence in your justice. I join my urgent solicitations to theirs, and I can not too strongly beseech your Excellency to recommend Madame Coste to the bounty of the King *in the most urgent manner*.

I have the honor to be, etc.⁴²

Coste was not one of the great physicians of his time but he was a physician of ability and high character who held important positions and whose long life was devoted to faithful and courageous service in all the positions occupied.

He always remembered and often referred to his American ex-

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periences and especially to his relations with Washington and Franklin and to their ideals of liberty. His pleasant memories of America may perhaps be best inferred from the fact that he named a daughter Virginia.⁴⁴

In spite of the small amount of information obtainable in regard to his services here, it is quite evident that they were not inconsiderable as the recognition, an honorary degree from William and Mary College, one from the University of Pennsylvania, and an election to the American Philosophical Society, was unusual for a physician at that time.

Coste's name deserves to be remembered along with those of more illustrious Frenchmen whose services were valuable in the establishment of American Independence.

DIPLOMA GIVEN TO COSTE BY WILLIAM & MARY COLLEGE,
JUNE 12, 1782.

*Journal of the President and Masters or Professors of
William and Mary College.*

At a Meeting of ye Presid^t and Professors on ye 12^h June 1782.

Resolved, that a Degree of Doctor of Physic be conferred upon Doct^r Coste first physician to ye French Army—of which ye following is a Diploma.

Omnibus ad quos praesentes Literae pervenerint Praeses et Professores Universitatis Gulielmi & Mariae in Virginia—
Salutem:

Quum in Charta Nostra nobis concessum & confirmatum fuit, ut eos qui se literis et suis studiis praecipue ornarunt, Gradibus Academici Decoremus, quum volumus in hujusmodi honorem talis imprimis evehi vivos, quales nobis, et juventuti Virginiensi exemplum valde egregium praebeant; Quumque Joannem Franciscum Coste, Genevensen saluberrimarum medicinae facultatum Parisiensis Alumnum, Valentiensis Doctorem, Noscomii militaris et Arcis Caletensis Medicum & regis medicinae Societatibus Londinensi, Ediburgensi, Parissiensis, regii Lotharingorum medicorum collegiis, socium Honorarium et regiis Scientiarum artium et literarum academiis Nanceiana, Lugdunensi, Divionensi et patrioticis Sueciae et Hessiae, Hamburgensis, Societatibus, ex humana Societati Philadelphiensi Christianissimi regis Exercitus in America Archiatrum nobis commendarunt summi artis suae Honores a celeberrimis universitatibus supradictis in eum collati, nec non insignia quae nobis ipse obtulit doctrinae ingeniique sui monumenta:

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Ideirco in Solenni convocatione die duodecimo mensis Junii Anno Dom 1782 conspirantibus omnium Suffragiis eundem Joannem Franciscum Coste Medicinae Doctorem renunciavimus et constituimus eumque singulis honoribus et Privilegiis ad istum gradum inter nos pertinentibus frui et gaudere jussimus. In cujus rei testimonium his literis Sigillum Universitatis Gulielmi et Mariae apponi curavimus.⁶⁹

DIPLOMA GIVEN TO COSTE BY THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA DECEMBER 23, 1782.

À tous ceux auxquels la présente lettre parviendra, Salut !

Comme le grade d'académicien a été établi afin que les hommes qui ont bien mérité de l'Académie, de l'Eglise, de la République, et qui ont été élevés dans le giron de notre mère ou bien instruits ailleurs dans les beaux-arts, soient distingués du vulgaire, sachez que nous, préfet, vice-préfet, et autres professeurs de l'Université de Pensylvanie, après avoir concédé librement et attentivement les grades de docteurs en Médecine, nous attestons combien nous estimons Jean-François Coste, premier médecin de l'Armée du Roi très chrétien en Amérique, homme pleinement instruit dans l'art médical et dont les meours bienveillantes nous ont entièrement attaché à son roi et à la nation française. C'est pourquoi tous nos suffrages sont pour créer et établir docteur en Médecine, l'homme honorable et remarquable Jean-François Coste, à qui, en vertu de ce diplôme, nous avons accordé de jouir de tous les droits particuliers des honneurs et privilèges attachés à ce grade.

Pour attestation nous posons le cachet public de Pensylvanie à la présente lettre.

Donné à Philadelphie, 22 décembre 1782.

Gulielmus Shippen, doct. médecin, prof. d'anatomie.

Johannes Ewing, doct, prof. préfet.

Sam. Magan, vice-préfet.

Jac Davidson, prof.

Joh. Christoph. Hauze, prof.

Robertus Davidson, prof. hist.

Archibaldus Qamblelin, prof.

Robertus Waterson, prof. math.

Note.—This is Picquet's translation.⁴² The original diploma is probably in France.

COSTE'S OFFICIAL POSITIONS.

Médecin des troupes dans la région de Gex 1766-1769.

Médecin de l'hôpital militaire de Versoy du 15 août 1769 au 13 septembre 1772.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS COSTE

Médecin en survivance de l'hôpital de Nancy du 14 septembre 1772 au 3 décembre 1775.

Médecin de l'hôpital de Calais du 4 décembre 1775 au 11 mars 1780.

Premier médecin du Corps du général Rochambeau du 12 mars 1780. du 25 mars 1784.

Premier médecin des Armées du 26 mars 1784 au 26 juillet 1785.

Inspecteur du service de santé des départements de Lille, Amiens, Valenciennes, Chalons, Metz, et Paris du 27 juillet 1785 au 16 mai 1788.

Membre du Conseil de Santé du 17 mai 1788 au 4 août 1788.

Premier médecin des troupes du Camp de Saint-Omer du 5 août 1788 au 6 juillet 1792.

Maire de la Ville de Versailles du 9 mars, 1790 (elected Feb. 8.) au 13 novembre 1791.

Inspecteur du Service de Santé des hôpitaux à la suite des armées du Nord, du centre et du Rhin, du 7 juillet 1792 au 26 février 1793.

Membre du Conseil de Santé militaire du 27 février au 20 mars 1793.

Premier médecin des Armées et membre du Conseil de Santé militaire du 21 mars au 20 octobre 1793.

Revoqué de sa qualité de membre du Conseil de Santé, le 21 octobre 1793 et resté en activité seulement comme premier médecin des armées jusqu'au 30 janvier 1795.

Premier médecin des armées avec cumulation du grade de membre du Conseil de Santé du 25 juillet 1796.

Médecin en chef titulaire de l'Hôtel Royal des Invalides du 26 juillet 1796 et nommé successivement :

Membre du Conseil de Santé, le 2 avril 1800.

Médecin en chef de l'armée des Côtes de l'Océan devenue Grande Armée le 18 décembre 1802.

Inspecteur général du Service de Santé le 15 décembre 1803 et médecin en chef de la Grande Armée.

Autorisé à rentrer à l'Inspection générale le 21 mars 1807.

Membre du Conseil de Santé militaire le 10 janvier 1816.

Mort dans l'exercice de ses fonctions en ladite qualité et comme Médecin en chef de l'Hôtel Royal des Invalides, le 8 novembre 1819.

Note.—This list is taken mostly from Picquet's article.⁴²

D. Parifat, D.M.P.

novissime et eximie

aphorismorum Hippocrati,

ex græcâ in latinam simul et gallicam linguam,

translationis,

quæ me benigne donavit,

authori,

Hoc, eorundem aphorismorum

ex tracti, quodacumque specimen,

in grati animi telegramm,

D.D.D. Coste.

23 Jul. 1818.

COSTE'S HANDWRITING

From the fly leaf of the copy of the *Oratio* in the Library of the
New York Academy of Medicine.



PORTRAIT OF COSTE

From the copy of the *Oratio* in the Library of the New York
Academy of Medicine.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS COSTE

SOCIETY MEMBERSHIPS AND HONORARY DEGREES

Membre de l'Académie de Stanislas, (Société Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Nancy: Société des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Nancy), 1774.⁴⁰

Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur from its foundation, May 19, 1802.

Officier de la Légion d'Honneur.

Commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur and given Cordon d'Or de Saint-Michel by Louis XVIII in 1814.²⁹

Honorary member Royal Society of Medicine of London; of Edinburg; of Paris; and of the Royal College of Physicians of Lothringen.

Honorary Fellow of the National Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters of Sweden, and of Hesse-Homburg.^{17, 5}

Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters of Leyden and of Dijon.

Honorary M. D. William and Mary College, June 12, 1782.^{53, 69}

Honorary M. D. University of Pennsylvania, December 23, 1782⁶⁸

Member Humane Society of Philadelphia.¹⁷

Fellow American Philosophical Society, January 18, 1783.⁵⁵

Note.—It has been impossible to verify some of the memberships. Those not verified are as given by Coste. He did not always give the correct form to the names of Societies to which he belonged.

COSTE'S WRITINGS

1. Mémoires (deux) sur l'épidémie du pays de Gex. Gex, 1763.
2. Lettre à M. Joly sur l'épidémie de Colonges au pays de Gex. Gex, 1763.
3. (Translated): Shaw, Peter: Méthode générale d'analyses, ou Recherches physiques sur les moyens de connaître toutes les eaux minérales. Paris, 1767.
4. Traité des maladies du poulmon. 1767.
5. Traité pratique sur la goutte, Paris, Herissant, 1768.
6. Éloge de M. Pierrot, membre de l'académie de chirurgie. Nancy, 1773.
7. Des avantages de la philosophie relativement aux belles-lettres. Nancy, LeClerc, 1774.

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8. Essai sur les moyens d'améliorer la salubrité du séjour de Nancy. Nancy, J-B-H-LeClerc, 1774.
9. Du genre de philosophie propre à l'étude et à la pratique de la médecine. Discours de réception à l'Académie royale des sciences, arts et belles lettres de Nancy, lu dans la séance publique du 25 août 1774. IV, Nancy, J-H-B-LeClerc, 1775.
10. (Translated): Necker, Noël Joseph de: Physiologie des corps organisés. Édition française du livre publié en latin à Manheim, sous le titre de "Physiologie des Mousses," Bouillon, 1775.
11. (Translated): Mead, Richard: Recueil des oeuvres physiques et médicales publiées en anglais et en latin, Bouillon. 1774.
12. Éloge de M. Cupers. Lu dans la séance publique du 25 août 1775. Nancy, J-H-B-LeClerc, 1775.
13. Lettres à M. Paulet, pour servir de réponse à un factum de celui-ci, contre Abu-Becker, Mohammed Rhazes, le docteur Mead, M. Roux et l'auteur aussi flatté qu'émerveillé de se trouver en aussi bonne compagnie. Cantobéry, Simmons & Kerny, 1776.
14. (With Willemet M): Essais botaniques chimiques et pharmaceutiques sur quelques plantes indigènes substituées avec succès à des végétaux exotiques, aux quels on a joint des observations médicales sur les mêmes objets, Nancy, Vve. LeClerc, 1778-80, Nouvelle édition, 1793.
15. Compendium pharmaceuticum Militaribus Gallorum nosocomus in orbe novo boreali adscriptum, Newporti, Henrici Barber, 1780.
16. Mémoire sur l'asphyxie, demandé par la société humaine de Philadelphie à l'ambassadeur de France, Philadelphie, 1780. (Traduit en Anglais.)
17. De Antiqua Medico-philosophia orbi novo adaptanda, Oratio habita in capitolio Gulielmopolitano in comitiis universatit Virginiae Die XII Junii M.DCC.LXXXII, Lugduni Batavorum, 1783.
18. Idem. Journal de Médecine Militaire de Dehorne, 2, 267-308, 1783. (A brief account of the oration and a translation of a large part of it.)
19. Du service des hôpitaux militaires rappelé aux vrais principes, Paris, Croullebois, 1790.

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20. Avis sur les moyens de conserver et de rétablir la santé des troupes à l'armée d'Italie, Paris 1796.
21. Vues générales sur les cours d'instruction des hôpitaux militaires, 1796.
22. Éloge de Joseph-Adam Lorentz, médecin en chef de l'armée du Rhin, prononcé au Conseil de santé, le 2 germinal an IX, (1800) par le premier médecin des armées, Paris. (No date.)
23. Précis historique de l'importation et de la naturalisation en France du *Reum palmatum* Linné, de la Tartarie chinoise, c'est à dire de la rhubarbe de 1^{re} qualité, Paris, S. A. Hugelot, an XIV, (1805).
24. (With Percy, Pierre-Francois) De la santé des troupes à la grande armée, Strasbourg, imp. de Levrault, 1806.
25. Notices sur les officiers de santé de la grande armée morts en Allemagne, victimes de leur zèle, depuis le 1^{er} février, 1806, Augsburg, J. B. Roesi, (1806).
26. Discours sur la restauration des hôpitaux d'instruction en 1814.
27. Précis du traitement des maladies vénériennes par l'opium, ordonné et exécuté à l'hôpital de Lille.
28. Article "Hôpital" in: Dictionnaire des sciences médicales, Paris, 1817, XXI, pp. 367-544.

Note.—Eloy says that some publications have been wrongly attributed to Coste. This list has been compiled from many different sources. As far as possible it was verified by consulting the works themselves, but as many items were inaccessible, there may be some inaccuracies. The only copy of No. 15 that I have been able to trace is in the Surgeon-General's Library. Nos. 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17, 24, 25 are in the Surgeon-General's Library. No. 17 is in several libraries in this country. No copy of No. 16 has been found.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

29. Biographie des hommes Vivants, Paris, Michaud 1816-17, II, p. 244-5.
30. Biographisches Lexikon der Hervorragenden Aertze allen Zeiten und Völken, 1885, II, p. 89.
31. Bonnette: Éloge du médecin-inspector Coste, à le fête de l'Indépendance Américaine, à Versailles (July 4, 1918), La Presse Médicale 27, Sup. 655, Aug. 21, 1919.

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32. Idem: Medical Pickwick, 6, 47, 1920, (Abstract by A. N. Blodgett).
33. Idem: Eulogy of Inspector General Coste, The Americana Collector, 1, 11, 1925. (Blodgett's abstract annotated by Earl Gregg Swem.)
34. Brillat-Savarin, J.-A.: Physiologie du Goût ou Méditations de Gastronomie transcendante: ouvrage théorique, historique et à l'ordre du jour, etc. Paris, Charpentier, (1847), p. 18-19.
35. Cabanès, A.: Chirurgiens et Blessés à travers l'Histoire, Paris, Albin Michel, (no date), p. 301, note.
36. des Cilleuls, J.: Un médecin militaire, ami de Voltaire, Chronique Médicale, 24, 259, Sept. 1, 1917.
37. Dezeimeris: Dictionnaire Historique de la Médecine, 1828, I, p. 872.
38. Dictionnaire des Sciences Médicales. Biographie Médicale, 1821, III, p. 337.
39. Eloy, N. F. J.: Dictionnaire historique de la médecine 1778, I, p. 718.
40. Favier, J.: Table alphabétique des publications de l'Académie de Stanislas, 1750-1900. 1902, p. 90.
41. Nouvelle Biographie Générale, Paris 1856, XI, p. 76.
42. Picquet, Charles: Un homme illustre du département de l'Ain, le Docteur Jean-François Coste, Annales de la Société d'Émulation et d'Agriculture de l'Ain, 24, I-VII & 209-252, 1901.
43. Quérard, J. M.: La France littéraire, Paris 1827, I, p. 299.
44. Willaume: Éloge historique de M. J.-F Coste prononcé à la séance de la distribution des prix le 9 novembre 1820, à l'hôpital militaire d'instruction de Metz, Recueil de Mém. de Méd., de Chir., et de Phar. militaires, Paris, 1821, IX, p. 315-340. Also editorial note, p. 340.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS CONSULTED

45. Bégin, L. J.: Études sur le Service de Santé Militaire en France. Son passé, son present, sur avenir, Paris, Baillière, 1849, p. 1-88.
46. Blanchard, Claude: The Journal of Claude Blanchard. Translated from a French Manuscript by William Duane and edited by Thomas Balch, Albany, J. Munsell, 1876.

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47. Clarke, E. H., Bigelow, H. J., Gross, S. D., Thomas, T. G., and Billings, J. S.: *A Century of American Medicine*, 1876, p. 298, note.
48. Curtis, Edward E.: *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution*, Yale University Press, 1926, p. 10.
49. de Lauzun: *Mémoires du Duc de Lauzun*, ed. 2, notes, etc., by L. Lacour, Paris, 1858.
50. Forbes, Allan, and Cadman, Paul F.: *France and New England*; Boston, State Street Trust Co., 1925.
51. Garrison, F. H.: *An Introduction to the History of Medicine*, ed. 2, Saunders, 1917.
52. Griffin, A. P. C.: *List of works relating to the French Alliance in the American Revolution*, Government Printing Office, 1907.
53. *The History of the College of William and Mary (Including the General Catalogue) from its foundation, 1660, to 1874*, Richmond, J. W. Randolph and English, 1874, p. 165.
54. Jusserand, J. J.: *With Americans of Past and Present Days*, Scribner, 1916.
55. *List of Members of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia, 1838, p. 10.
56. *Magazine of American History*, 3, 431, 1879.
57. Noailles, Vicomte de: *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis (1778-1783)*, Perrin, 1903.
58. Packard, F. R.: *The History of Medicine in the United States*, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1901.
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60. Scharf, J. T. and Wescott, T.: *History of Philadelphia*, (3 Vols.) Philadelphia, Everts & Company, 1884. Vol. II, p. 1477.
61. Stone, E. M.: *Our French Allies*, Providence Press Company, 1884.
62. Thacher, James: *A Military Journal during the American*

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- Revolutionary War from 1775 to 1783, Boston, Richardson and Lord, 1823.
63. Tilton, James: *Economical Observations on Military Hospitals: and the Prevention and Cure of Diseases Incident to an Army*, Wilmington, 1813, p. 63-4.
 64. Tyler, L. G.: *Williamsburg, The Old Colonial Capitol*, Richmond, Whittet and Shepperson, 1907.
 65. Van Swieten: *The Diseases incident to Armies with the Method of Cure*. Translated from the original of Baron Van Swieten, physician to their Imperial Majesties, to which are added: *The Nature and Treatment of Gun-Shot Wounds*. By John Ranby, Esq.; Surgeon General to the British Army. Likewise, some brief directions, to be observed by sea surgeons in engagements. Also, *Preventatives of the Scurvy at Sea*. By William Northcote, Surgeon, many years in the Sea-Service. Published, for the use of Military, and Naval Surgeons in America. Philadelphia, Printed: Boston: Re-printed by E. Draper, for J. Douglass McDougall. Opposite the Old-South Meeting-House, 1777.
 66. Voltaire: *Oeuvres Complètes de Voltaire*, Paris, Firmin Didot Frères, 1855, XII, p. 994.
 67. *Washington Manuscripts*. Vol. 208, No. 28004, 1782, Library of Congress. Rough draft of letter to Coste in handwriting of Tench Tilghman.
 68. Weidman, Fred D.: *Personal Communication*, Dec. 30, 1926.
 69. *William and Mary Quarterly*, 15, p. 266, 1907. Diploma, from Journal of the President and Masters of William and Mary College meeting of June 12, 1782.

NOTE.—The material here collected has been gathered slowly during several years. I have received assistance in locating material from many individuals, especially from librarians and secretaries of historical societies, to whom I am pleased to express my indebtedness.

I am especially indebted to Mr. Earl Gregg Swem of William and Mary College for information from the College records and for the photograph of the daguerreotype of the College Building used as a hospital by the French troops: to Doctor Fred D. Weidman of the University of Pennsylvania for information from the records of that institution: to Lieutenant-Colonel Fielding H. Garrison for assistance in locating material: to Miss Emily H. Hall and Miss A. S. Pratt of the Yale University Library for the same reason: to Professor Milton Garver of Yale University for securing the photograph of the portrait of Coste in the Hôtel-de-Ville of Versailles: to Professor Clarence W. Mendel of Yale University for the translation of many passages from Coste's Latin works.



Alfred G. Kent

Backert and Allied Families

By W. S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



HERE are many who have lived to receive octogenarian and centenarian honors, but aside from the fact of their having lived to so great an age there is little of interest in their life's history. But the man who during his life time, whether it be of long or short duration, has used his talents and opportunities to the best of his advantage, and at the end can show a record of worthy activity and usefulness, is one who has lived his life well, and although he has passed on to more important duties in the life beyond the works that he accomplished in the material world will remain as testimonials of his worth.

To the latter class belonged Adolphus Otto Backert. His sudden death, April 25, 1927, at his home in Cleveland, Ohio, was not only a severe shock to his many friends and business associates, but a distinct loss to the community. He was allowed only forty-nine years in which to achieve success, but in glancing back over those years, it is found that he accomplished much; that he was a man of ceaseless activity, and was regarded as a valuable citizen of Cleveland.

He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, February 3, 1876, the son of Anton and Jennie (George) Backert. His scholastic training was that of the average boy. He attended and graduated from the Cleveland Central High School, then followed that by a course of study at the Western Reserve University. This completed his training as far as schools were concerned, but by devoting his leisure hours to thoughtful reading, and by being a close observer of methods and practice, he was, in later years, recognized as an authority on those subjects with which his business interests were allied. On entering business he became associated with the old "Cleveland World" as its political writer, continuing to fill the requirements of this office until the year 1900, when he became associate editor of the "Iron Trade Review" and "The Foundry." He also had charge of the Pittsburgh offices of these publications until the year 1906, then being offered a position with the "Iron Age" of New York, as its

BACKERT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Western editor, with offices in Chicago, he accepted that offer and removed to Chicago. He remained only two years, however, then returned again to Cleveland to take up similar duties with the Penton Publishing Company. Here he became editor of "The Foundry," and the engineering editor of the "Iron Trade Review." His adaptability for this type of work had become strongly manifest, and he was continually being promoted from one editorship to another. In 1912 he was signally honored by being made vice-president and general manager of the company, then in 1924 he was elevated to the still higher post of president, which position he was filling most ably at the time of his death, as well as that of general manager.

Beside being a successful business man, he was a writer of unusual ability; his more important articles and books, however, being on subjects relating to his business, such as foundry practice and iron and steel activities. He was also the editor of the "A B C of Iron and Steel." Mr. Backert became a leader in the foundry industry and not only was he recognized as such in this country, but in England, France, Germany, and Australia. It was he who conceived the idea of the Allied Metal Congress, which was first held in 1918 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and in 1919 when the Interallied Foundrymen's Convention was held in Philadelphia, he made a special trip to Europe. While abroad he was the guest of honor at the British foundrymen's dinner, and guest of a number of the leading British iron and steel and metal work leaders. He was a past president of the American Business Papers, Incorporated; a member of the executive committee of the National Publishers' Association; a member of the Iron and Steel Institute; and a member of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers.

Mr. Backert was a public-spirited citizen of the highest type, and a man who in a life rich in work and success, never tired of giving a word of cheer or aid of a more substantial kind to worthy individuals less fortunate than himself. He gave because he found joy in the giving and in most instances it was known only to himself and the recipient. He was a man of genuine integrity, cheerful in disposition, unaffected in manner, and honest and straightforward in all his dealings with mankind. It is therefore not strange that he had so large a circle of devoted and loyal friends, who mourn his loss. To him his home was a center of interest and it was there



Beatrice Fielding Bachert

BACKERT AND ALLIED FAMILIES

in the company of his loved ones and his books (for he had a library of choice volumes), that he found his greatest relaxation from the demands of his busy life. His home was located on beautiful Lake Avenue, and was one of which both Mr. and Mrs. Backert could feel justly proud, having been designed by Mrs. Backert.

The marriage of Adolphus Otto Backert took place in 1899, at Windsor, Ontario, Canada, to Beatrice M. Fielding, a daughter of Walter and Alice (Pitt) Fielding. (See Fielding III). She was a woman of unusual attainments and a real helpmate to her distinguished husband. To this union was born one daughter, Edith Beatrice, who with her mother survives.

(The Feilding-Fielding Line).

Arms—Argent, on a fesse azure three lozenges or.

Crest—A nuthatch with a hazel branch fructed all proper.

Supporters—Two bucks proper attired and unguled or.

Motto—*Virtutis praeium honor.*

The ancient Fielding family, the name of which is found also spelled Feilding, was one of importance and influence, its blood mingled with that of nobility. Sons of this distinguished family, for their deeds of valor and heroic efforts received from the King the much coveted armorial insignia and they have had bestowed upon them many titles of honor including those of knights and earls. Fielding, as a surname, according to Harrison in his "Surnames of the United Kingdom," is a variation of Fielden, from an Old English plural of "field," and signifies a dweller at the fields; or perhaps of a compound with "ing," a meadow, meaning "meadow of the field."

The assumed descent of the family from the house of Hapsburg, which has found its way into Dugdale's historical works and the Peerages, and therefore long considered authentic, has been quite thoroughly proved by the English historian, John H. Round, a specialist and expert on the history of peers, to be founded on several forged documents, especially, six German deeds, two of 1307, two of 1309, and two of 1365. One of the documents of 1307 calls Adolph the reigning emperor, though he died in 1298, nine years before. Herrgott, the Imperial Historiographer, an unimpeachable authority, shows of the pretended ancestor Galfridus, *fili* Galfridi, the nearest corresponding name, "Gotfrid, *ob puer*," that is, "died a boy;" and the "Allegemeine Deutsche Biographie" states posi-

tively that Rudolf, son of Gottfried, born July 15, 1270, was now the only remaining son of Gottfried. The forger attempted to explain the English name Feilding as from Rinfilding, for Rheinfelden, but Herrgot states that in our monuments the name Rheinfelden never occurs, and shows that Rheinfelden belonged directly to the Emperor. Round says of the forgeries: "Everything points to Basil, second Earl of Denbigh (1643-1675), and includes besides the German deeds eleven English deeds of the fourteenth century, and several English documents or memoranda. The story of the German descent first appears in print in Dugdale's "Warwickshire," published in 1656. In the Feilding family monuments and brasses, of which several are recorded, there is neither mention of the Hapsburg descent, nor use of the family arms.

The Feilding window, which was erected for the glory of the family and completed about the close of the sixteenth century begins the pedigree as follows:

I. Sir Geffery Feilding, the first authentic ancestor of the family, was living during the reigns of Edward I and II (1274-1327). He married Agnes de Napton, daughter and heir of John and Alice (de Misterton) de Napton, of County Leicester.

II. William Feilding, son of Sir Geffery and Agnes (de Napton) Feilding, married Joan Prudhome, daughter and heir of William and Juliana (de Newnham) Prudhome, and by this marriage acquired the manor of Newnham Padox, County Warwick, which continued to be the chief seat of the family.

III. Sir John Feilding, son of William and Joan (Prudhome) Feilding, married (first) Jane Bellers, daughter of Sir William Bellers; and married (second) Margaret Purefoy, daughter of William Purefoy of Drayton, County Leicester. He was buried at Lutterworth in 1403.

IV. Sir William Feilding, of Newtown, son of Sir John and Margaret (Purefoy) Feilding, was a staunch adherent of the house of Lancaster, and was killed at the battle of Tewksbury, May 9, 1470. He married Agnes St. Liz, of the noble house of St. Liz, daughter and heir of John St. Liz, alias Seyton of Martinsthorpe, County Rutland. They had issue: 1. John, died young. 2. Everard, of whom further. 3. Edward. 4. Martin. 5. Elizabeth. 6. Anne.

V. Sir Everard Feilding, son of Sir William and Agnes (St.

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Liz) Feilding, was made Knight of the Bath, November 17, 1501. He was sheriff of Counties Warwick and Leicester in the twenty-first year of the reign of King Edward IV, and had a command in the King's army at the battle of Stoke in 1487. Sir Everard Feilding died April, 1515. He married Ellis Elm, daughter and co-heir of John and Agnes (Russell) Elm.

VI. Sir William Feilding, son of Sir Everard and Ellis (Elm) Feilding, died September 28, 1547. He married Elizabeth Poultney, daughter of Sir Thomas Poultney, of Misterton, County Leicester.

VII. Basil Feilding, Esquire, son of Sir William and Elizabeth (Poultney) Feilding, married Goditha Willington, daughter of William and Anne (Littleton-Middlemore) Willington, of Barcheston, Warwickshire. They had issue: 1. William, of whom further. 2. Ferdinando. 3. Anne.

VIII. Sir William Feilding, son of Basil and Goditha (Willington) Feilding, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. He married Dorothy Lane, daughter of Sir Ralph and Magdalen (Parr) Lane, the latter being the daughter of William, Lord Parr, of Horton, and uncle to Queen Catherine Parr.

IX. Basil Feilding, son of Sir William and Dorothy (Lane) Feilding, was sheriff of Warwickshire in the ninth year of the reign of King James I. He married Elizabeth Aston, daughter of Sir Walter Aston of Tixall, of County Stafford.

X. Sir William Feilding, son of Basil and Elizabeth (Aston) Feilding, was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and knighted April 23, 1603. On December 30, 1620, he was created Baron of Newnham Padox, County Warwick, and September 14, 1622, Earl of Denbigh. On the breaking out of the Civil War Lord Denbigh took the side of Charles I. He was a valiant soldier in many engagements, but finally was mortally wounded in a skirmish near Birmingham, April 3, 1643, and died on the 8th of the same month. He was buried at Monks Kirby in Warwickshire, and is remembered for his courage, unselfishness and devotion to duty.

Sir William Feilding married Susan Villiers, daughter of Sir George Villiers of Brokesby, County Leicester, and sister to George, Duke of Buckingham. His son Basil, second Earl of Denbigh, died without issue, as did also his third son, Philip. Basil sided with the Parliamentary or Roundhead party, and was appointed Lord-

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lieutenant of Counties Denbigh and Flint, but was pardoned on the Restoration, and created Baron St. Liz, February 2, 1663-4. He died at Dunstable, November 28, 1675.

XI. *George Feilding*, second son of Sir William and Susan (Villiers) Feilding, was created, November 22, 1622, Lord Feilding of Lecaghe, Viscount Callan of Ireland, and Earl of Desmond. On the coronation of Charles II, he was made Knight of the Bath. He died January 31, 1665, having married Bridget Stanhope, daughter and co-heir of Sir Michael and Elizabeth (Read) Stanhope. His son, William, born in 1640, became third Earl of Denbigh on the death of his uncle Basil, and ancestor of the later Earls of Denbigh, of whom the present Earl is the ninth.

In Jacob's "Peerage" the name is spelled Fielding throughout, but in other works it is spelled Feilding.

(Fielding Direct Line).

I. *Philip Fielding*, an English gentleman, probably of a collateral branch of the above family, had a large estate and apricot orchard at St. Helier, the capital of the Isle of Jersey, the largest of the Channel Islands, once part of the Norman domain. He married Elizabeth Galacheau of French descent, whose ancestors had lived in the Isle of Jersey from the time of William the Conqueror. Her family was connected with the Renoff (Renouf) family and with the Mallet family of Jersey. Philip had at least three sons, the eldest being Philip, who inherited the estate of his father in St. Helier, and is now deceased; the other two sons were: 1. Walter, of whom further. 2. Alfred.

II. *Walter Fielding*, son of Philip and Elizabeth (Galacheau) Fielding, was born at St. Helier, Isle of Jersey, February 7, 1854, and died in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1903. He came with his brother, Alfred, from the Isle of Jersey to Montreal, Canada, removing in 1888 to Cleveland, Ohio, where his death occurred. He married at Niagara Falls, New York, in 1873, Alice Pitt, daughter of John and Louise Brimage (Splatt) Pitt, of Devonshire, England. Children: 1. Alice Ada, died in 1919. 2. Beatrice M., of whom further. 3. Florence Maud, born in Camden; married Alger Barnum Barnes, and lives in Cleveland, Ohio. 4. Earnest Alfred, born in Canada; lives in Cleveland, Ohio. 5. Lillian, died in 1907; she married a Mr. Haylor.

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In the Parish of EXFORD, in the County of SOMERSET,

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CONSISTING of 4 Cows forward, 2 three year old Heifers, 2 three year old Steers, 4 two year old Heifers, 1 two year old Steer, 5 Steer Yearlings, 30 Ewes, 70 Wethers, 20 Wether Hogs, 20 Ewe Hogs, 2 Labouring Horses, 2 good Saddle Horses, 2 High Bred Colts, 2 Slip Pigs, a quantity of Hay and Straw, all sorts of Implements used in Husbandry, Dairy and Brewing Utensils, &c. such as Sulls, Drags, Harrows, Rollers, Cart and Wheels, a quantity of Hurdles, Plough and Horse Tackle, divers sorts of Household Furniture, Copper Furnace, Cheese Wrings, Vats, Tubs, Casks of different sizes, Grates, Fire Irons, Bottles, Jars, Iron Fountain, Salters, Meal Hutch, and divers other useful Articles too tedious here to mention.

The Sale to begin each Day precisely at 1 o'Clock in the Afternoon, and 3 Months Credit given on such Security as shall be approved of above £10.

MARCH 3rd, 1817.

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III. Beatrice M. Fielding, daughter of Walter and Alice (Pitt) Fielding, was born in London, Canada. She married at Windsor, Ontario, Canada, Adolphus Otto Backert. (See Backert Line). References—Nichols' "History and Antiquities of Leicestershire" Vol. 1V, pp. 294-5; Collins' "Peerage" Vol. III, pp. 265-282; Burke's "Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage," 1917 ed. pp. 633-634; Family Records.



Banning and Allied Families

BY MARY MARJORIE TYLER, NEW YORK CITY



THE Banning coat-of-arms, hereafter given, without the supporters were granted to Pawle Bayninge, of London, in 1588, by Cooke, according to the publications of the Harleian Society, although there is doubt as to Cooke having filled the office of herald at that time. This latter point is immaterial, as the arms are properly registered and recorded.

Arms—Argent, two bars sable, each charged with as many escallops or.

Crest—On a mount vert, an ostrich argent, holding in the mouth a key or.

The Banning chart, of which the author is not given, but who apparently did the work for Pierson W. Banning, of Los Angeles, California, gives John Banning as a brother of James and Richard Banning, and names him as of Talbot County, Maryland. He was a son of "John Doe" Banning (Stephen was grandfather of John Banning, of Talbot County, Maryland). "John Doe" Banning was a son of Stephen Banning (of England in 1714). Stephen was a son of Stephen Banning, who died in England in 1688 and who married Mary Banning, of England. He was a son of John Banning (received the degree of B. A. from Oxford in 1620) (Subsidiary Rolls, 1642). He was a son of John Banning, of Burbage, England, in 1613. He was a son of John Banning, of Burbage, England, in 1565. He was a son of Robert Banning, of Burbage, England, in 1539, who was named as an old man in 1565.

The name Banning is one of greatest antiquity. It is of Danish origin, applying in early times to a class called hero worshippers, and signifying a home or dwelling. Reference to it is found in the "Scot and Bard Songs," the earliest ballads on record, where it says "Becca ruled the Banning." This Becca was, no doubt, the hero or ruler of the Banning clan of Vikings.

The distinctive Anglo-Saxon termination *ing* has always marked the name, and in general it has suffered very slight changes throughout its many hundred years of existence and travel into different countries. Whatever changes have occurred are due to misspelling



Barring

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or to the natural accommodations to the languages. In Holland there appears Banningh, Banningk, Bannick, and earlier, Benningh, Benningk, and Bennick. In Denmark many Bannings live to this day, no doubt descendants of the first Bannings known, and in England there are found Bayninge, Banninge, and Baninge. Germany shows Bonning, Banninger, Baninger, Behning, Benning, while in this country is Branning, formerly De Branning, a French variety, and from Iceland come Bannon, Bannin, Branigan, and others of similar sound.

It is supposed that about the fourth or fifth century some of the Bannings migrated from their native place, now known as Denmark, to what is at present called Holland, which was but a few miles distant. Here they must have lived for nearly a thousand years before coming into prominence; at least no trace of the name has been found in history until about 1386, when Gerrit Banningh, a cloth merchant of Nienwendyk, who came from a hamlet named Banningh by the Stadt of De Venter, and finally located in Amsterdam, is mentioned as being the progenitor of the Banning families in Holland, who governed that country to a greater or less extent for nearly three hundred years. (De Vroedschatap Van Amsterdam, by Herr Elias, director of the State Archives of Amsterdam, Pub. by Vincent Loosjes, about 1895, in Haarlam, Holland, 2 vols.)

Rembrandt's famous painting, the "Night Watch," shows as the central figure Captain Franz Banning-Coq, who, although dying at an early age, made his power and influence felt in a most wonderful way. This picture is generally supposed to represent a rally of the guard at night from the guard house, which a name on the picture states, but in fact represents the members of a gun club as they are about to leave their old quarters just prior to moving into their new quarters on Singel Street. This picture was painted in 1642. The name was given it when the picture was discovered many years after it had been painted, in an old attic, and the real purport of the picture was unknown, but recent discoveries establish the above statement as to its meaning. At that time it was customary for prominent organizations to have paintings made of their members in groups. Franz Banning's mother was a Banning of the noble families, and married an apothecary named Coq, from Bremen, against the wishes of her parents. Their son Franz, of

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his own accord, prefixed his last name by his mother's name, Banning, making it a hyphenated name.

From Holland, Franz Banning-Coq went to Basel, where he studied law. Returning to Amsterdam he soon became an alderman, then a magistrate, and in a short time burgomaster. The King of Frankreich raised him to the nobility. He built the building now used as the King's Palace, but which at that time was the City Hall or Governor's Headquarters. He died at an early age, childless, in the midst of an already wonderful career.

Another famous painting by Van der Helst, entitled "Celebrating the Peace of Munster, or, Conclusion of the 30 Year War," which hangs alongside of the "Night Watch" in the Royal Museum at Amsterdam, has as its central figure Jacob Banning, the Standard Bearer, which pictures the members of a gun club gathered at a banquet to celebrate the Westphalian Peace in 1648.

The Banning coat-of-arms may be seen on the ceiling of the throne room in the King's palace in Amsterdam to this day, as well as in church windows, on gravestones, and in many other places. At some unknown date, probably about 1500, the Bannings went to England and settled at what is now called Banningham in Norfolk. At the present time no traces of the Bannings can be found there, but are clearly traceable to Midland and London, from which places the different branches now in existence seem to have come.

The Bannings in England became prominent in military and social life during the sixteenth century, taking an active part in the Crusade to the Holy Land, for which a coat-of-arms was granted in London in 1588. Two Peerages also were created, both becoming extinct in the seventeenth century. The first Peerage was conferred on Sir Paul Bayning, Lord Mayor of London, who, in his Patent of Nobility, reverted to the original spelling Banning, and became Viscount Banning. His country seat was near Banningham, in Norfolk.

One branch of the family in England is about extinct, there being but one male member now living, and it is thought his only son is dead. Another branch has for many years been of local importance, having for several generations held in the family the highly coveted office of postmaster of Liverpool, besides other positions of importance in the governmental service.

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Sometime in the seventeenth century Bannings came, supposedly from England, Ireland, Scotland, and elsewhere, to America. As to the places from which they came nothing is definitely known with one exception, but some of them are thought to have come from Midland or London. It seems almost certain that the first Bannings in America came from England, Ireland, Scotland, as the given names are English, or at least more common in England than elsewhere, *e. g.*, Edward, James, John, and Samuel. Sometime prior to 1678 an Edward Banning settled in Talbot County, Maryland, which was but a few years after Lord Baltimore was granted a charter for colonization purposes by the King of England. About 1700 there is record of a James Banning being in the same county that Edward Banning came to. About this same time two other Bannings are known of in or near Lyme, Connecticut, by name Samuel and John Banning. These last three, by tradition, are supposed to have been brothers, which, if a fact, makes it more than likely that they were sons of Edward Banning, of Talbot County, Maryland. Some forty odd years later a Benoni Banning settled in Talbot County, Maryland. He came from Dublin, Ireland, to which place his father is thought to have come from Scotland or England, but about 1790 John Banning, who was born August 15, 1760, in Stafford, England, came to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His son Daniel lived in Pittsburgh or Philadelphia, but of his descendants nothing is known. There is in Los Angeles County, California, and in Pennsylvania, a town named Banning, and in California a military camp by that name.

Some years after James Banning, and about the time Benoni Banning was known of in Maryland, there appeared Bannings in Delaware. It is not unlikely that they may have come from those in Maryland, as these two States are geographically one, but if they did not, it is possible that they migrated from Holland, where there were so many Bannings. From the names of some of their descendants, it is contended that they are of Dutch origin, and as Delaware was early settled by the Dutch, this may be the case. From the Delaware Bannings there have come two branches, one a branch in California, and a branch now in Delaware and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. There is a strong likelihood that Phineas Banning was a brother of Benoni Banning, and his brother, James Banning, who came to Talbot County, Maryland.

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This family was originally of Neyland in Suffolk. Richard Bannyng, or Bayning, dwelt at Dedham about the end of the fifteenth century. His son, Richard, married Anne Raven, daughter and co-heir of Robert Raven, of Creting St. Mary's in Suffolk, and had Richard of Dedham, who married Anne Barker, daughter of John Barker, of Ipswich, by whom he had Paul (Andrew, a very eminent merchant in Mincing Lane, who died without issue December 21, 1610, aged sixty-seven. See under Powers in Little Waltham).

Paul Bayning was a citizen and alderman of London, and one of the sheriffs of that city in 1593. He accumulated a very great fortune by merchandizing, so advantageous was trade even in its infancy, that Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Andrew Judde, Thomas Sutton, founder of the Charter-house, and our two brothers, Paul and Andrew, laid immense and incredible riches by. These two have a monument erected to their memory in the chancel of the Church of St. Olave, Hart Street, by which it appears that Paul died September 3, 1616, aged seventy-seven. He had two wives. The first was a daughter of a Mowfe, of Needham, or Creting, in Suffolk, by whom no issue is recorded. His second wife was Susan Norden, daughter and heir of Richard Norden of Miftley (remarried after his decease to Sir Francis Leigh, Knight and Bart.). He died October 1, 1616, and was buried in St. Olave's Church, above mentioned, leaving his only son and heir, Sir Paul Bayning, Knight, then aged upwards of thirty.

Sir Paul Bayning was created a Baronet, November 25, 1612, constituted sheriff of Essex in 1617, advanced to the title of Baron Bayning, of Horksley, in Essex, February 27, 1627-28, and to the further dignity of Viscount Sudbury, in Suffolk, March 8, 1627-28. He married Anne Glemham, daughter of Sir Henry Glemham, Knight, by Anne (Sackville) Glemham, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Dorset, by whom he had five children: 1. Paul, his son and heir. 2. Cecily, married Henry Pierpont, Viscount Newalk, eldest son of Robert, Earl of Kingston. 3. Anne, married Henry Murray, Esq., one of the grooms of the bed-chamber to King Charles I, afterwards created, March 17, 1673, Viscountess Banning, of Foxley. 4. Mary, married William Villiers, Viscount of Grandison, second to Christopher Villiers, Earl of Anglesea, third to Arthur Gorge,

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Esq. 5. Elizabeth, married Francis, Lord Dacre; created, September 6, 1680, Countess of Shepey.

Sir Paul Bayning died at his house on Mark Lane, July 29, 1629, possessed of a very large real estate, as appears by the following particulars:

The manor and almost the whole parish of Little Bentley: Dikeley hall, Stones, Sheddinghow, Old hall, New hall, Abbots, etc., in Maningtree, and parishes adjoining: The manor of Hampstalls, in Weeks: The manors of Great Horkesley Boxsted, River-hall, etc.: The manor of Small-land-hall, alias Marshes, in Hatfield Peverell: The manor of Powers, and Shepcote, in Little Waltham: The manor of Great Lees with Lyon-hall, and other great estates there: in Woodham Ferrers, the manor of Champions, and estates called Burrs, Ilgars, and Latchleys: The manor of Gingjoyberd-laundry, alias Blunts in Butsbury, and Stock: half the manor of Farnham. And other estates and woods in Tendering, Thorpe, Roding-Beauchamp, Willingale Doe, Fifield. The rectories of Bradfield. And the advowsons of the Churches of Little Bentley, Great Lees, Stock, Mistley, Bradfield, in Suffolk. The manor and rectory appropriate of Laxfield: The manor of Rumborough: Divers lands, tenements, etc., in Laxfield aforesaid, Creting, Needham, Barking, Afpall, Thorndon, Thwaight, Houlton, Aldringham, Wiffet, Rumborough, Speckhall, Credeston, Westhall, Hallesworth, Leiston, Knoddishill, Theverton, Kellishall. In Hertfordshire: Tenements and lands at Huxworth, with the advowson of the church. Inquis. 6 Caroli, September 4, n^o 158. He also had an immediate personal estate of £153, 15s., viz. in debts £136,751, 15s., and in ready money £17,000, without the jewels, plate, and household stuffs.

His widow was remarried to Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester. His son and heir, Paul, Viscount Bayning, was born in 1616, paid the king £18,000 for the fine of his wardship, and for charges about the same, £185. He died at Bentley Hall, June 11, 1638, and was buried in a vault in this church. By his Lady Penelope, only daughter and heir of Sir Robert Naunton, Knight, Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries and once Secretary of State (remarried afterwards to Philip, Earl of Pembroke), he had two daughters, Anne, and Penelope, born in November, after his decease. Anne, the eldest, was married to Aubrey de Vere, the twentieth and last Earl of Oxford, of that most noble and ancient family. Her large fortune was a reasonable and necessary supply and recruit to the estate of that family, which had been greatly

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impaired and almost ruined by the passionate extravagance of his ancestor, Edward, Earl of Oxford, in Queen Elizabeth's reign. But by this Lady, who died in September, 1659, he had no surviving issue. Penelope, the youngest daughter, was married to John Herbert, Esq., youngest son of Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; remarried to John Wentworth, Esq. She died in 1657, without issue.

This estate became the property of the Earl of Oxford and his Lady (Newcourt, Vol. II, p. 52). They caused to be pulled down the stately and magnificent seat of Bentley Hall, which had been erected by Paul Bayning, Esq., in the reign of King James I, and sold the materials, wherewith many houses in Colchester and elsewhere are still adorned.

Phineas Banning came from England and settled in Dover, Delaware, where his son, John Banning, was born in 1740, and there died February 15, 1791. John Banning was a member of the Council of the State of Delaware from 1777 until his death; treasurer of Kent County; military treasurer; town commissioner; member of the Council of Safety, and member of the first Electoral College, casting Delaware's vote for George Washington as president of the United States. In the Revolution he was one of the foremost patriots, "contributing liberally both in money and services to organizing and establishing the State government of Delaware, and is said to have been considered the 'banker of the State.' When the Continental Army was disbanded, and the soldiers had nothing but the depreciated script, it is said that he stood on the step of the old Academy of Dover and gave them hard money for their notes, thus trying to redeem his nation's credit." He married, in 1766, Mrs. Elizabeth (Alford) Cassius, daughter of Philip and Charity Alford. She was a woman of great beauty; "indeed," a gentleman of note said "she was the most beautiful woman he had even seen in Europe or America. . . . Sarah Banning, her daughter by her second husband, who married Hon. Henry Moore Ridgely, was highly educated and accomplished, and inherited much of her mother's beauty. When Mr. Ridgely was in the United States Senate they were spoken of as the handsomest couple in Washington society." Mrs. Banning married (third) Dr. William McKee, many persons and families of prominence being represented among their descendants.

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For examples of the sheer power of indomitable wills, fierce courage, and unconquerable persistence in the moulding of careers out of the untried resources of virgin fields we must turn to the Great West and Middle West. No other section of our country has given us such shining examples of work of strong men, true in coping with the almost overwhelming forces of nature and circumstance. The history of the Western Reserve is one of romance and achievement incomparable with that of any other part of the country. "Self-made, self-reliant, sturdy and rugged men have been its product, and it is to these men that the upbuilding and development of the West into the important factor in the world's work which it is to-day is due." To every man who has contributed a share toward the great task of bringing the West out of a vast wilderness, teeming with opportunity, yet offering untold resistance before it was harnessed to the uses of man, is due a deep gratitude and thankfulness, which can be no more adequately expressed than in preserving for later generations the story of his work and achievement.

Since the opening of the Western Reserve to settlers, the family of Banning has been prominent. The late David Banning, one of the prominent business men and financiers of the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, during the latter and middle decades of the nineteenth century, was a descendant in the third generation.

I. Samuel Banning, of Lyme, Connecticut, in common with the traditions of other Bannings, is believed to have come from his native England to America about 1700, being one of the three brothers so often mentioned. He located in or near Lyme, Connecticut, upon his arrival in America, where, like John Banning, many of his descendants are to be found to this day, while not a few have scattered to New York State, Ohio, California, and elsewhere. Among the descendants of this line a considerable number of those of most brilliant attainments can be found; this includes medical, musical and scholarly lines, and has established a high average among them. He moved from Lyme to East Hartland, Connecticut; was killed by lightning, and is buried in East Hartland. Children: 1. Elizabeth. 2. Samuel, of whom further. 3. Abner. 4. David.

II. Samuel Banning, son of Samuel Banning, was born about 1710, in Lyme, Connecticut. He married two or three times, having in all ten children. He moved to East Hartland, Connecticut, about

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1765, where he died on the farm of his son David, about 1800, being buried at East Hartland, Connecticut. Children: 1. Samuel. 2. Abner, of whom further. 3. David. 4. Irene. 5. Daughter. 6. Daughter. 7. Daughter. 8. Rhoda. 9. Rebecca. 10. Daughter.

III. Abner Banning, son of Samuel Banning, was born about 1755, in East Hartland, Connecticut. He was in the Eighteenth Regiment, Connecticut Militia, from August 18, 1776, to September 14, 1776, in Captain Hutchan's company. He married Annah Sparrow, of East Haddam, Connecticut, in the First Church of Christ, April 2, 1777. (See Sparrow VI). She was born April 19, 1751, and lived in Connecticut. Children: 1. Malinda. 2. Benjamin. 3. Ashel, of whom further. 4. Morgan. 5. Calvin. 6. Samuel. There were twenty families that left East Hartland, Connecticut, for Ohio; they settled in Vernon and Hartford, Trumbull County, Ohio.

IV. Ashel (Arbel) Banning, son of Abner and Annah (Sparrow) Banning, was born June 22, 1780, in East Hartland, Connecticut. He married (first) Amelia Wilcox. This marriage took place soon after coming to Ohio, and they settled in Vernon. He married (second) Dency Crosby, born April 22, 1791, who died February 25, 1868, in Gustavus, Ohio. They lived in Vernon, Ohio. He died May 7, 1873, in Gustavus, Ohio, the result of being struck on the head by falling timber. The Crosby arms are as follows:

Arms—Sable, a chevron ermine, between three rams passant argent.

Crest—A ram as in the arms.

Children of first wife: 1. Abner Wilcox. 2. Amelia. 3. Melinda. Children of second wife: 4. David, of whom further. 5. Jeremiah W., deceased. 6. Timothy, deceased. 7. Mary A., deceased, who became the wife of Benjamin H. Peabody. 8. Converse. 9. Stoddard, of Geneva, Ohio, now deceased. 10. Malinda, married Newton Robens, and is now deceased.

V. David Banning, son of Ashel and Dency (Crosby) Banning, was born in Vernon, Ohio, April 11, 1819. He spent his childhood in the healthy atmosphere of his father's large farm, and received his education in the local district schools. He was a boy of studious tastes, a constant reader, and constant searcher after knowledge, and these characteristics remained with him during his long life. After completing the decidedly inadequate course which the public school offered, he continued his education during his spare hours at home and at work. David Banning secured his first



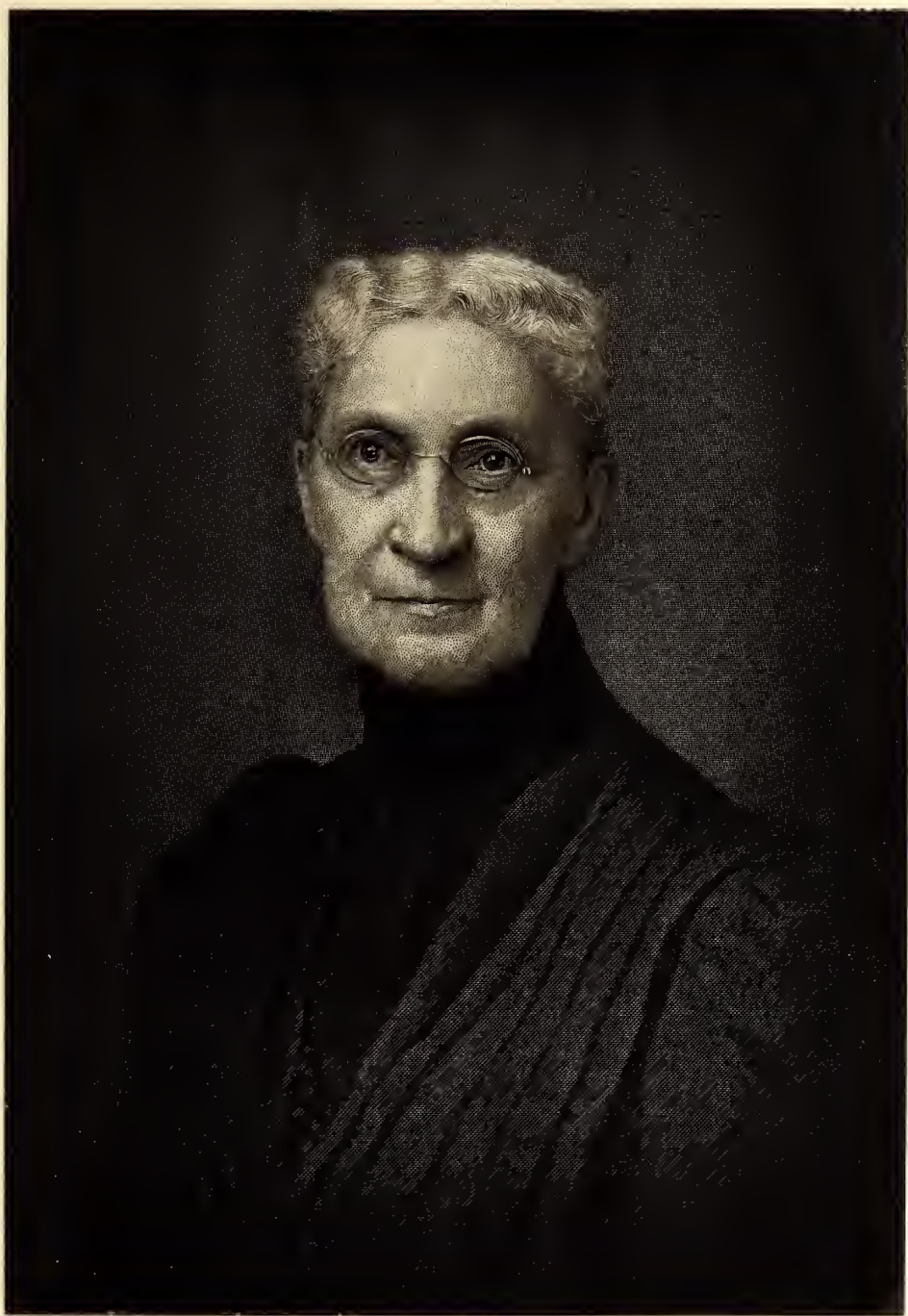
Crosby



American Historical Society

Engr. by Foxley & Co.

David Banning.



Asenath C. Banning



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employment in a general store in his native town operated by Stoddard Stevens, and here he acted in the capacity of clerk for a few years. Leaving the employ of Stoddard Stevens, he spent a period in the employ of the Federal Government.

David Banning's connection with the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, dated from April, 1847, when the city gave but faint indications of the splendid future which was before it, and the great proportions to which it would grow. He watched carefully the steady growth of its great industries and commercial enterprises, playing a quiet and effective part in the great work. His arrival in Cincinnati antedated the laying of the first railroad in that section of the State. Shortly after his coming to the city he entered on his first business venture, forming a partnership with his brother, Jeremiah W. Banning. The two embarked in a commission business, with their headquarters located on Walnut Street, between Front and Second Streets. The business met with a high degree of success, and after a short period the partnership was dissolved, the two brothers thenceforth conducting their operations separately.

Mr. Banning immediately organized another business, which for a period of twenty-five years he continued to direct. From comparatively obscure beginnings, through the business talent and constructive policies of management of Mr. Banning, the business grew to large proportions, and occupied a position of importance among the largest enterprises of its kind in the city of Cincinnati. He was eminently fitted for business life, and the handling of large affairs, by reason of his ability to judge clearly and quickly the relative merits of any proposition brought before him, by his breadth of vision, and his persistence, once his decision to act had been taken. He was a business man of the self-made type, a man of broad tolerance and human understanding, a leader who was instinctively obeyed. He invited and received the confidence of his employees, many of whom he advised, and many of whom he aided toward independent business ventures. He easily inspired confidence and support, first through the marked and well known honesty of his dealings, and second through the success of all his undertakings. David Banning was known throughout the city of Cincinnati and the larger commercial cities of Ohio as a man of the strictest integrity. Although not connected actively nor officially with the public life of the city of Cincinnati, Mr. Banning was,

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

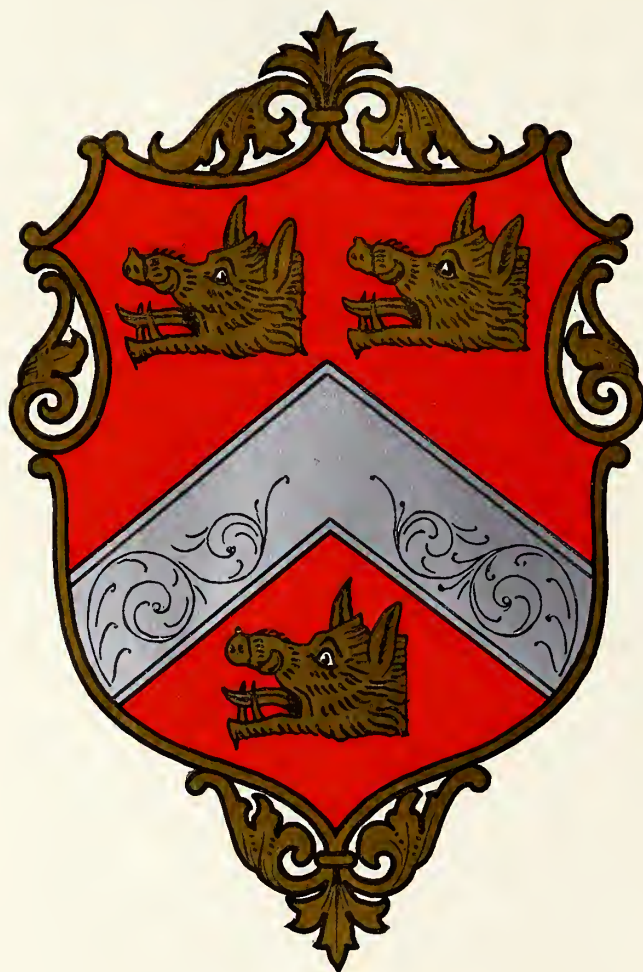
nevertheless, a factor of importance in the city's growth and development. He was looked to as one of its foremost citizens, and accorded a place as such. He was connected in executive capacities with many of the large financial and commercial enterprises of the city, and was for thirty-two years a member of the board of directors of the Fourth National Bank of Cincinnati, his connections with that institution dating from its founding, in which he took an active interest.

Mr. Banning was a Republican in political affiliation, and kept well abreast of the times, though he took no active part in the political life of the city. He was active, however, in social and fraternal interests. The name of his friends was legion, and his death, which occurred in Cincinnati, March 8, 1901, was the cause of deep-felt and widespread grief.

David Banning married, in Erie, Pennsylvania, April 28, 1847, Asenath C. Bradley (see Bradley VIII), born June 16, 1824, daughter of Dr. Moore Bird Bradley, of Waterford, Pennsylvania, one of the foremost physicians in the State. Mrs. Banning was a member of one of the old Colonial families of that region of the State of Pennsylvania; she died in Cincinnati, November 13, 1909. Children: 1. Charles, deceased. 2. Blanche, deceased. 3. Kate, who resides in Cincinnati. 4. Starr, deceased. 5. Harry, deceased. 6. William, twin of Harry, deceased.

(The Bradley Line).

Bradley is a local name found largely in Yorkshire, Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, Wiltshire and Staffordshire. It is a local name, signifying the Broad-lea, from the old English *brad* and *leah*. Bradley is the name of parishes and towns in Berkshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Staffordshire and Hampshire. The first mention in England of the name Bradley is in 1183 at the feast of St. Cuthbert in Lent, when the Lord Hugh, Bishop of Durham, caused to be described all the revenues of his Bishopric. The survey of Hugh Pudsey, called Bolton Duke, mentions in Wolsingham, Roger de Bradley, who held forty acres at Bradley. The family in England has been one of the first in importance for many centuries. In the *Visitation of Yorkshire*, 1563-64, there is mention of Isabel, daughter of Sir Francis Bradley, who married Arthur Normanton, of Yorkshire. John Bradley was bishop of Shaftsbury



Bradley

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

in 1539. Alexander Bradley resided in the see of Durham in 1578 and about the same time Cuthbertus Bradley was curate of Barbardi Castle.

Arms—Gules, a chevron argent between three boars' heads couped or.

In an account of the Pudsey family of Bolton, County York, is found the following note: "John de Podeshay was killed on Joucros' Moor in 1279. Walter de Bradeleghe of Carleton, in Craven, was present."

Robert de Bradeleye was of County Cambridge in 1273. Brice de Bradeleghe was of County Somerset in 1273. William de Bradeleghe was of County Devon *temp.* Henry III. Wilhelmus Brodeleghe, of Yorkshire, in 1379; Agnes Bradeley, of Yorkshire, in 1379; Richard de Bradleghe, of County Somerset, 1 Edward III; Henry de Bradleye, County Somerset, 1 Edward III.

In Ravenser, County York, in 1297, was William de Bradeley, while John de Bradeley was of Staynelay (Stainley), County York, at the same time. Emma de Bradley was of Thornton, as was Roger de Bradley. In 1344 Robert Bradeley was living at Bolton, County York, England, where his name appears in the case of John de Pudesay against Richard de Shotelesworth. In 1394 John, Lord of Coven, granted his manor in Coven with all of his lands to John Bradley, of Penkrich, and William de Hyde, of Brewood, for which they are to pay him a rose at midsummer. John Bradley was of Labrone or Harmbeye, County York, in 1550; Thomas Bradley, of Wadyngton, County York, in 1555; and Richard Bradley and Ann, his wife, were of Bradford, County York, in 1569.

The following wills are found in County York, England: Edmund Bradeley, November 9, 1471; John de Bradeley, of ESYNGTON, May 6, 1405; John Bradeley, of Gonthwate, Parish of Penyston, August 1, 1491; Horne Bradeley, Rector of Rawmersh, April 24, 1483; Thomas Bradlay, buried at Wodkirk, August 3, 1509; William Bradlay, of York, December 1, 1467; Patrick Bradley, of York, July 13, 1446; Joan Bradley, widow of Patrick Bradley, January 22, 1465; Roger Bradley, of York, January 21, 1436.

In the *Harleian Society Publications*, volume twelve, containing the "Visitation of County Warwick," England, pages 354-55, are found the arms and pedigree of the family of Bradley, which

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

has many grounds of probability of being that family from which the New Haven Bradleys are immediately descended.

The pedigree is as follows:

William Bradley, of Sheriff-Hutton, County York, England.

William Bradley, of the city of Coventry, County Warwick, married Agnes Margate. Children: 1. Francis, married Francesca Watkins. 2. Thomas, married Maria Cotes. 3. William, of whom further.

William Bradley, son of William and Agnes (Margate) Bradley, was born in Coventry, England. He married Johanna Waddington. Children: 1. William, believed to be the American progenitor. 2. Anna. 3. Magdalen. 4. Elizabeth. 5. Letticia. 6. An infant, born September 1, 1619.

Pedigree of the Bradleys of Bradley, County Lancaster:

John Bradley, born about 1465, of Bradley, County Lancaster. He married Catherine Caterall. Children: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. Allan. 3. John.

Thomas Bradley, of Bradley, was born about 1490. He married Grace Sherborne, daughter of Hugh Sherborne. Children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Hugh. 3. Thomas. 4. Anne. 5. Helene.

John Bradley, born about 1520, was living in 1567. He had a son, John, of whom further.

John Bradley settled at Bryning, County Lancaster. He had a son, John, of whom further.

John Bradley, of Bryning, gent., married and had a son James, of whom further.

James Bradley married Ellen Tildesley, and they had children: 1. Edward, slain at the battle of Marston Moor. 2. Thomas. 3. John. 4. Richard. 5. Jane. 6. Anne. 7. Helen.

Dugdale's *Visitation of Yorkshire* names the Bradleys of Ackworth.

John Bradley, of the Bradleys of Berkshire, was in King Henry VIII's army upon an English expedition to France. His sons were: 1. Richard. 2. Henry, of whom further. 3. Abel.

Henry Bradley, of Okeingham, County Berks, died in 1645. He married Barbara Lane. Children: 1. John. 2. Thomas, of whom further.

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Thomas Bradley, chaplain to Charles I, was rector of Ackworth. He was born in 1598. He matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1617; received his B. A., June 21, 1620; and his D. D., December 20, 1642. He was rector of Castleford in 1630, and of Ackworth in 1643. A great Royalist, he was expelled from his livings during the period of the Commonwealth, but they were returned at the restoration. He married Frances, daughter of John, Lord Savile, of Pomfret. Children: 1. Thomas, a merchant in Virginia. 2. Savile. 3. Frances. 4. Barbara.

The Bradleys of Louth, Lincolnshire, trace to Robert Bradley, of Louth. The line continues through Thomas Bradley, of Louth, a merchant, who had the following children: 1. Nicholas. 2. Thomas, of whom further.

Thomas Bradley, of Louth, a merchant, was born in 1503. He married Alice Etton. They were the parents of a son, John, of whom further.

John Bradley, son of Thomas and Alice (Etton) Bradley, was one of the assistants of the town of Louth; he died in 1590. He married Frances Fairfax, and they had the following children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Thomas, of whom further. 3. Anne. 4. Elizabeth. 5. Mary.

John Bradley, son of John and Frances (Fairfax) Bradley, an eminent physician and a graduate of Cambridge, married Anne Freeman. They were the parents of the following children: 1. Henry. 2. Thomas, born in 1583. 3. Frances, born in 1585. 4. Matthew, born in 1588.

Thomas Bradley, son of John and Frances (Fairfax) Bradley, of Louth, married Ann Chapman, sister and co-heir of Sir Peter Chapman, of London. They had the following children: 1. John, born in 1576. 2. Anne. 3. Elizabeth, born in 1584. 4. Audrey, born in 1590.

There are several distinct branches of the Bradley family in the United States, the founders of which came from England. The first Bradleys in the American Colonies are said to have come from the market town of Bingley, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. About the beginning of the seventeenth century William Bradley was born in Bingley. According to tradition handed down in different branches of the family, he was a friend of Cromwell, and the *History of Bingley, England*, states that he was a major in the Parlia-

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

mentary Army, and removed to New Haven, Connecticut. William Bradley resided for a time in Branford and Guilford, later removing to New Haven, where he took up his residence in what is now North Haven, and had large landed interests there. He was the first landowner in the village. Founders of other branches of the Bradleys are: Francis Bradley, ancestor of the Fairfield family; and Daniel Bradley, founder of the Haverhill, Massachusetts, Bradleys.

Burke's *Armory* gives fifteen coats-of-arms for the name Bradley. The arms of the Connecticut Bradleys and the descendants of William and Francis Bradley are previously given. The symbolic description of the arms follows: The shield is red—red in heraldry denotes boldness, daring blood and fire—"a burning desire to spill blood for God and Country." Silver stands for purity, justice and peace. The chevron represents the rafters of a roof and was often given to ambassadors and eminent statesmen as a reward for the protection (as under a roof) they gave their king and country. The boar symbolizes a well-armed, undaunted and courageous warrior, who resists his enemies bravely and never thinks of flight, the same as the boar, who will fight to the bitter end. The Bradley arms are engraved on a silver tankard owned by the granddaughter of the first William Bradley, of New Haven. They are the same as the armorial bearings "Confirmed by the Deputies of Camden . . . to Francis Bradley of Coventry, grandson of William Bradley, County York, 'Her. Visitation.' "

I. *William Bradley*, of New Haven, Connecticut, was born in England, about 1620. He settled in New Haven, and married there, February 18, 1645, Alice Pritchard, daughter of Roger Pritchard, of Springfield, Massachusetts. He died in 1690, and she in 1692. Children, with dates of baptism: 1. Joseph, January 4, 1646. 2. Isaac, 1647 (?). 3. Martha, October, 1648. 4. Abraham, of whom further. 5. Mary, April 30, 1653. 6. Benjamin, April 8, 1657. 7. Hester (or Esther), September 29, 1659. 8. Nathaniel, February 26, 1660-61. 9. Sarah, June 21, 1665.

II. *Abraham Bradley*, son of William Bradley, was baptized October 24, 1650, and died October 19, 1718. He married, December 25, 1673, Hannah Thompson, born September 22, 1654, died at New Haven, October 26, 1718. Abraham Bradley was a deacon in

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

the First (now called Center) Church of New Haven, Connecticut, and at one time Justice of the Peace. His will was dated December 5, 1716, and proved in the New Haven Probate Court, November 18, 1718. (Recorded Probate Records, liber 4, page 546.) It contained the following clause: "As a token of my love to ye first church of Christ in New Haven I give my silver cup, or the value of it, to be improved at ye Lord's table; yt is after my decease." Children, born at New Haven: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Daniel, born in 1679, died November 2, 1723. 3. Hannah, born November 8, 1682. 4. Lydia, born November 28, 1685. 5. Ebenezer, born September 9, 1689. 6. Abraham, born April 9, 1693. 7. Esther, born March 19, 1696.

III. John Bradley, son of Deacon Abraham and Hannah (Thompson) Bradley, was born in New Haven, Connecticut, October 12, 1674. He married, September 22, 1698, Sarah Holt, daughter of Ebenezer Holt. Children: 1. Enos, of whom further. 2. John, born September 10, 1702. 3. Dorcas, born November 4, 1704. 4. Jason, born August 10, 1708. 5. Jehiell, born September 19, 1710. 6. Phineas, born September 28, 1714.

IV. Enos Bradley, son of John and Sarah (Holt) Bradley, was born December 28, 1701, and lived in New Haven, Connecticut. He married, December 2, 1721, Ellen Skidmore (see Skidmore III). Children: 1. Sibyl, born November 8, 1722. 2. Griffin, born November 9, 1724; married Mabel Thompson, sister of wife of Ariel. 3. Enos, born December 20, 1726. 4. Ariel, of whom further. 5. Ellen, born November 4, 1731. 6. Gamaliel, born February 19, 1734. 7. Oliver, born November 1, 1736.

V. Ariel Bradley, son of Enos and Ellen (Skidmore) Bradley, was born in New Haven, Connecticut, March 8, 1729, and removed to New York State. He married, November 7, 1751, Amy Thompson (see Thompson V). Children: 1. Thaddeus, born June 8, 1752. 2. Anne, born June 10, 1754, died young. 3. James, of whom further. 4. Anne, born November 9, 1763.

VI. Captain James Bradley, son of Ariel and Amy (Thompson) Bradley, was born June 17, 1756, and died about 1818, aged sixty-two years. The first settlers of Johnston Township, Trumbull County, Ohio, were a family named Bradley. Captain James Bradley came from Salisbury, Connecticut, in 1802-03. The family stopped at Canfield, Johnston Township, for a short time, finally

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

settling in the western part of the township. He married Asenath Bird (see Bird VI). Children: 1. Thaddeus. 2. Dr. Moore Bird, of whom further. 3. Dr. Ariel, born in 1793; married, in 1828, Laura Barstow.

VII. Dr. Moore Bird Bradley, son of Captain James and Asenath (Bird) Bradley, was born in 1790. After laboring for a time on his father's farm, he turned his attention to the study of medicine, studying under Dr. Peter Allan. He practiced in Mansfield, Ohio, later removing to Waterford, Erie County, Pennsylvania, where he attained a leading professional place and where his death occurred. In 1827 he was one of the organizers of the first Protestant Episcopal church of Waterford, Pennsylvania, and one of its first officers. He married and had two children. Children: 1. Asenath C., of whom further. 2. Darwin.

VIII. Asenath C. Bradley, daughter of Dr. Moore Bird Bradley, married David Banning (see Banning V).

(The Thompson Line).

The family of Thompson in Kent spelled the name Thomson, and the change to the present form was made in America.

Arms—Or, on a fesse dancetté azure three estoiles argent, on a canton of the second the sun in his splendour.

Crest—A cubit arm erect vested gules cuffed argent, holding in the hand five ears of wheat or.

Motto—*In lumine lucem.*

Thomas Thompson, of Sandwich, County Kent, merchant, had a son, Thomas. Thomas Thompson, of Sandwich, married a daughter of a Mansfield. Arms were granted to him in 1600. He had children: Henry, Anne and Thomas.

Henry Thompson, named above, had sons, John, Anthony and William. Thomas Thompson, named last in the paragraph above, also had sons, John, Anthony and William. These names, found together in the Thompson family of County Kent, and the fact that three brothers, William, Anthony and John, came from England to America, make it seem highly probable that the Thompsons of America descended from the family of Thompson (or Thomson) of Kent, England. There has been much controversy on this matter, but extensive research has failed to settle the point, and almost all of those who have investigated the Thompson pedigree concede the probability of descent from the family of Kent.

THOMPSON.

Arms—Or, on a fesse dancetté azure three estoiles argent, on a canton of the second the sun in his splendour.

Crest—A cubit arm erect vested gules cuffed argent, holding in the hand five ears of wheat or.

Motto—*In lumine lucem.*

SKIDMORE.

Arms—Gules, three stirrups, leathers and buckles or.

Crest—A unicorn's head erased sable, platée.

BIRD.

Arms—Argent, on a chevron engrailed gules between three lions rampant sable as many fleurs-de-lis or.

VICARS.

Arms—Sable, on a chief dancetté or, two cinquefoils gules, a border engrailed ermine.

11. 11. 1940
A large number of birds were seen in the
park in the afternoon.
The birds were seen in the park in the afternoon.
The birds were seen in the park in the afternoon.

12. 12. 1940

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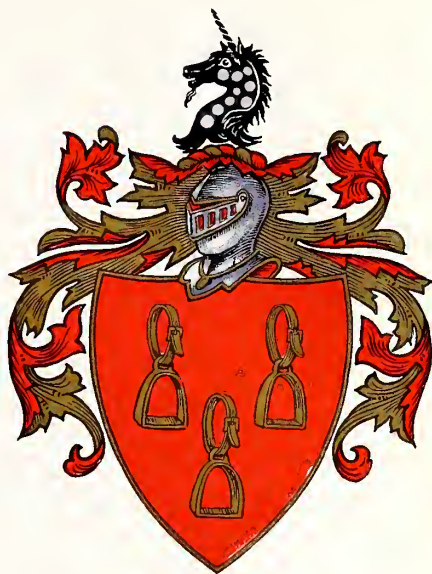
13. 13. 1940

The birds were seen in the park in the afternoon.

6400 11. 11. 1940



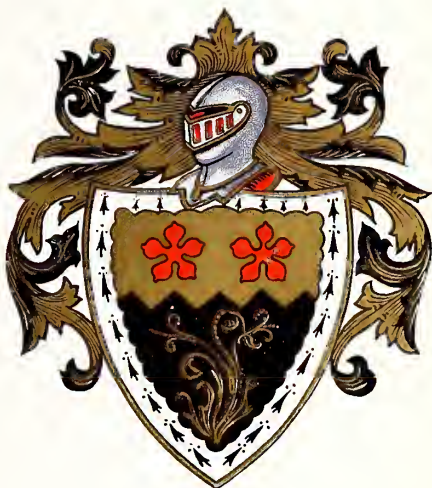
Thompson



Skidmore



Bird



Vicars

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

The name Thompson stands twenty-first in a roll of common surnames, being rarer than Edwards, but more common than White. Thomson or Thompson signifies a son of Thomas. Bard-sley, in his *Surnames*, gives: Eborard fil Thome, County Cambridge, 1273; Abraham fil Thome, County Bedford, 20 Edward I, 1291; Richard fil Thome, County York, 1291; Petrus Thome, son, County York, 1379; Johannes Thomasson, of County York, 1379.

There are large families of Thompson in both Ireland and Scotland. Baron Haversham, created baron in 1696, was a descendant of Maurice Thompson, of Cheston, County Herts. This baronetcy became extinct in 1745. A Thompson was Lord Mayor of London in 1737, and another in 1828. Richard Thompson was treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, in 1582. Baron Sydenham, Governor-General of Canada, was a descendant of the Thompsons of County Surrey.

I. *Anthony Thompson* was born in England, and died in New Haven, Connecticut, in September, 1648. Three brothers, Anthony, John and William Thompson, left England, with the party led by the Rev. John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, in the *Hector* and arrived in Boston, Massachusetts, June 26, 1637. In April, 1638, they settled in the vicinity of what is now New Haven, Connecticut. On September 1, 1640, when the settlement was called New Haven, Anthony Thompson, with a family of four persons, was one of the list of first settlers. He was a member of the band of soldiers organized to protect the settlers from the Indians. He mentions his family and brothers, John and William, in his will of 1647. He married (first) in England. He married (second) Catherine, who married (second) Nicholas Camp. Children of first marriage: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Anthony, born December, 1634, died December 29, 1654. 3. Bridget, born in 1636; married the Rev. John Bowers. Children of second marriage: 4. Hannah, baptized June 8, 1645; married a Stanton. 5. Lydia, baptized July 24, 1647; married Isaac Crittenden. 6. Ebenezer, baptized October 15, 1648; married Deborah Dudley.

II. *John Thompson*, son of Anthony Thompson, was born in England in 1632, and died June 2, 1707. He was called "mariner" and is mentioned frequently in deeds, etc., owning land in New Haven. He married Anne Vicars, August 4, 1656. (See Vicars). Children: 1. John, born May 12, 1657; married Rebecca Daniel.

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

2. Anne, married, in 1688, Caleb Chidsey. 3. Joseph, born April 4, 1664. 4. Child, born in September, 1667, died in infancy. 5. Samuel, of whom further. 6. Sarah, born January 16, 1672; married John Mix. 7. William, born January 17, 1674. 8. Mary, born May 16, 1675.

III. *Captain Samuel Thompson*, son of John and Anne (Vicars) Thompson, was born in New Haven, Connecticut, May 12, 1669, and died March 26, 1749, being buried at Goshen, Connecticut. He lived in Westville, Connecticut, for a time, removing from there to Goshen, Connecticut. He was made captain of a company of soldiers. He married, November 14, 1695, Rebecca Bishop, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor James and Elizabeth (Tompkins) Bishop. She was born in New Haven, December 10, 1673, and died there April 5, 1734. Children: 1. Samuel, born December 2, 1696; married Esther Alling. 2. James, of whom further. 3. Amos, born May 3, 1702; married Sarah Alling. 4. Gideon, born December 25, 1704; married Lydia Punderson. 5. Rebecca, born February 23, 1708; married David Austin. 6. Judah, born June 10, 1711, died August 1, 1712. 7. Judah, born October 5, 1713. 8. Enos, born August 18, 1717; married Sarah Hitchcock.

IV. *James Thompson*, son of Captain Samuel and Rebecca (Bishop) Thompson, was born January 5, 1699, and died in 1737. He lived in Westville, Connecticut. His will was proved December 5, 1737. He married, May 30, 1723, Harriet Wilmot, daughter of Benjamin and Mary (Beecher) Wilmot. Children: 1. Mary, born February 16, 1724; married Jonah Baldwin. 2. James, born November 21, 1725, died in 1818. 3. Hannah, born about 1727; unmarried in 1754. 4. Mabel, baptized October 5, 1729; married Griffin Bradley. 5. Amy, of whom further. 6. Hezekiah, born about 1735; married Rebecca Judson. 7. Rachel, baptized October 2, 1737; probably died young.

V. *Amy Thompson*, daughter of James and Harriet (Wilmot) Thompson, was baptized April 2, 1732. She married (Woodbridge church record), November 7, 1751, Ariel Bradley (see Bradley V). In 1753 Ariel Bradley and his wife deeded land from the estate of "our father, James Thompson, deceased."

(The Vicars Line).

Vicary, Vicery, Vicarey, Vicars, Vicors, Vicaris, Vicaridge, Vickerage, Vickeridge are forms of one name and, with many

BISHOP.

Arms—Ermine, on a bend cotised sable, three bezants.

Crest—A griffin sejant argent, resting the dexter claw on an escutcheon of the first.

TOMPKINS.

Arms—Azure, on a chevron between three moorcocks or close, three crosses crosslet sable.

Crest—A unicorn's head erased per fesse argent and or, armed and maned counter-changed, gorged with a chaplet of laurel vert.

Motto—*Ne magnum nisi bonum.* (Nothing is great unless it be good.)

WILMOT.

Arms—Argent, on a fesse gules between three eagles' heads erased sable, as many escallops of the field.

Crest—A portcullis azure, chained or.

BEECHER.

Arms—Vaire argent and gules, on a canton or a stag's head cabossed sable.

Crest—A demi-lion erased argent, girded round the waist with a ducal coronet or.

PRITCHARD.

Arms—Ermine, a lion rampant sable.

Crest—A dexter arm proper holding a battle axe, handle gules.

HOLT.

Arms—Azure, two bars or; in chief a cross formée fitchée of the last.

Crest—A squirrel sejant or, holding a hazel branch slipped and fructed, all proper.

Motto—*Exaltavit humiles.* (He exalted the humble.)

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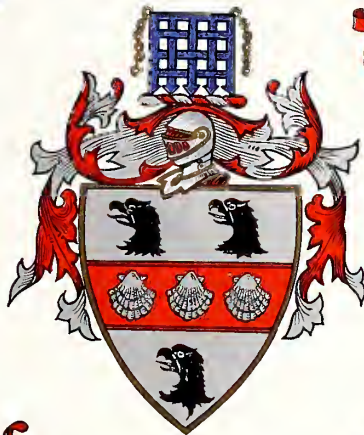
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Bishop



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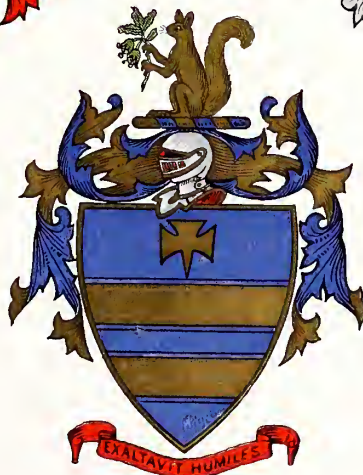
Wilmot



Beecher



Pritchard



Holt

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

others of the same origin but of various spellings, mean of the vicarage, or office of the vicar, or at the vicars. They are official or sometimes local names, and are found very early in England.

Arms—Sable, on a chief dancetté or, two cinquefoils gules, a border engrailed ermine.

Peter atte Vicars in 1379 was of County York; in 1574 Stephen Vyccarye married Margaret Johnson in London; in 1585 John Vicary, of County Devon, was registered at Oxford College; in 1574 John Vicarish married Margery Gerard; in 1665 John Halton married Alice Vicaridge at Canterbury; in 1614 Margaret Vicares married William Collins in London; Joan Viccaries married John Wells at London in 1617.

In the *Visitation of Worcester* in 1634 were the families of Robert Vicaris, of Astley, and Robert Vickers, of Bewdley. Descendants of these families were found in Astley and Bewdley in 1682, when the second visitation of that county was made. John Vicaridge, of "Natton," married, in 1603, Mary Sheldon, daughter of William Sheldon. They had a son, John, who was baptized in 1607.

Richard Vicaredg, son of Francis Vicaredg, was baptized in Over Ardey, County Worcester, July 30, 1653. Walter Vicaris, son of William Vicaris and Joyce, his wife, was baptized September 13, 1640, at Doddenham, County Worcester, England. Anne Vicaridge, daughter of Richard Vicaridge and his wife, Anne, was baptized March 20, 1603, at Knightwick, County Worcester, England. Many others of the name are to be found in the parish registers of County Worcester. There are also Hopkins and Wakeman families (the Vicars family intermarried with these families) in County Worcester.

Robert Vicaris married Anne Sterry (they were both of Doddenham, County Worcester), June 29, 1678. In 1608 Robert Vicaris was of Tibberton, County Worcester, and in 1613 Robert and William Vicaris were taxed at Tibberton. On November 12, 1636, mention is found of Robert Vicaris, of Bewdley, Gentleman. (Bewdley was in the parish of Ribsford.) In 1607 Walter Vicaris was of Omberseley (near Bewdley) in County Worcester.

Collateral Vicars families include the following:

Edward Vickers, of Wakefield, Yorkshire, married Mary Rawson, daughter of Thomas Rawson, of Wardsend, near Sheffield,

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

and had children: Thomas, John, William, and Anne. Thomas Vickers married Elizabeth Broadbent, daughter of Joseph Broadbent, of Aston, and had children: William, Sarah, Elizabeth, all living in the seventeenth century. William Vickers, son of Edward Vickers, was of Southall Green, Ecclesfield, Yorkshire. He married Elizabeth Turbell, daughter of James Turbell, of Southall, and had children: John, Thomas, Edward, Elizabeth, and Mary. John Vickers, of Doncaster, attorney, was buried April 21, 1668. He married Mary Rasine, daughter of George Rasine, and had children: John, George, and Catherine.

Thomas Vicars was of Scrawsby before 1585. His daughter, Alice, married Thomas Bosville, of Warmsworth, County York. Joane Vicars married George Metham, of Cadeby, County York, about 1550. Mary Vicars, of Brodsworth, married George Holgate, of Stapleton, about 1600.

At Exeter, in the twelfth year of Henry I (1228), Walter de Wynemaneston and his wife, Alice, remitted and quit-claimed a tract of land in County Devon to Robert le Vicare and his heirs. The will of John Vicary is recorded in County Devon in 1547; that of Robert Vicary in County Devon in 1592; of William in 1596; of Roger in 1603; of John in 1608; of Emott in 1619; and Benedict in 1624. The arms of this family were granted in 1558. The principal seat of the Devon Vicars or Vicareys was at Dunkeswell, County Devon. They are of the same parent family as are the Vicars of County Worcester.

William Vicaris (or Vicars), of Bewdley, England, is mentioned in the will of William Hopkins, in 1647. Walter Vicars is called "cousin" in this will. Walter Vicars may have come to America, but there is no record of him in the New Haven Colony. The son-in-law of William Hopkins, John Wakeman, did come, however, and later on came "the cousin of his wife's," Anne Vicars.

Anne Vicars, daughter of Walter Vicars, of Bewdley, County Worcester, England, was born about 1634. She is also mentioned as a "daughter of Walter" in the will of William Hopkins. She came to America probably when between sixteen and eighteen years of age, and was engaged to marry John Roberts. He went back to England from America and was not heard of again. Before leaving he gave his property in America to "his espoused wife Anne Vicars." He left the property in the hands of John Wake-

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

man, to be given to her if he did not return. She married, August 4, 1656, John Thompson (see Thompson II).

(The Bird Line).

Arms—Argent, on a chevron engrailed gules between three lions rampant sable as many fleurs-de-lis or.

Names of animals have in all ages and among nearly all nations been applied as sobriquets to individuals and these, in modern times, have acquired the force of surnames and thus been handed down hereditarily. Bird, a nickname, is from the Middle English *bird* or *brid*, perhaps given to the original bearer because of his singing propensities.

The Bird family in England is very ancient and widely distributed. They are or have been numerous in the counties of Chester, Cumberland, Derby, Essex, Hereford, Oxford, Shropshire, Warwick, Yorke. The ancestry of the Birds of Penrith, County Cumberland, is traced to the year 1295. Father William Bird, a Benedictine monk, was a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity at Oxford in 1504. Wood thinks his church was at Bath, and that he died there May 22, 1525. His arms are curiously carved in stone in this old church. There have been many famous men of this surname in every generation of England since the earliest records. David le Brid was of County Oxford in 1273. John le Brid was of the same county in that year. Stefan Brid was of County Suffolk in 1273. Geoffrey Byrd was of County Salop in 1273. Henry le Brid was of County Somerset, 1 Edward III (1327).

The Bird pedigree is found in an old pedigree in vellum in the custody of Mr. James Bird, of Brogham. Henry Bird, of County Cumberland, England, married Joan Beauchamp, daughter of Thomas Beauchamp, of Little Croglin, County Cumberland. Their son, William Bird, of Little Croglin, County Cumberland, married Joan Tindall, daughter and co-heir of John Tindall, of Northumberland County. Their son, William Bird, of Pireth, County Cumberland, was living in 1295. He married Emma Gospatrik, daughter of Gospatrik, Knight, of Cumberland. Their son, Adam Bird, of Pireth, married Joane Threlkeld, daughter of William Threlkeld, of Yanworth, County Westmoreland. Their son, William Bird, of Pireth, married the daughter of Thomas Martindale, and

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

had a son, Roger Bird, of Pireth. He married Jane Crakenthorpe, daughter of John Crakenthorpe, of New Bigging, County Westmoreland. They had three children, James, John and Hugh.

The Birds of Worcester derive from the old family of Cumberland. They bear arms similar to the arms of the Birds of County Cumberland. Henry Bird, of Bradforton, near Evesham, County Worcester, was originally of the Bird family of Lincolnshire. He married and was the father of William Bird, born early in the sixteenth century, who married Mary Rutter. From him descend the Birds of Gloucester and the family that continued in Worcester.

Among the collateral branches of the Bird family are the Birds of Gloucestershire, England, who descend from the Cumberland family. William Bird, of Bradford, County Worcester, married Mary Rutter, the daughter of Michael Rutter. Their son, William Bird, of Evesham, County Worcester, married Anne Cox, daughter of Robert Cox, of Castleton, County Worcester. Their son, Peter Bird, of Wootton-under-Edge, County Gloucester, was born about 1570. He married Mary Foster, daughter of Humphrey Foster, of County Gloucester. They were the parents of Mary, Anne, Susan, Anthony, Gyles, Richard and William.

The Birds of Cheshire trace to Randoll Bird, of Yowley, Cheshire, who married Anne Merbury, daughter of Thomas Merbury, of Merbury. Their son, Richard Bird, of Yowley, married the daughter of a Davenport, and had a son, Richard Bird, of Yowley, who married the daughter of a Hocknell, of Duddon. Their son, John Bird, of Yowley, married Anne Delves, daughter of John Delves, of Delves Hall, and had John, Thomas and Richard.

John Bird, son of John and Anne (Delves) Bird, lived at Yowley. His brother, Thomas Bird, established a branch of the family at Crew, Cheshire, and his youngest brother, Richard Bird, was also of Cheshire. All of these sons of John and Anne (Delves) Bird were living about 1500.

Another family of Birds in Cheshire was represented in 1580 in the city of Chester by William Bird, Alderman and Justice of the Peace. Of him it is recorded "In the which servyce (he) demeaned hym selfe in sutehe wise that bothe of her Majesties Counsell in England and Irelande reported hym to bee a verey good subjecte, a wyse man and a readye further(er) of her Majesties



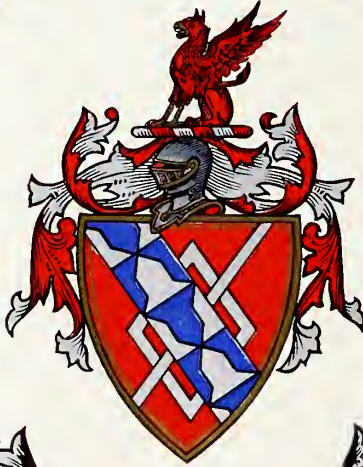
Honywood



Sparrow



Steele



Norton



Woodford



Skinner

WILSON

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

WILSON

WILSON

WILSON

SACO Union Skin

WILSON

SPARROW.

Arms—Argent, three roses gules, a chief of the last.

Crest—A yew tree proper.

HONEYWOOD (HONYWOOD).

Arms—Argent, a chevron between three falcons' heads erased azure, beaked or.

Crest—A wolf's head couped ermine.

STEELE.

Arms—Argent, a bend chequy sable and ermine, between two lions' heads erased gules, a chief azure.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or a demi-ostrich with wings endorsed gules.

WOODFORD.

Arms—Sable, three leopards' heads reversed jessant de lis argent.

Crest—A naked savage wreathed about the head and waist, in the dexter hand a club, and in the sinister a palm branch in bend, all proper.

Motto—*Libertate quietem.* (Ease in liberty.)

NORTON.

Arms—Gules, a fret argent, over all a bend vair.

Crest—A griffin sejant proper, winged gules, beak and forelegs or.

SKINNER.

Arms—Sable, a chevron or between three griffins' heads erased argent.

Crest—A griffin's head erased argent, holding in its mouth (beak) a dexter gauntlet.

Motto—*Nunquam non paratus.* (Never unprepared.)

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

services." He was the son of another William Bird, who was Mayor of Chester in 1557, whose wife was Jane Norley, daughter of Raffe Norley, of Eccleston, Cheshire. William (2) Bird married three times and had children as follows: John, born about 1640, Richard, Jane, Alice, Thomas, and Ellen.

The Birds of Yorkshire descend from George Burd (or Bird), of New Castle, merchant, and at one time Mayor of New Castle. He married Ellinor Harbottle, daughter of Sir Ralph Harbottle, and had a son, Anthony. Anthony Bird married Elizabeth Hilton, daughter and co-heir of Hugh Hilton, of Slingsby. Their children were: George, Mark, Hugh, Henry, Isabel, Anne, Alice, Eleanor, and Elizabeth; they were all born before 1600.

(The Family in America).

I. Thomas Bird died about 1660. He was of Hartford, Connecticut, in 1644. He married and had children: 1. Joseph. 2. James, of whom further. 3. Hannah, married John North. 4. Hannah, married a Scott.

II. James Bird, son of Thomas Bird, died in 1708. He married Lydia Steele. Children: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. Hannah, married Nathaniel Morgan. 3. Rebecca, married Samuel Lamb. 4. Lydia, married Peletiah Morgan. 5. Mehitable, married Simon Newell. 6. Elizabeth, married Ebenezer Alvord. 7. Daughter.

III. Thomas Bird, son of James and Lydia (Steele) Bird, died in 1725. He lived in that part of Farmington, Connecticut, afterwards called Northington, now Avon. He was a member of the church in 1691. He married, July 3, 1693, Mary Woodford. Children: 1. Mary. 2. John, born in 1695. 3. Joseph, of whom further. 4. Jonathan, born December 28, 1699. 5. Jonathan. 6. Jonathan. 7. Jonathan. 8. Jonathan.

IV. Joseph Bird, son of Thomas and Mary (Woodford) Bird, was born December 27, 1696, died in 1754. He lived in Avon, removed to Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1718-19, and to Salisbury, Connecticut, in 1748. He was chosen nine times to the General Court or State Legislature, and at his death he was Justice of the Quorum. He married (first), in 1721, Dorcas Norton, daughter of John and Ruth (Moore) Norton. She died in 1750-51. He married (second), in 1752, Mrs. Eldredge. Children: 1. James. 2. Mary. 3. Thomas.

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

4. Moore, of whom further. 5. Isaac. 6. Ruth. 7. Joseph. 8. Nathaniel. 9. Amos.

V. *Moore Bird*, son of Joseph and Dorcas (Norton) Bird, was born in 1729, and died in Salisbury, Connecticut, September 3, 1756. He married, in Salisbury, Connecticut, November 9, 1751, Rebeckah Skinner. Children: 1. Asenath, of whom further. 2. Electa, born June 1, 1754. 3. Nathaniel, born March 25, 1756, died in infancy.

VI. *Asenath Bird*, daughter of Moore and Rebeckah (Skinner) Bird, was born December 5, 1752. She married Captain James Bradley. (See Bradley VI.)

(The Skidmore Line).

Skidmore as a surname is derived from Norman-French "Escu d'amour," from which came the original family of Escudamour, or Scudamore. During the days of the early barons in England the family was noted for its excellent horsemanship and the superior breed of horses they possessed. Thomas Skidmore, the American founder, descended from a Norman ancestor, one of the captains who came to England with William the Conqueror. The home of the English family was mostly in Herefordshire.

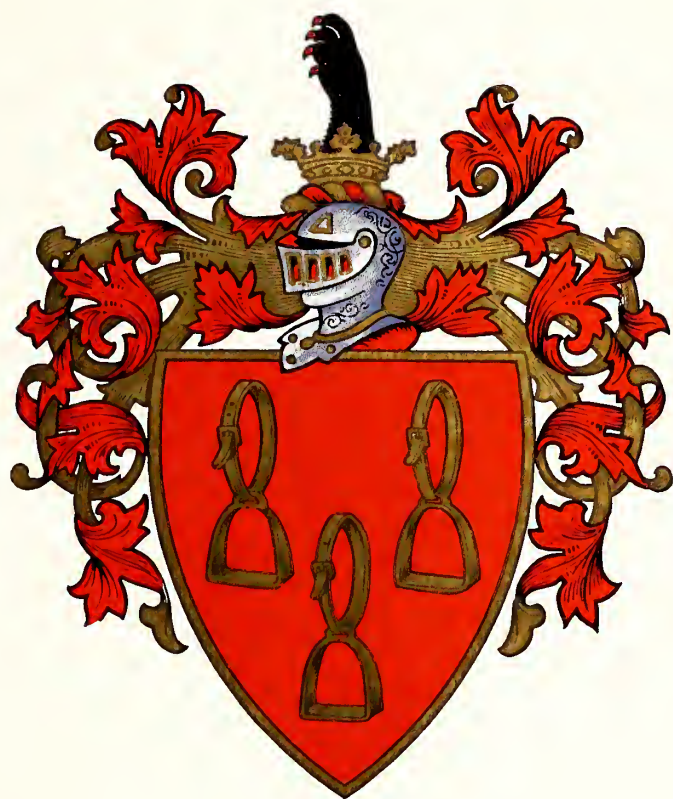
Skidmore Arms—Gules, three stirrups, leathers and buckles or.

Crest—A unicorn's head erased sable, platée.

Scudamore Arms—Gules, three stirrups, leathered and buckled or.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or a lion's gamb sable, armed gules.

I. *Thomas Skidmore*, a descendant of Sir Thomas Scudamore, of Holme Lacy Herefordshire, England, was born about 1600. About 1635 he was of Westerly, County Gloucester, England, and he sailed to America in the latter part of 1635. In 1636 he was of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and in 1640 he sent to England for his wife and family. In 1648 he owned a home lot in New London, Connecticut, in 1650 had land in Stratford, Connecticut, and from there he moved to Fairfield, Connecticut, and in 1672 to Huntington, Long Island. He became town clerk of Huntington, representative to the General Assembly in 1673, and served in King Philip's War in 1676. He married (first), in England, Ellen ———. He married (second) Mrs. Joanna Baldwin, widow of Daniel Baldwin. He married (third) Mrs. Sarah Treadwell, widow of Edward Treadwell. Children of first marriage: 1. Thomas, of whom further.



Scudamore



THE MAYFLOWER

On the 6th of September, 1620, in the Mayoralty of Thomas Fower, after being kindly entertained and courteously used by divers Friends there dwelling, the Pilgrim Fathers sailed from Plymouth in the *Mayflower*, in the Providence of God to settle in **NEW PLYMOUTH** and to lay the Foundation of the **NEW ENGLAND STATES**. The ancient Causey whence they embarked was destroyed not many Years afterwards, but the Site of their Embarkation is marked by the Stone bearing the name of the **MAYFLOWER** in the pavement of the adjacent Pier. This Tablet was erected in the Mayoralty of J. T. Bond 1891, to commemorate their Departure, and the visit to Plymouth in July of that Year of a number of their Descendants and Representatives.



Engd by Campbell 111

COMMEMORATIVE STONE AND TABLET ON THE BARBICAN,
PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

2. Dorothy, married Hugh Griffin. 3. Jedidiah, married Edward Higbee. 4. John. 5. Grace, married John Goulding. 6. Joseph.

II. Thomas Skidmore, son of Thomas and Ellen Skidmore, was born in England about 1625, and died in Huntington, Long Island, at an advanced age. He owned land in Huntington and in many of the adjoining settlements, also in Connecticut. He married Ellen, surname unknown. Children: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. Susanna. 3. Ellen.

III. Thomas Skidmore, son of Thomas and Ellen Skidmore, removed to Connecticut, and lived on land owned by his father. He was, from all data available, father of Ellen Skidmore, born in 1701-04, who married Enos Bradley, of New Haven (see Bradley IV).

(The Sparrow Line).

Through the line of Sparrow as traced hereafter, the families of this record have a connection with that courageous, God-fearing band of Pilgrims whose names surround the story of the passage and landing of the gallant little *Mayflower*. A line of honor in its own right, the relationship that thus follows is one lending additional distinction to a proud family history.

Arms—Argent, three roses gules, a chief of the last.
Crest—A yew tree proper.

I. Richard Sparrow died in Eastham, Massachusetts, January 8, 1660. He came to America in 1632, settling at Plymouth, and removed to Eastham in 1653. He married Pandora, and among their children was Jonathan, of whom further.

II. Captain Jonathan Sparrow, son of Richard and Pandora Sparrow, was of Eastham, Massachusetts. He was captain of a train band, served in early Indian wars, and was Representative to the General Court in 1668 and for eighteen years following. He married (first), October 26, 1654, Rebecca Bangs, daughter of Edward Bangs. He married (second) Hannah (Prince) Mayo, daughter of Governor Thomas Prince, a leading figure in Plymouth, and granddaughter of William Brewster, mentioned below. He married (third), in 1698, Sarah (Lewis) Cobb. Children of first marriage: 1. Rebecca, married Thomas Freeman. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Priscilla, married Edward Gray. 4. Lydia, married (first) William Freeman, and (second) Jonathan Higgins.

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

5. Elizabeth, married Captain Samuel Freeman. 6. Jonathan. Children of second marriage: 7. Richard, married Mercy Cobb. 8. Patience, married Joseph Paine.

Of the children of Jonathan Sparrow of his first marriage were Priscilla, who married Edward Gray, who was a grandson of James Chilton, of the *Mayflower*, whose death took place on board that vessel; and Lydia, who married Jonathan Higgins, the grandson of Thomas Rogers, of the *Mayflower*. Thomas Rogers was a native of England, and a member of the Leyden congregation. He was accompanied on the *Mayflower's* voyage by his son, Joseph, who became a resident of Duxbury, and afterwards lived in Eastham, Massachusetts, on Cape Cod. He was, in 1647, appointed lieutenant of the military company at Nawsett. The father, Thomas Rogers, died in the first sickness in 1621, and Joseph received his allotment of lands in the division at Plymouth in 1623. Thomas Rogers' other sons, John, William and Noah, afterwards emigrated from England to the Plymouth Colony and settled at Duxbury, Massachusetts.

William Brewster, who was justly named the "Patriarch of the Plymouth Colony," was the moral, religious, and spiritual leader of the Colony, and until his death its trusted guide. His early environments were of wealth and prosperity, therefore he was not brought up to arduous labors. The surname is derived from Brewer, Brewster, Brewister, meaning a brewer of malt liquors, and appears among the old families in the reign of Edward III as ranking among "the English landed gentry." The Suffolk branch of the family, through Robert Brewster, of Mutford, became established in the fifteenth century at Castle Hedingham, located in Essex, and marriage relations were formed with several knighted families. It is from this branch that Elder Brewster was descended, his coat-of-arms being identical with the Suffolk family.

His father, William Brewster, was appointed in 1575-76 receiver of Scrooby, and bailiff of the Manor House there, belonging to the Archbishop Sandys, of the Diocese of York. He had a life tenure of both these offices. Between 1583 and 1588 he was made postmaster, and became known as the "Post of Scrooby;" he was master of the court mails, accessible only to those connected with

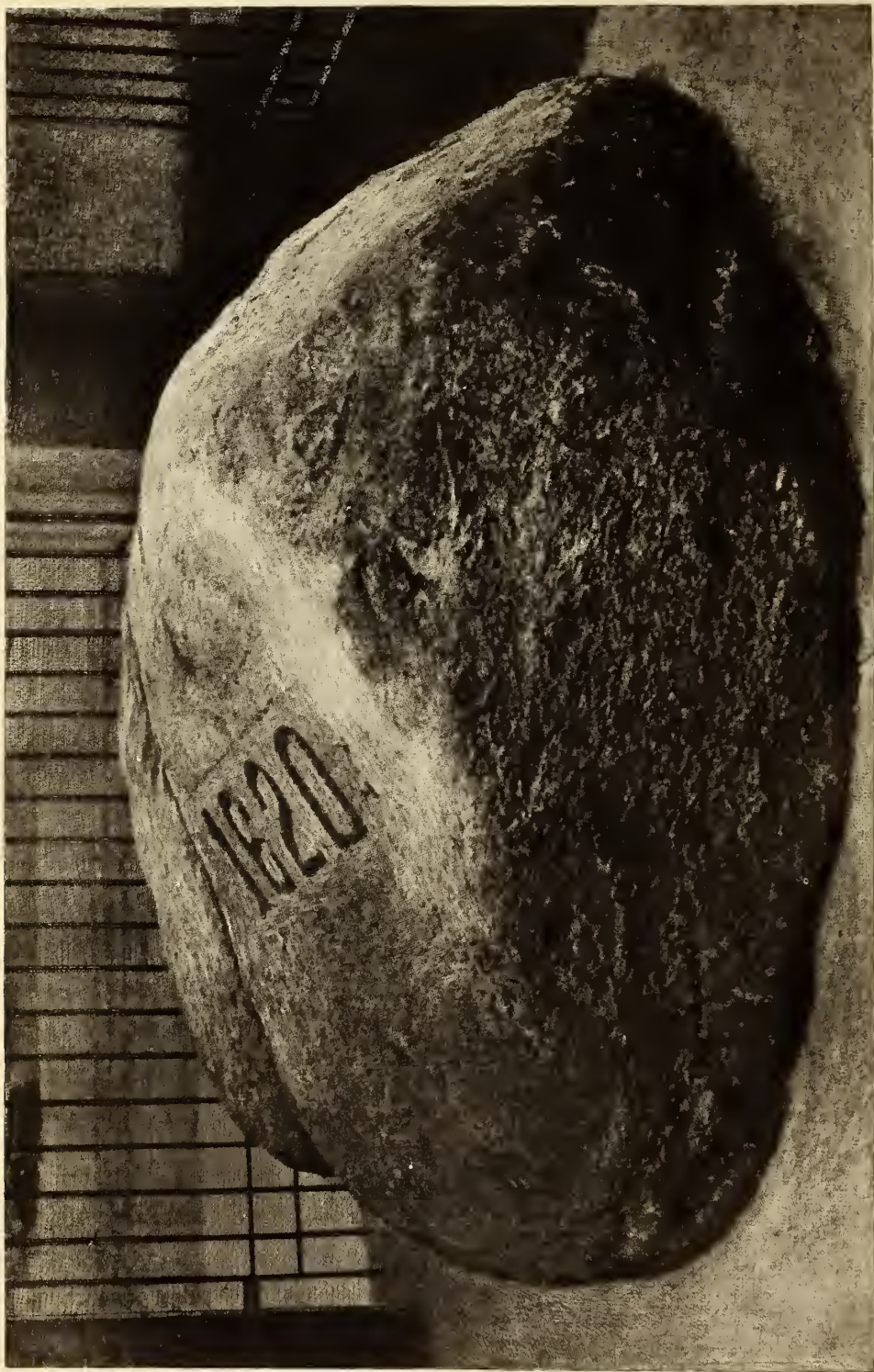


EMBARKATION OF THE PILGRIMS



Illustration by J. B. S. P. 1893

LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS



Engd by Campbell N.Y

PLYMOUTH ROCK

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

with the court. The office of postmaster in those days was filled by persons of high social station, and was a position of much consequence, as it involved the supplying of relay horses and the entertainment of travelers. The Scrooby Manor was a residence of importance; royalty had often been entertained there, and Cardinal Wolsey was its inmate for several weeks after his downfall. The paternal Brewster died at Scrooby in 1590. The birth, marriage, and death records of the parish of Scrooby are intact only since 1595, and there is no authentic testimony of the date of birth, or the birthplace of Elder Brewster. In accordance with an affidavit made by him at Leyden on June 25, 1609, in which he declares himself as being forty-two years of age, the date of his birth must have been in the last half of 1566 or the first half of 1567. That Scrooby was his birthplace is a matter of question, as there is no evidence that his father was a resident of that parish prior to his appointment as receiver. Young Brewster's education followed the lines given to the sons of the nobility and gentry. He matriculated, December 3, 1580, at Peterhouse, which was the oldest of the fourteen colleges, which afterward became the University of Cambridge, but he did not remain long enough at that institution to receive his degree. We find him after leaving Peterhouse in the service of William Davidson, Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State; he accompanied him in August, 1585, to the Court of The Netherlands on a diplomatic mission. The downfall of William Davidson occurred in 1587, and William Brewster, leaving court circles, returned to Scrooby. At the time of his father's death he administered his estate, and succeeded him as postmaster. For his services he received the munificent salary of twenty pence a day, which was increased in July, 1603, to two shillings. He resided at the Manor House, and was held in high esteem among the people, associating with the gentlemen of the surrounding country, and was prominent in promoting and furthering religion. Of a serious and religious mind, the forms and customs of the Established Church became abhorrent to him, and he became interested and active in the cause of the dissenters. Always loyal to the home government, he reluctantly accepted the fact that his conscientious scruples required his separation from the Established Church. He helped to form a dissenting society which met at his residence, thus forming the nucleus which constituted the Plymouth Pilgrims. The

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

meetings were interrupted by persecutions, continuance of which caused a number of the Separatists (by which they became known), to agitate in 1607 an emigration to Holland. William Brewster being under the ban of the church, became a member of a party which unsuccessfully tried to sail from Boston to Lincolnshire, England, and was arrested and imprisoned. He was in possession of considerable property at this time, a large part of which was spent to regain his liberty and in assisting the poorer members of the party to escape to Holland. His release from imprisonment having been obtained, a successful attempt at emigration was made and Holland was reached. After a short stay at Amsterdam he proceeded to Leyden, where the Rev. Mr. Robinson had established a church of which he was made ruling elder. He now found himself deprived of most of his wealth, and not fitted, like the other Pilgrims, to unaccustomed hardships and hard labor. His means had been spent in providing for his family, also by the treachery of a ship captain on his voyage to Leyden, who appropriated to himself most of his worldly possessions, including valuable and choice books. He was not, however, disheartened; his collegiate education became available in this his hour of need. He established at Leyden a school; his knowledge of Latin brought him many students, both Danes and Germans, who desired to acquire education in the English language. This, supplemented by his cheerfulness and contentment, enabled him to bear the burden of straitened finances, and the hardships incidental to emigration were overcome. He could not look for any financial assistance from his children, who had been bred to refinement and culture and were not fitted for toilsome and laborious duties. He was materially benefited financially by the establishing of a printing office; religious books were printed that were contributed by the English Government, and the operation was closely watched by the English Ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton. Elder Brewster was sent to England in 1619 to arrange for the emigration of the Pilgrims to America. The English Ambassador forwarded information of his departure for England, and recommended that he be apprehended and examined. His efforts were futile, and Elder Brewster returned to Leyden without being molested.

At the time of the departure of the Pilgrims for their future home in a new land, on account of his popularity, he was chosen



SIGNING OF THE COMPACT
IN THE CABIN OF THE MAYFLOWER, 1620

54.

set by them done (this their condition considered) might
be as firme as any patent; and in some respects more sure.
The forme was as followeth.

In y^e name of god Amen. We whose names are underwritten
the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord King James
by y^e grace of god, of great Britaine, France, & Ireland King,
defendor of y^e faith, &c.

Having undertaken, for y^e glorie of god, and advancement
of y^e Christian^{faith}, and honour of our king & country, a voyage to
plant y^e first Colonie in y^e Northern parts of Virginia. God
by these presents solemnly & mutually in y^e presence of god, and
one of another, Covenant, & combine our selves together into a
Civill body politick; for y^e better ordering, & preservation & fur-
therance of y^e ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte,
constitute, and frame such just & equall Lawes, ordinances,
Acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought
most meete & convenient for y^e generall good of y^e Colonie: unto
which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness
whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-
codd y^e 11. of November, in y^e year of y^e raigne of our soveraigne
Lord King James of England, France, & Ireland y^e eighteenth
and of Scotland y^e fifth fourth. An^o. Dom. 1620.]

After this they chose, or rather confirmed m^r John Carver (a man
godly & well approved amongst them) their Governour for that
year. And after they had provided a place for their goods, or
comon store, (which were long in unlading for want of boats,
foulness of y^e winter weather, and sickness of divers) and began
some small cottages for their habitation; as time would admit
they met and consulted of Lawes, & ordors, both for their
Civill & military Governement, as y^e necessitie of their condi-
tion did require, Still adding therunto as urgent occasion
in severall times, and ^{as} cases did require.

In these hard & difficult beginings they found some discontents
& murmurings ^{arise} amongst some, and mutinous speeches & carriage
in other; but they were soon quelled, & overcome, by y^e wis-
dom, patience, and just & equall carriage of things, by y^e Gov^r.
and better part with cleave faithfully together in y^e maine.
But that which was most sad, & lamentable, was, that in 2.
or 3. moneths time halfe of their company dyed, especially
in Jan: & february, being y^e depth of winter, and wanting
coups & other comforts; being infected with y^e Scourge &

IN YE NAME OF GOD, AMEN.

We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread fovereigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, King, defender of ye faith, etc., have-
ing undertaken for ye glory of God and advancement of ye Chris-
tian faith, and honour of our King and countrie, a voyage to plant
ye first Colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these
presents solemnly, and mutually, in ye pefence of God, and of one
another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body
politik for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of
ye end aforesaid, and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute and
frame such just and equal lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions and
offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and con-
venient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise
all due submiffion and obedience. In witnes whereof we have
hereunder subscribed our names at Cape-Codd ye 11 of November,
in ye year of ye raigne of our fovereigne Lord, King James of En-
gland, France and Ireland, ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie-
fourth. Ano Dom. 1620.

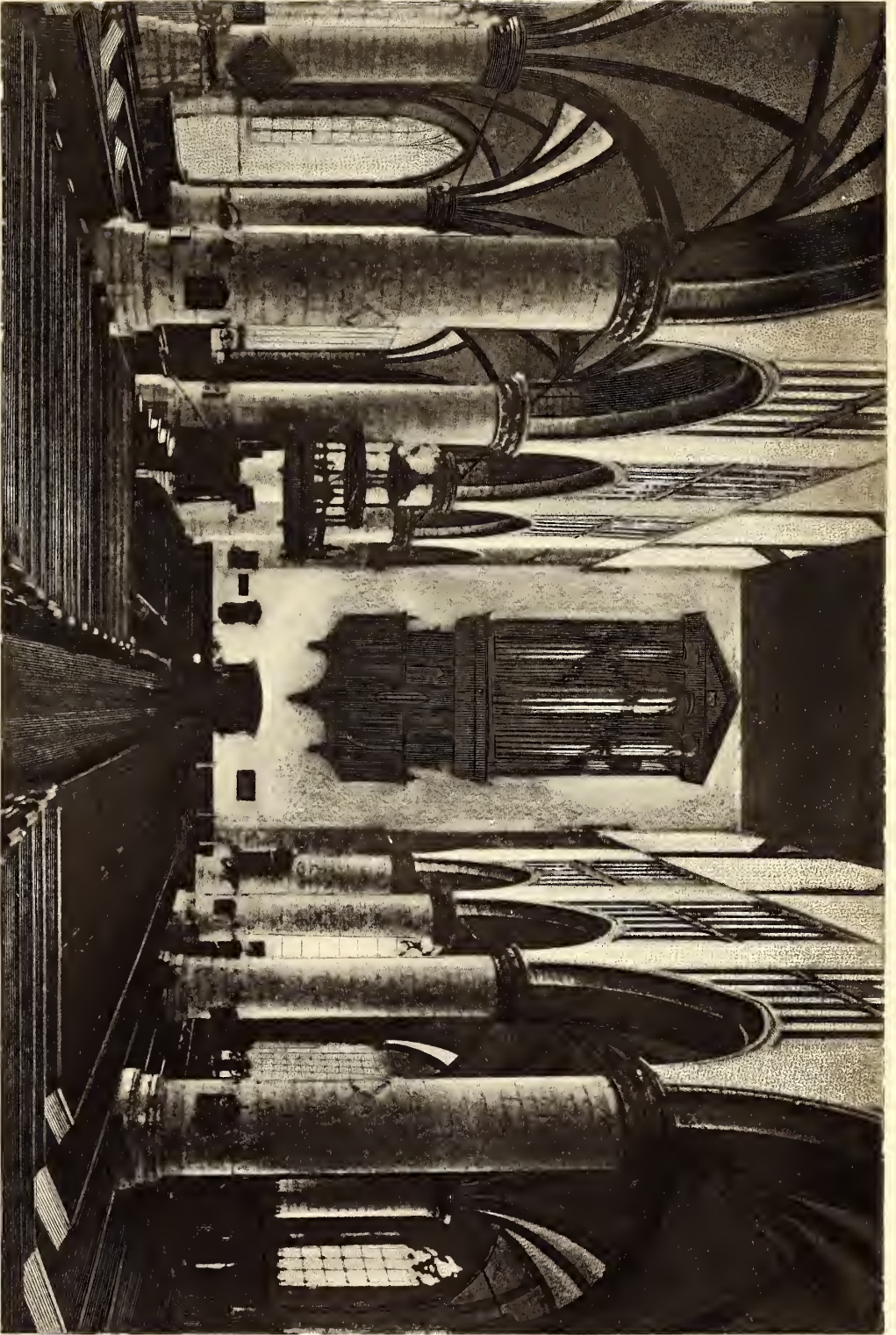
1. John Carver,
2. William Bradford,
3. Edward Winslow,
4. William Brewster,
5. Isaac Allerton,
6. Myles Standish,
7. John Alden,
8. Samuel Fuller,
9. Christopher Martin,
10. William Mullins,
11. William White,
12. Richard Warren,
13. John Howland,
14. Stephen Hopkins,

15. Edward Tilley,
16. John Tilley,
17. Francis Cooke,
18. Thomas Rogers,
19. Thomas Tinker,
20. John Rigdale,
21. Edward Fuller,
22. John Turner,
23. Francis Eaton,
24. James Chilton,
25. John Crackston,
26. John Billington,
27. Moses Fletcher,
28. John Goodman,

29. Degory Priest,
30. Thomas Williams,
31. Gilbert Winslow,
32. Edmund Margeson,
33. Peter Brown,
34. Richard Britteridge,
35. George Soule,
36. Richard Clarke,
37. Richard Gardiner,
38. John Allerton,
39. Thomas English,
40. Edward Dotey,
41. Edward Lister,



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, LEYDEN, HOLLAND.



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, LEYDEN, HOLLAND.

BANNING AND ALLIED FAMILIES

26, 1772. Children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Thomas, born February 5, 1720-21. 3. Stephen, born March 18, 1723; married, in 1746, Apphia Pepper. 4. Elizabeth, twin with Stephen. 5. Nathaniel, born in 1725, died at East Haddam, Connecticut, in 1804. 6. Richard, born July 16, 1727; married (second), in 1763, Deborah Howland; he died before 1790, and his widow remained in East Haddam. 7. Joshua, born May 28, 1730. 8. Apphia, born July 18, 1731; married Abner Beebe. 9. James, born October 22, 1735.

V. *John Sparrow*, son of Stephen and Annah (Mulford) Sparrow, was born in Eastham, Massachusetts, July 6, 1719, and died in East Haddam, Connecticut, July 25, 1764, aged forty-five years. He removed from Eastham, Massachusetts, to East Haddam, Connecticut, before 1749. He married Elizabeth, who was born in 1723, and died in East Haddam, October 11, 1774, in her fifty-second year. Children: 1. Mary, born December 14, 1749. 2. Annah, of whom further. 3. Elizabeth, born December 13, 1753. 4. John, born February 22, 1756. 5. Apphia, born May 2, 1758. 6. Stephen, born November 8, 1760. 7. Benjamin, born November 9, 1762.

VI. *Annah Sparrow*, daughter of John and Elizabeth Sparrow, was born April 19, 1751. She married, April 2, 1777, Abner Banning (see Banning III).



1928

VOL. XXII

SECOND QUARTER

NO. 2

Americana

ILLUSTRATED



Gribbel

The American Historical Society, Inc.

à Bord du Natchez sur le Mississippi 24 avril 1825

J'ai reçu, madame, la lettre que vous m'avez écrite le deux de ce mois, et je vous
 réponds à une grande distance de Washington où je puis faire votre commission; j'ai
 bien l'air en remontant le Mississippi le long du territoire d'Arkansas, mais le
 fort Smith est si loin de l'entrée de la rivière de la Louisiane, je prends donc le parti
 d'écire à mes amis le général Brown commandant les troupes de ligne, et Mr. Barbour
 Secrétaire de la guerre, j'espère qu'ils présenteront à ma demande au nouveau président
 le long de votre fils; je serai moi-même à Washington vers la fin de juillet et si après
 avoir obtenu le long il passait en France vers la fin de l'été, je serais fort aise de
 voyager avec lui. C'est la que je dois de mieux à faire, à la distance on ne sait pas me
 fournir de trêve aux char de l'absence, je vois avec beaucoup de peine la que vous m'écritez
 du fâcheux état de M. de Bonneville, mon ancien compagnon de voyage, et je me sentirai
 très heureux si je contribue à lui procurer ainsi qu'à vous, madame, le plaisir de voir
 un fils qui sortant de l'admirable école de West Point se s'élève toujours bien conduit
 ne peut que vous donner toute sorte de satisfaction. Offrez lui aussi à son père, ce
 salut de l'expression de mon attachement et de mon respect
 Lafayette

FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM LAFAYETTE TO MADAME DE BONNEVILLE

Translation:—

On Board the "Natchez,"
 On The Mississippi, April 24, 1825.

I received the letter, madam, you wrote me December 2nd, and I answer you at a
 great distance from Washington, where I can perform your commission.

I have been well received, travelling up the Mississippi, bordering the Arkansas
 Territory, but Fort Smith is very far from the mouth of the Arkansas River. I am
 taking pains to write to my friends, the good Brown, commander of the troops of the
 line, and Mr. Barbour, Secretary of War. I hope they will present to the new president
 your son's request for leave of absence and I will ask them to do so. I, myself will be
 in Washington toward the end of July, and if he would start for France at the end of this
 summer, after having received his leave of absence, I would be very glad to travel with
 him.

I am very sorry to hear that M. de Bonneville is in bad condition and I would be ever
 so happy if I could contribute to procure him, as well as yourself, madame, the pleasure
 of seeing a son, who is just leaving the admirable school of West Point, where he con-
 ducted himself always very well. This cannot help but give you all possible satisfaction.

Please remember me to his father. Receive the expression of my affection and esteem.

LAFAYETTE.

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APRIL, 1928

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AMERICANA

April, 1928

A Forgotten Hero of the Revolution*

By LOUIS H. BOLANDER, ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND



AMONG the many heroes who fill almost forgotten graves, but who rendered genuine service to the cause of American Independence may be mentioned Captain Lambert Wickes of the Continental Navy. Captain Wickes was a native of Kent County on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. He was of a distinguished family and the great-great-grandson of one of the earliest pioneers of the Eastern Shore, Major Joseph Wickes who settled there in 1650.

When the Revolution broke out he was about forty years old and a bachelor. Little is known of his early career except that he was a seaman, and commanded ships out of Philadelphia a number of years before the Revolution. During this period he no doubt became acquainted with Robert Morris, the wealthy Philadelphia ship-owner and merchant, and it was probably through Morris' influence as a member of the Marine Committee that he obtained his first command in the youthful Continental Navy. He must have received a fair amount of education in his youth for his letters show a degree of facility in the use of his native tongue. We do know that he sought no undue recognition of his services, claimed no fantastic honors, nor hounded the Marine Committee and the Congress for rewards all out of their power to bestow. In this respect he compares most favorably with other naval officers of the Revolution, whose names are now household words on two continents. Yet he contributed substantially to the final success of the movement for American Independence, and would probably have accom-

*It has been the good fortune of "Americana" to receive recently two stories bringing to light the patriotic activity and achievements of Revolutionary heroes. One was "The Forgotten General" (Erskine), which ran serially in these pages in late numbers; while in the present article the same service is performed for a Naval figure. The fact that the author of this contribution is assistant librarian of the United States Naval Academy library is a point of additional interest and lends a touch of intimacy and pride to the notable record he outlines.

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plished much more had not the hazards of the sea brought his career to an untimely end.

On June 10, 1776, the Committee of Secret Correspondence of Congress by arrangement with the Marine Committee, issued orders to Captain Wickes who had been previously placed in command of the Continental brig "Reprisal" of 16 guns, to proceed to the West Indies and to bring from thence munitions of war for Washington's armies. He was ordered to take out Mr. William Bingham as a passenger. Mr. Bingham had been appointed as agent from the American colonies to Martinique, a French possession. From this time on until the day of his death sixteen months later, Capt. Wickes was to pass through such a period of constant and perilous adventure, as falls to the lot of few men in a much longer space of time.

With characteristic energy Wickes made his little vessel ready for the voyage, and passed down the Delaware from Philadelphia some time during the latter part of June, 1776, and was able to clear the river on July 3, just one day before the Declaration of Independence was signed. Before passing out into the Atlantic, however, he was able to render his first service to the American cause. Captain Montgomery of the Continental armed brig "Nancy" of six guns was just returning from St. Croix and St. Thomas with three hundred and eighty-six barrels of gunpowder, so badly needed by Washington's armies. Off the Delaware Capes he was sighted and chased by six British men-of-war. To save her from capture and to save a part at least of the valuable powder, he ran her ashore. Captain Wickes with his crew aided by Captain John Barry with his crew of the "Lexington" were able to keep off the boats sent from the H. M. S. "Kingfisher," and to save about two hundred barrels of powder. Before quitting the "Nancy," they laid a train of gunpowder which, when the "Nancy" was boarded, blew up with a large number of the British sailors. Some authorities place the number of British slain by this explosion to as high as eighty; however, one of Barry's officers who was present, Lieut. Luke Matthewman, says there were about thirty of the "Nancy's" captors killed. His estimate is probably more nearly correct. In the engagement, Wickes' third lieutenant, his own brother, lost his life.

Notwithstanding his grief over his loss, Captain Wickes at once put out to sea and cleared the Delaware Capes July 3rd. On July

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11th he had the satisfaction of falling in with the English merchant ship "Friendship" of 500 tons, Capt. Mackay. The "Friendship" was from Grenada bound to London, and carried a valuable cargo of rum, coffee, cocoa, and sugar. Wickes estimated her value at 35,000 pounds sterling. Wickes offered Capt. Mackay his liberty and private property, which he accepted. His crew voluntarily entered the American service. Two days later the "Reprisal" made a second capture of the English schooner "Peter," Capt. Muckelno, from St. Vincents bound for Liverpool, laden with sugar, coffee, cocoa, and cotton, and a hundred hogsheads of rum. He determined to send his prizes back to Philadelphia and have them sold there for the public account. He assigned one of his officers, John Parks, to the command of the "Friendship," and Jeremiah Holden to the "Peter." These two ships were driven by the British blockading fleet to take refuge on the Jersey coast at Egg Harbor, but finally reached Philadelphia safely on August 5, 1776. A third capture he also sent to the United States. This was the merchant vessel "Neptune" commanded by Capt. Patterson, an Englishman, bound from Antigua to Cork, Ireland, and laden with rum. A fourth capture was the "Duchess of Leinster," Capt. Carew, also with a cargo of rum from Antigua to Dublin. Wickes must have felt that the American colonists and the Irish had a common bond of sympathy, in that they both had felt the oppression of the government of George III, for when he found that the vessel was Irish property he told Capt. Carew that were their cases reversed he was sure that he would deal generously with him. Accordingly, he released the prize, and wished the good captain a safe and speedy voyage home. The "Duchess of Leinster" arrived in Dublin September 3rd.

Continuing his voyage he arrived off Martinique, July 27th, and was about to enter the harbor of St. Pierre, when he was hailed by the British man-of-war "Shark." The "Shark" had an armament of sixteen guns which just equalled that of the "Reprisal," but she had a full complement of men, whereas the crew of the "Reprisal" had been greatly weakened by sending off a number of men on each of the prizes. Capt. Chapman of the "Shark" reported to the Admiralty that at half-past five the afternoon of the 27th a ship was seen coming around the northern point of the bay, and was suspected of being an American. At seven the "Shark" slipped her cables and made sail. Half an hour later the "Reprisal" tacked.

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We wore and stood towards him & hailed him twice in French to which he made no answer; we afterwards hailed him in English, he continued to make sail from us & made no reply. At 9 fired a shot ahead of him and hailed him in English. Told him we was an English Man-of-War; he made no answer but bore down and fired a Broadside into us which we returned immediately and continued engaging $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, then he back'd his Maintops & dropt astern & afterwards tack'd; $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10 we tack'd & stood towards him, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past ten they fired 2 shots at us from the shore, which occasioned us to bear away; he kept his wind and anchored in the bay.

Wickes' account of the fight was somewhat different. He claims he replied to both the French and English hail from the "Shark," and that the latter fired one shot at him at 10 o'clock, followed by three others in quick succession; the "Reprisal" returned four, after which the English made sail and withdrew as hastily as possible from the contest. The "Reprisal" then entered the harbor. Admiral Young, the British officer in command of the station, made a demand on the Governor of Martinique for the surrender of Wickes and his little vessel, which demand was promptly refused. Our gallant captain found himself in great favor among the Frenchmen of St. Pierre for his behavior in the affair with the "Shark."

Having landed his passenger, Mr. Bingham, and having secured a cargo of powder and arms, he left Martinique on August 26th, and after an uneventful voyage arrived in Philadelphia, September 13th. Four French military officers took passage with him, as they wished to secure employment with the American land service.

Eight days after his return from his voyage (September 21) he received an urgent letter from the Marine Committee:

This Committee being very desirous of sending the Reprisal under your command on immediate service—desire that you forward her outfit, take in provisions for two Months, and get ready for Sea with the utmost expedition.

But he was not told at the time the nature of the service he was to be called upon to render. Wickes at once set about getting his "Reprisal" ready for sea. On October 10, 1776, he received from the Continental Congress on recommendation from the Marine Committee an honor which must have been a source of great pride and gratification to him, though it no doubt caused among other officers not so fortunate feelings quite the reverse. For on that date the Congress established a list of captains for the Continental Navy,

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on which list his name was the eleventh. John Paul Jones' name was also on the list but only in the eighteenth place, and his wrath and jealousy must have been terrible to behold. Wickes never mentions this honor in any of his letters known to be now in existence, and it evidently came to him unsought though no doubt he had a powerful friend on the Marine Committee in the person of Robert Morris.

Wickes learned on October 24th that the purpose of his next cruise was to convey Benjamin Franklin to France, and the Committee ordered him, after landing Dr. Franklin safely, to put himself on the lookout for the English "Lisbon Packet" taking a station off Falmouth. He was directed to capture her, take what specie might be found aboard, carry it to France, and pay it over to the order of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Silas Deane, or Mr. Thomas Morris, the commercial agent of the "Secret Committee" at Nantes. The Committee indicated that "Congress will pay here (in Philadelphia) yours and the people's share of such money, as well as their share of any prizes or parts of prizes that may be sold there (in France) and the money applied to the public use."

The "Reprisal" with Franklin on board passed the Capes of the Delaware early in November and arrived off the French coast at Nantes on the 29th. Captain Wickes was the first American naval officer, and the "Reprisal" was the first American man-of-war to appear in European waters. On the passage Dr. Franklin had made the acquaintance of the captain, and had taken a great liking to him. With such an important passenger Wickes was not looking for trouble, and sought no encounters, but several times when he thought that the occasion demanded it he beat to quarters, pleasing Franklin greatly with his spirit and with that of his men. On the 27th and 28th just before sighting land he fell in with two brigantines under English colors, one bound from Bordeaux to Cork, and the other just out of Rochefort and bound to Hull. Both were richly laden. The two prizes were taken in to Quiberon Bay and disposed of secretly though with little difficulty to French merchants.

As soon as he had landed Dr. Franklin safely at Nantes, he employed himself in refitting the "Reprisal" and in securing his prisoners whom he hoped would serve to rescue many of his unfortunate fellow-countrymen from the dreaded English prisons, For-

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ton and Mill. He was also kept busy during the following winter in examining ships. Ships must be bought for the American Navy, and intent on making himself serviceable to his country, he made the rounds of the seaports of France examining such likely ships as he heard of. All these matters he reported in detail to Franklin. He seems to have conceived a great respect and liking for the great philosopher and referred to him all important matters that came to him for decision. He was not a man learned in international law, and he saw no reason why the French government should not allow him to sell his prizes in French ports, refit his vessel in French dockyards, and detain prisoners taken from his prizes on French soil until an exchange could be effected with his unfortunate compatriots in Forton and Mill. The French government winked at such proceedings as long as possible, as feeling in France was most friendly to the American cause. These really were gross breaches of neutrality, and the French were finally obliged to heed the bitter and really just complaints of the British Ambassador, Lord Stormont.

Captain Wickes set sail again about the middle of January, 1777, and probably cruised along the coast of Spain, in the Bay of Biscay, and the mouth of the English Channel. On February 5, 1777, he encountered the "Lisbon Packet," which he had been ordered to capture. The packet was two days out of Falmouth, was commanded by one Capt. Newman, and carried an armament of 4-pounders and a few smaller guns. She put up a hard fight but lowered her colors in forty minutes, but not until two of the "Reprisal's" officers had been seriously wounded, and one man killed. Stormy weather kept the "Reprisal" with its prizes nine days from port, but on February 14th he reached Port Louis safely. Besides the packet, on this cruise he captured the "Polly and Nancy" of 150 tons, Capt. Rontisbear, from Liverpool bound for Cadiz with 2000 quintals of dried fish; the "Hibernia" of 150 tons, Capt. Jefferson, from Dublin to Lisbon, with wheat and flour; the "Generous Friends" of 70 tons, Capt. Duncan, from the Orkney Islands to Cadiz with barley; the "Betty" of 150 tons, Capt. Campbell, from Bordeaux to Londonderry with brandy and wine; and the "Swallow" packet, Capt. Norman, from Falmouth to Lisbon was restored to her officers as she carried nothing of value. These prizes, exclud-

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ing the "Lisbon Packet" were sold for 120,000 livres tournois or about \$24,000, a substantial aid to the impoverished colonies.

The following two months were full of worry and strain for even as energetic a man as Wickes. Stirred to action by the bitter remonstrances of the British government, the French authorities ordered Wickes to leave l'Orient, whither he had sailed from Port Louis, in 24 hours. Wickes claimed the "Reprisal" had sprung a leak and should be careened for repairs. After several days bickering with the port authorities he gained his point, receiving permission to make his repairs, and thus gained a few weeks delay from carrying out the orders of the French government. He proved exceedingly fertile in excuses and was able several times to defeat the best intentions of the Frenchmen in charge of the port while he made ready for another cruise.

In April he was joined by the American armed cruiser "Lexington," 16 guns, under command of Capt. Henry Johnson, and the "Dolphin" sloop of 10 guns under Capt. Samuel Nicholson. On the "Lexington," serving as Master's Mate was the young Richard Dale, destined two years later to distinguish himself with John Paul Jones on the "Bon Homme Richard," and many years later while a man in middle life to command the first squadron of the new Navy under the Constitution to appear in European waters. These ships rendezvoused near the mouth of the Loire, and were joined there by the "Reprisal," where by arrangement with the American Commissioners, they were to constitute a squadron under the command of Wickes.

The Commissioners had first proposed that they cruise in the North Sea for the Baltic ships, as John Paul Jones did in 1779 with a much stronger fleet, or, as an alternative on the coast of Guinea. Wickes wrote the Commissioners from l'Orient on March 5th, 1777, that he was afraid their proposal could not be carried out successfully,

As neither I nor my officers are acquainted with those seas, nor have we any proper charts for those seas. Another objection is the certainty of being soon discovered, as there is such numbers of vessels passing and repassing continually; the consequences of which would be dangerous as the passages in and out are narrow, and we should be either blocked in or taken. . . . The coast of Guineay I think much safer and better; but there are such difficulties attending it as cannot be got over. Our ship will not carry water and pro-

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vision enough for that cruise, as it will be necessary to take four months' water and provision for that cruise, and we can not take more than two months' water and provision.

It was finally decided that his little squadron should attempt to intercept the Irish linen ships.

Wickes' orders to his captains showed shrewdness and good judgment. The ships were not to separate

"Unless we should be chased by a Vessel of Superior force & it should be Necessary so to do for our own preservation." In such an event "You may continue your Cruise through the Irish Channel or to the North West of Ireland, as you may Judge Safest & best, untill you arrive off the Isles Orkney and there Cruise 5 or 6 days for the Fleet to come up & join you. If they do not appear in that time, You may make the best of your way back to Bilboa or St. Sebastian & there Refit as fast as possible for another Cruise." In regard to taking prizes to French or Spanish ports, "The Prize Master must not Report or Enter her as a Prize, but as an American Vessel from a port that will be most likely to gain Credit according to the Cargo she may have on board."

The three little vessels set sail together from St. Auzeau on May 28, 1777. They laid their course to the northwest in order to proceed around the British Isles and into the North Sea. Two days out they sighted the H. M. S. "Foudroyante." She immediately gave chase and fired several shots at the "Lexington," but fortunately no harm was done and all three vessels got away safely. On June 19th they reached the north coast of Ireland. At this point Wickes, because of contrary winds gave up his idea of proceeding on into the North Sea, and having missed the linen ships owing to his ignorance of their time of sailing, set his course toward the Irish Sea. Shipping was heavy in these waters, and many an unsuspecting craft fell an easy prey to the daring Yankee seamen. In entering the Irish Sea these men knew that they might be very well entering their death trap for here their escape could be easily cut off, but they cheerfully followed their intrepid leader, spreading consternation and fear in their wake.

On June 19th the squadron took the sloop "Merion" of Greenwich, Neal Taylor, master, in ballast. Her the captors sunk. Again on the same day they took the brig "Expedition," Capt. Braithwaite, in ballast, and also sunk; and the "Bellisle," Capt. Ribble

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McGomery, which was sent to France; a fourth capture was allowed to go free.

On the 20th, they captured the brig "Jenny and Sally" of Glasgow, William Drummond, master, and sent her to France; next, the sloop, "Jason" of Whitehaven, Capt. Josh Hutchinson, in ballast, and sent her to France; then the "Jenny and Peggy" of Irvine, William Howe, master, in ballast and sunk her; next the sloop "Edward and Ann" of Queensferry, Edward Brown, master, laden with wheat, and sent her to France.

On the 21st they captured the bark "John and Thomas" of Whitehaven, John Yowart, master, laden with deals, and sent her to France; on the 22nd they captured two brigs laden with coal, the "Graystock" and the "Favorite" and sunk them.

On the 23rd three ships were captured; the "Grace" laden with rum, sugar and tobacco; the brig "Peggy" laden with butter and hides; and the "Crawford" in ballast. By this time Wickes' squadron was loaded with prisoners, and an uprising among them might spell disaster to his expedition. Accordingly, on the evening of the 24th he loaded all his prisoners on the "Crawford" under the command of Capt. Yowart of the "John and Thomas," and sent them forward to Whitehaven. He well knew that these men would carry news of his wholesale captures to land and that the Admiralty would soon have ships hot on his trail. So he immediately stood down the Irish Channel. The next day they stopped long enough to take in the "John and Peter," an English sloop, but as she was in ballast and he could ill spare any more men for a prize crew he let her go. That afternoon he passed close to the English shore at Land's End. On the next day (June 26th) he captured his last prize, loaded with cork, and sent her to France.

At daybreak of the 27th Wickes sighted a large ship off Ushant, and stood for her. He soon discovered her to be an English 74 gun ship-of-war. She bore down rapidly and an exciting chase ensued. The "Dolphin" and the "Lexington" were better sailors and got away safely, but Wickes was obliged to cast all his guns overboard and even to saw away some of his bulwarks before getting clear. The British ship gave up the chase at 9 P. M. and Wickes reached St. Malo late that night in company with the "Dolphin." The "Lexington" had parted with them in the chase and put into Morlaix July 1st, 2nd, or 3rd.

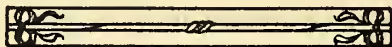
A FORGOTTEN HERO OF THE REVOLUTION

Though in this cruise they failed in their main object of capturing the linen ships, they sailed quite around Ireland, captured sixteen sail of vessels; most effectually alarmed England; prevented the great fair at Chester; caused insurance rates to rise; and deterred the English merchants from shipping merchandise in English bottoms at any rate.

Wickes at once reported his cruise to Franklin and the other Commissioners at Paris, giving unstinted praise to his associates, particularly Captain Johnson, whom he had never known before. In this he was most unlike John Paul Jones who preferred to share his glory with no one.

He had had a strenuous month and needed rest and a chance to refit his little fleet. Before he had completed refitting, orders came from Paris to detain his vessel and the "Lexington" until further notice. When they were permitted to leave it was with strict orders to sail at once for America. France could not risk her neutrality with England at that time by allowing privateers to fit out at her ports for depredations on English coasts. On Sept. 14th he left in his beloved "Reprisal" accompanied by the "Dolphin" for the United States. But he was destined never to see his country again for which he had fought so well. On about the first of October, 1777, his ship went down off the Banks of Newfoundland with all on board except the cook, who survived to tell of the disaster.

Thus closed a career distinguished for patriotism, gallantry, and humanity, for not a single charge of cruelty or harshness was ever breathed against him by any one of his many prisoners. Franklin, who knew him well, said of him. "He was a gallant officer, and a very worthy man."



Timothy Flint

A DISTINGUISHED TRAVELER, MISSIONARY, EDITOR AND AUTHOR DURING
THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE WEST

CHARLES A. INGRAHAM, CAMBRIDGE, NEW YORK



THE history of the development of the United States from the original fringe of European occupation along the Atlantic coast has never been incorporated in a single work. Indeed, hundreds of volumes would be required to accommodate the reduction of the mass of printed material existing in public and private libraries and archives of historical societies, to say nothing of the manuscripts which may be found in all such repositories, known only to historical students. The average citizen is acquainted with little more than the fragmentary accounts which have become of general circulation, lacking the time and disposition to inquire further into that grand continental movement which, undiscouraged, subdued the wilderness to the Mississippi, followed Fremont through the Rockies and halted not until our western borders embraced the Pacific. It constitutes a sublime epic with imperishably romantic, tragic and heroic episodes, unrivaled by any similar development in the history of the world.

Of the many who were prominent among the American pioneers of the first third of the Nineteenth Century, perhaps none were more energetic, courageous and influential than Timothy Flint, though his activities as a clergyman and literary man were exercised along spiritual, ethical and intellectual lines. As a missionary in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and in the South, he exerted a wide and permanent influence, and in the publication of his books, dealing with these parts, he contributed the best contemporary information concerning them extant, all entertainingly set forth. His successful career is remarkable in that during forty of his sixty years of life he was in ill health, his going West and his subsequent wanderings there having been for the benefit of his delicate and precarious constitution.

Timothy Flint was born at North Reading, Massachusetts, ten

TIMOTHY FLINT

miles west of Salem, on the 11th of July, 1780. His father, William Flint, was a farmer and a descendant of Thomas Flint who came to Salem about 1640 and took up lands where his name is perpetuated in Flint Street of that city. Thomas Flint hailed from Wales. Timothy prepared for college at the North Reading parish school, Phillips Academy, and graduated at Harvard in 1800. He early exhibited the characteristics that marked his career—a love of reading, a speculative, dreamy disposition, a habit of retirement and a desire for travel. After his graduation he began the study of theology, taught for a year, preached at Marblehead for a brief period, where he was married in 1802 to Abigail Hubbard, the daughter of a clergyman. During the same year, at the age of twenty-two, he was ordained pastor of the church at Lunenburg, forty miles northwest of Boston, where he remained twelve years.

While serving the Lunenburg parish, Mr. Flint, in order to eke out his income of only four hundred dollars a year, devoted himself to the cultivation of the land attached to the parsonage, though in poor health. He was fond of scientific pursuits and employed his leisure in making chemical experiments, which practice brought him under suspicion as being engaged in secret and unworthy manipulations, and he was charged with counterfeiting. This and other troubles, together with the refusal of the parish to increase his salary, which with the three children, was needed, he resigned his pastorate in 1814. During the space of about a year and a half following Mr. Flint was in the employ of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and was engaged in New Hampshire, Massachusetts and northern New York, maintaining his home at Lunenburg. This occupation he did not find congenial, and having read accounts of the attractions of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, of their fertile soil and mild climate, he resolved to go thither as a missionary, hoping, too, that the change would prove beneficial to his health. He remembered the setting out in 1788 of his uncle, Hezekiah Flint, in the band of pioneers bound for the Muskingum river in Ohio, and led by General Rufus Putnam. These memories of childhood and accounts of the primitive splendors of the virgin West appealed to his love of travel and adventure, and all the more from his having become weary of the bickerings and annoyances of his pastoral experiences. He was encouraged to make the western venture by his cousin, Rev. James Flint, D. D., with

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whom he had attended Harvard, and by Mr. Joseph Peabody, both of Salem, and who proved lasting friends, the latter frequently giving him financial aid in the impecunious circumstances in which he was for many years involved.

The tide of emigration from New England to the West was much increased during the period of the war of 1812, owing to the discouraging influence which it exerted upon agricultural pursuits, and a marked and deplorable thinning of the population was observable in this portion of the country. This wide-spread trend to the West no doubt increased the longing of Mr. Flint to visit the distant lands beyond the Alleghenies, and having engaged himself to the Missionary Society of Connecticut, we find him on the 5th of October, 1815, with his family crossing the Hudson at Fishkill, bound for that remote territory towards which so many were wending their way. His mode of travel was with a team and wagon, their destination being primarily Pittsburgh, from whence they purposed to go down the Ohio by boat. It will be appropriate here to give Mr. Flint's estimation of the virtues of New England, now that he is leaving it, the excerpt being from an oration given by him on the previous 4th of July before the Washington Benevolent Society, at Leominster, Massachusetts. In this extract is exhibited the distinct literary ability possessed by Mr. Flint. He had already, during his Lunenburg pastorate, published a number of his essays and addresses, besides this from which quotation is made:

New England, land of my forefathers, whose habits are congenial, whose associations are so dear to my heart, "when I forget thee," or cease to speak of thee with filial veneration, "may my right hand forget her cunning." New England—I delight to see her small but frequent farms, owned by enlightened, independent and virtuous land-holders. I delight more in the verdure and the harvests, won by laborious cultivation and from native roughness and sterility, than in the indolent exuberance of nature. I love her frequent hills and dales, and the transparent beauty and the pleasant murmur of her rapid hill-streams; and would not exchange them for the creeping and marshy creeks, that wind lazily through an uninteresting and boundless plain. I admire the firm enclosures of her farms, of materials as durable and everlasting as I wish her prosperity to be. I admire her frequent and neat schoolhouses, and the courteous bow of her clean and healthy children flocking to them. And most of all, I admire her temples, the crowning ornaments of her villages; and, from the multitudes directing their steps to them

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on the Sabbath, I discern, that here public sentiment still sanctifies the Sabbath of our God. And near that glorious emblem of the law, justice and order, of industry and temperance, during this life, and of a happy immortality beyond it, the village church, I survey with solemn pleasure the church-yard, seen at the same view and associating its repose with the immortal hopes of the temple, where the virtuous "forefathers of our hamlets sleep."

Yet, in the same year in which these sentiments were so eloquently expressed Mr. Flint departed from New England to make his shifting homes in the primitive West where conditions were diametrically different, where savagery existed and ignorance and depravity prevailed; where flood, fever and tornado rendered life precarious, all in marked contrast to the material and moral status of New England. Still, as his words quoted indicate, though he was acquainted with "the indolent exuberance" of the West and no doubt with the other disadvantages which then existed there, the remainder of his life was spent in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, not that he loved New England less, but the West more. Though he found his health, far from being improved by the change and still further impaired, he persisted in making his home in these insalubrious surroundings, for here he found ample fields for his missionary activities and abundant materials for his literary propensities. He was repeatedly afflicted with malarial fever, which in those early days was the scourge of the West, and he made many trips to New England from which visits he derived a measure of physical invigoration.

The Flints reached the Alleghenies the last of October, crossed the mountains and, having arrived at Pittsburgh, sold their team and wagon and took passage on a flat-boat which, owned and navigated by a trader, began the descent of the Ohio. Steamboats had been operated on the river since 1811, when the "Orleans," built at Pittsburgh, made her first trip, but Mr. Flint could not afford to travel upon them. The primitive method of navigation was still employed and the river at Pittsburgh swarmed with flat-boats, some of them having New Orleans for their destination, the round trip from Cincinnati occupying six months. All along the route to the West Mr. Flint in his letters writes entertainingly of the natural aspects of the country, tells of the bald eagles soaring above the mountain peaks, notes the precipices along the perilous roadways, relates in-

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teresting episodes and discourses on the character of the people and of their lack of religious development. On the outskirts of Pittsburgh he was run into by a heavy coach and their vehicle was overturned, with the family and their effects promiscuously mixed, but without serious injury to their persons. The financial burden of the trip and subsequent living expenses were beyond the meager salary which Mr. Flint was paid by the Missionary Society of Connecticut, only twenty-five dollars a month, while the expenditures were about double that amount.

It was a pleasant day of early November when our pioneers pushed out from Pittsburgh into the Ohio, but the propitious weather proved a false harbinger of their experience of the next few days, for through treacherous currents and sandbars their course was fraught with delays and perils; their unwieldy craft was hurled on the rocks at a place called "Dead Man's Riffle" and narrowly escaped from wreck. After these harrowing adventures the family parted company with the trader and his "crazy" boat, landing at the village of Beaver, twenty-five miles beyond Pittsburgh. Here a suitable skiff was purchased by Mr. Flint and the voyage was resumed, but the hardships and exposure endured on the flat-boat brought on an illness of the family and they were compelled to tarry at Wheeling until they were recuperated. Sickness and death along the waterways to the West were common experiences, so much so that the people had grown indifferent to physical distress and disease. These were sad days for the Flint family, far from home, in a cheerless lodging house filled with ailing travelers, and with their destination in even more primitive parts, far beyond. After recovering strength they again embarked, Mr. Flint fully appreciating the beauties of the Ohio and greatly enjoying the magnificent panorama as it glided past. He writes:

It was now the middle of November. The weather up to this time had been, with the exception of a couple of days of fog and rain, delightful. The sky has a milder and lighter azure than that of the northern states. The wide, clean sand-bars stretching for miles together, and now and then a flock of wild geese, swans, or sand-hill cranes, and pelicans, stalking along on them; the infinite variety of form of the towering bluffs; the new tribes of shrubs and plants on the shores; the exuberant fertility of the soil, evidencing itself in the natural as well as cultivated vegetation, in the height and size of the corn, of itself alone a matter of astonishment

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to an inhabitant of the northern states, in the thrifty aspect of the young orchards, literally bending under their fruit, the surprising size and rankness of the weeds, and in the enclosures where cultivation had been for a while suspended, the matted abundance of every kind of vegetation that ensued,—all these circumstances united to give a novelty and freshness to the scenery. The bottom forests everywhere display the huge sycamore, the king of the western forest, in all places an interesting tree, but particularly so here, and in autumn, when you see its white and long branches among its red and yellow falling leaves. . . . To add to this union of pleasant circumstances, there is a delightful temperature of the air, more easily felt than described. In New England, when the sky was partially covered with fleecy clouds, and the wind blew very gently from the southwest, I have sometimes had the same sensations from the temperature there. A slight degree of languor ensues; and the irritability that is caused by the rougher and more bracing air of the north, and which is more favorable to physical strength and activity than enjoyment, gives place to a tranquility highly propitious to meditation. There is something, too, in the gentle and almost imperceptible motion, as you sit on the deck of the boat, and see the trees apparently moving by you, and new groups of scenery still opening upon your eye, together with the view of these ancient and magnificent forests, which the axe has not despoiled, the broad and beautiful river, the earth and the sky, which render such a trip at this season the very element of poetry.

Continuing down the Ohio they reached Marietta, where they met General Rufus Putnam, founder of the town, and passed a few days among the New England people there very pleasantly. Embarking again, the family landed at Cincinnati about the first of December and were delighted to meet Mr. Flint's cousin, Hezekiah Flint, Jr., whose father, previously referred to, had gone to Marietta years before. The presence of a relative brought a gleam of good cheer, and as he had his home in Cincinnati, made their stay there pleasurable. Mr. Flint decided to spend the winter here, as he was not enthusiastic regarding the continuance of the journey, the disagreeable experiences so far having dampened his zeal. Their loneliness had oppressed them; the western clergymen, unlike those of New England, he had found inhospitable, and the exorbitant prices which they had been compelled to pay had discouraged and disheartened the entire family. The Methodists were the only society that extended hospitality, who provided but for those of their own denomination. Through it all, however, Mr. Flint's apti-

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tude for observation and ability to entertainingly commit to writing the many beauties of nature and novelties of character which were ever presenting, did not forsake him. These characteristics were prominent throughout his life and to them we owe the most accurate, diversified and complete delineation of the West during the first third of the Nineteenth Century that exists.

Having rented a house, Mr. Flint went out as a missionary on horse-back, visiting many widely separated points in Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky. Cincinnati had at this time a population of about 9,000, composed largely of New Englanders and having the institutions and manner of life common to the East. While there existed a general atmosphere of crudeness among the people, there were many strong and cultivated minds which had been attracted to the place by the promising outlook for wealth and position. The religious controversies which prevailed in New England had been brought along with the emigrants, and acrid and vehement theological discussions chafed the air of this vigorous but crude Ohio town. Early in the winter Mr. Flint made the acquaintance of General William H. Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, whose commodious, rural and sightly home was at North Bend on the Ohio, seventeen miles below Cincinnati, where he lived in his noble mansion and dispensed liberal hospitality to all comers. He was very gracious to Mr. Flint, entertaining him when on his missionary tours during the winter and urging him to remain as the pastor of the church, which he had organized in his neighborhood. He even invited into his home the people of the community, where having assembled, they listened to the preaching of Mr. Flint. In March, 1816, he set out on a three-hundred-mile trip, going first into Indiana to Vincennes and other places, and crossing the Ohio traveled up the Kentucky river, preaching and distributing Bibles and religious literature.

His missionary work was appreciated; he was popular as a preacher and as a citizen, was cordially received by the places which he visited and the people flocked to his services. Their religious condition was for the most part very indifferent, yet they would urge him to stay with them longer. With his coming into a town the bell would be rung and the people would congregate, sometimes in the court house, all to listen attentively to his message. At Frankfort, Kentucky, he preached in the Capitol building. The Kentuck-

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ians were particularly hospitable and cordial, and far from being awed by the presence of "the cloth," he was not infrequently invited to "swap horses." One cannot but be impressed with the large amount of missionary work which Mr. Flint accomplished during the four months of his stay at Cincinnati, several temperance and Sabbath observance societies having been organized by him, besides. Though he had received calls to become pastor from Lexington, Versailles and Frankfort, in Kentucky, and from Dayton, Ohio, he felt that there was greater need of his services farther west, and he left Cincinnati on the 15th of April. The trip to St. Louis, the remotest destination of the family, was made on a keelboat having a length of ninety feet, which Mr. Flint had bought, and carrying other passengers and freight.

Many friends which the family had made in Cincinnati came to the wharf to bid them good-by, for Mr. Flint was a genial man of kindly disposition and averse to the prevailing theological disputes. His attitude was liberal and he was tolerant of all evangelical creeds. Soon after their departure a terrific thunderstorm was encountered and they were so threatened and discommoded that they stopped at the mansion of General Harrison, where they were cordially entertained for two days, when, the weather being propitious, they resumed their journey. At Shawneetown they took on twelve rivermen as helpers, in anticipation of the assistance required in the ascent of the Mississippi to St. Louis. In his "Recollections" Mr. Flint gives a description of these hardy, whisky-drinking and dancing boatmen of the great western rivers, with their picturesque dialect, and who lived alternately in indolence and safety, or in hardship and peril. The following excerpt depicts the scene presented on the trip down the Ohio:

The boats float down on Beautiful spring mornings, when the verdant forest, the mild, delicious temperature of the air, the delightful azure of the sky of this country, the fine bottom on the one hand and the romantic bluff on the other, the broad and smooth stream rolling calmly down the forest and floating the boat gently forward—all these circumstances harmonize in the excited youthful imagination. The boatmen are dancing to the violin on the deck of their boat. They scatter their wit among the girls on the shore, who come down to the water's edge to see the pageant pass. The boat glides on until it disappears behind a point of wood. At this moment, perhaps, the bugle with which all the boatmen are pro-

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vided, strikes up its note in the distance over the waters. These scenes and these notes, echoing from the bluffs of the beautiful Ohio, have a charm for the imagination; although I have heard them a thousand times repeated, they are ever to me always delightful.

I will here appropriately quote from "The Boat-Horn," a poem by W. O. Butler, published in 1821:

O, boatman! wind that horn again,
For never did the listening air
Upon its lambent bosom bear
So wild, so soft, so sweet a strain!
What though thy notes are sad and few,
By every simple boatman blown,
Yet is each pulse to nature true,
And melody in every tone.
How oft in boyhood's joyous day,
Unmindful of the lapsing hours
I've loitered on my homeward way
By wild Ohio's bank of flowers;
While some lone boatman from the deck
Poured his soft numbers to the tide,
As if to charm from storm and wreck
The boat where all his fortunes ride.
Delighted nature drank the sound,
Enchanted echo bore it round
In whispers soft and softer still
From hill to plain and plain to hill.

The boat entered the Mississippi ten days after leaving Cincinnati, or on the 25th of April, with about 160 miles more to St. Louis, which was reached on May 13. This last portion of their journey was fraught with hardships and dangers, though for a time after entering the Father of Waters they were entranced with the magnificence and beauty of their surroundings. The shores of the mighty river were then in their pristine state, great flocks of game birds unalarmed flew above them, deer might be seen sporting on the open spaces, while the vegetation in the exuberance of spring, with the fragrant and balmy air, all united to fill the voyagers with delightful sensations. But the labor and hazard of propelling the heavy vessel up the swift current proved a depressing experience, twelve miles a day being the rate of travel. Various means were employed to forward the boat: "bush-whacking," or grasping over-

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hanging boughs and walking from stem to stern, towing on shore with a "cordelle," as the tow-line was called, and it was sometimes necessary to attach the line to the shore ahead, when the crew on board pulled up the craft. Owing to snags and falling trees, they were more than once in danger, and when in perilous places the family walked along the shore. At night they camped on the bank of the river, but were annoyed by ruffians and Indians who prowled about them.

Mr. Flint walked much of the way up the Mississippi and found opportunities to visit homes of the settlers, deploring the lack of religious knowledge which existed among these isolated people. He stopped at Ste. Genevieve, a French Catholic village seventy miles below St. Louis, and preached there. So favorable to him were the people that he was disposed to accept their invitation to remain permanently. He and his family were cordially entertained in the homes of the villagers. Their next stop was at Herculaneum, about midway between Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, where they were hospitably received. Arriving at the latter place, which had been chosen as the central point of his missionary labors, he began his activities, though midst very discouraging circumstances, and was the protestant minister to preside at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in St. Louis. His experiences upon reaching here are set forth in a letter to the Missionary Society of Connecticut, dated July 2, 1816, from which I quote:

We arrived here the 13th of May. Mr. Giddings had left the ground, despairing of usefulness, and having received from the people the most pointed neglect. My reception was cold. . . . The Americans of influence are generally Tennesseans and Kentuckians, sufficiently disposed to cherish prejudices against eastern people. From this variety of concurring causes, I found almost every heart closed against us. Our situation, the while, was by no means enviable. You know, that my whole family is slender. We had come in the boat 900 miles, had been wet and scorched, and harassed by mosquitoes and wood ticks, and had been suffering not a few hardships, privations and fatigues. No house was open to us, nor was even a hovel to shelter us to be hired. There seemed to be no asylum but either the hot, leaky, and filthy boat, or the wilderness. I dispatched a messenger to St. Charles, twenty miles up the Missouri, but every avenue seemed closed up there also. . . . The field was unoccupied, and providence seemed to have rendered it necessary for me to fix here.

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Mr. Flint rented a small log house of two rooms, and energetically began his missionary activities, laboring both in St. Louis and on circuits in the surrounding districts. The state of morals and religion was deplorable, and to this discouraging condition was added the jealousies and bickerings between the many Christian sects which were represented among the inhabitants. He was compelled to adopt the bombastic style of preaching which prevailed and to deny himself the aid of notes, which were not tolerated. He employed himself, also, in teaching a school and was succeeding, but he found that his strength would not permit of this additional strain, and after a service in St. Louis of four months, he moved to St. Charles on the Missouri, twenty-three miles northwest of St. Louis.

Here Mr. Flint applied himself devotedly to his missionary work, going out on his circuits as far as one hundred miles, preaching and distributing Bibles. The immorality at St. Louis, which had been one of his reasons for leaving that town, he found to be rife in St. Charles, the population being for the most part transient, and in the lax condition of law and religion, intemperance, gambling, dueling, Sabbath desecration and other evils flourished apace. Having an appointment to preach at St. Charles on the Sabbath, he found when he arrived at the place where the service was to be held a large concourse met nearby to see a horse-race, and the beginning of the service and the starting of the horses occurred at the same time. The desultory, unsettled condition of the people here may be appreciated from the statement of Mr. Flint that one hundred persons bound for points further west passed through the place daily. Though harrowed by anxiety on account of his insufficient salary and the difficulty in securing a permanent dwelling—he moved six times in the space of a year—he performed prodigies, in the prosecution of which he was more than once lost on the prairies, and many times crossed the Missouri, always a hazardous undertaking. Mrs. Flint, though not physically strong, carried on a school in her home, besides ministering to her family. In a letter of Mr. Flint, dated April 15, 1817, he gives a graphic picture of moral conditions at St. Charles:

The sinners are most of them the worst of all—Gospel sinners—who have relinquished, and lost all, that they once had, or knew, or heard in a more favored country. The sick have no guidance—

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the dying no voice of prayer. The dead are carried unhonored, and almost unmourned to their long home. There is not to my knowledge a consecrated American burial ground in the whole territory. I tremble for the influence of the general example upon my family and myself; and I am here feeble, and alone to contend for the cause of the blessed Redeemer. When my own heart is discouraged and cold, and these periods return too often, I am ready to imagine, that there is in the very atmosphere, which we respire here, a moral miasma fatal to religious sensibility. As for natural sensibility, I am sure there is little here. The people have all broken the tenderest ties in coming here. They have all witnessed great trials, and difficulties in passing these wide wildernesses. They have witnessed the dreadful atrocities of the savages. They have to struggle with the obstacles peculiar to a new country, and scenes of suffering, which make the hardest eastern heart thrill, produce here no impression.

In the midst of this frontier life of which he was having an intimate experience, Mr. Flint was accumulating materials for his books, though at this time he seems not to have entertained any idea of becoming an author. Nothing escaped him; he was interested in every phase of natural existence, an intelligent and appreciative observer of human traits of character, a man of cultured and inquiring mind which enthusiastically applied itself to the noting of everything in the diversified fields of nature, science and human society. At St. Charles he had the opportunity to be present at the many councils held there between government authorities and the Indians from as far west as the Rocky Mountains, with which aboriginal people he was much interested. He saw them, also, as they came and went on trading expeditions to the place, and besides, visited them in their villages. His careful study of these primitive inhabitants is apparent from the fact that he left the best description of them that we possess. The prehistoric mounds which he observed in his travels were a source of curiosity and investigation, two of which were located on his farm at Point Prairie, near St. Charles.

Mr. Flint resigned in June, 1818, from his connection with the Missionary Society of Connecticut, his fearless denunciation of the immoralities existing at St. Charles having made him many enemies and embarrassed his work. There were other sources of friction which it is unnecessary to mention. In August and September of this year he was dangerously ill at St. Charles with the "season-

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ing" or malarial fever, being for a month unconscious, and it was not until the spring of the following year that he was sufficiently strong to begin the trip down the river to Washington, Mississippi, near Natchez, to which place he had received a call. After passing through perilous experiences of a five-hundred-mile trip, they reached the mouth of the Arkansas river, and having been invited to spend the summer at Arkansas Post, a town on that river about twenty-five miles from its mouth, the family remained there for five months. Morals and religion at Arkansas Post were in a very undeveloped state, the Arkansas Territorial Legislature, then in session, spent the Sabbath in gambling, and though he preached regularly in the court house, he felt that his ministrations were of little avail to check the current of frivolity and irreligion. There were many French people here, and as they constituted the greater part of his congregations, he preached in their language, having acquired a good knowledge of that tongue. Besides his activities at Arkansas Post, Mr. Flint made missionary visits while there to communities on the river above and below the town.

Every member of his family except himself were prostrated here with malarial fever, two of them seriously, and during their illness the place was visited by a hurricane so violent that the rain storm entered their home, blowing away Mr. Flint's journal and other manuscripts beyond recovery. So unfortunate had been their experiences in Arkansas that he abandoned going farther south to Washington, and in October, 1819, they embarked on a six-ton boat for St. Charles. Their progress up the Mississippi was slow and laborious; the two helpers became ill and it fell to Mr. Flint, alone, when his sons were too weak to assist, to move forward the cumbersome vessel. To add to their miseries, when they had gone two hundred miles and were at Rare Paths, they were struck by a violent thunder-storm which threatened to drive the boat from its moorings into the river. The roof of the cabin was blown in, exposing Mrs. Flint, who was about to be confined, to the wind and rain. The storm ceased towards night and a few hours later a girl baby was added to the family, but died two days after and was buried "on a high bank opposite to the second Chickasaw bluff."

This pathetic happening was ever a sacred memory with the Flint family, and in making trips past the little, lonely grave on the Mississippi, they would have sad hearts and tearful eyes. Mr.

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Flint's son, Micah, wrote a beautiful poem, "Lines on Passing the Grave of my Sister." The family arrived at New Madrid, Missouri, about the middle of December, and with ice hindering navigation, it was decided to remain here for the winter. There were several cultured eastern families residing in the place, and Mr. Flint held religious services among the people, and in leisure hours studied the phenomena of the singular earthquakes which occurred there in 1812. In the spring of 1820 he proceeded to Jackson, about fifty miles north, where he remained a year, preaching there and in surrounding parts. Neither of these communities contributed sufficiently to the support of the family, though he derived from his associations a great deal of information which he graphically recorded, and in the fall of 1821, with his family set out on the overland journey to St. Charles, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles.

Here he took another farm, located four miles from the place, and began building a house, but the entire family was soon stricken with fever and in their destitution were separated and taken to the homes of their kind-hearted friends. Recovering, it was decided to return to New England, and in October, 1822, having taken sad leave of their good friends in St. Charles, they embarked on a flat-boat for New Orleans, intending to sail from thence to Salem, Massachusetts. The means for the expenses of the return were furnished by his cousin, Rev. Dr. James Flint, in conjunction, probably, with Mr. Joseph Peabody, another relative, and both of Salem. A stop was made at St. Louis over the Sabbath, and Mr. Flint preached a farewell sermon. Six years had elapsed since he first came to the town.

Beginning at the mouth of the Arkansas, Mr. Flint gives a very interesting account of the country and towns along the Mississippi: he was impressed with the fertility of the lands on either side of the river from one hundred and fifty miles above New Orleans to the Gulf; and with the crowded population, and the fine mansions on the plantations. There were no protestant meeting-houses here, though Catholic churches were quite frequent. The health of the family improved at New Orleans, where they arrived late in the fall, and in the month of March, following, Mr. Flint accepted an invitation to take two churches, one at Covington, Louisiana, thirty-five miles north of New Orleans, where he made his home, and the

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other at Madisonville, six miles from the parsonage. In addition to his pastoral work he managed a school at Covington, his health being now normal. He seems to have abandoned the plan of returning to New England, the income derived from his activities being sufficient for the needs of his family with opportunities for his services as minister and teacher being many. He returned to New Orleans in the fall (1823), where he gave a course of lectures, and early in the next year moved to Alexandria, Louisiana, two hundred miles north of New Orleans and on the Red River, where he had been invited to become pastor of a church and head of the Seminary of Rapide parish. The school was a largely attended institution and liberally supported by the state and its friends. Concerning the conditions prevailing at Alexandria at that time, I quote from Venable's "Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley:"

Three Presbyterian ministers had already laid their ashes in the village graveyard. Flint did not take this state of mortuary facts as a personal suggestion, but went about his labors—supreme optimist that he was—and sucked all the honey he could draw from the weeds of tribulation and sacrifice. The Alexandrians were amiable. (Timothy seems never to have encountered other than amiable people in his wanderings; French, Spanish, Dutch, German, English, half-breeds, full-blood savages—all were amiable to him. With equal hospitality of heart he met Yankee traders and Kentucky boatmen, Canadian voyageurs and Texas rangers). The creole planters on the Red River lived in luxurious elegance. All the work was done by black slaves, and the indolent gentlemen and ladies had no care except to plan easy pleasures. The women, beautiful and fascinating, intoxicated themselves by reading romance. The men were infatuated with the sport called "fire-hunting"—shooting deer by the glare of a flambeau in the dark woods, after the game had been started by dogs wearing bells.

Mr. Flint's life at Alexandria was the pleasantest he had ever known. The people were cordial, the village attractive, but the confining work of teaching, added to his pastoral labors, proved too much for his delicate constitution, though a year passed before he was seriously affected. In order to recuperate, he with his family spent the summer of 1824 at a camp in the pine woods, not far from Alexandria, and here with congenial friends he passed the months which he called the happiest of his life. In the autumn he again took up his duties in the school, but the exertion proved more

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than he was able to endure, and in January he set out on horseback with his friend, Judge Henry S. Ballard, on a journey to the Mexican frontier. This outing having failed of restoring his health, it was decided that a visit to his old home in Massachusetts was the only alternative, and he began the journey in April, 1825. His parting with his family at Alexandria as given in his "Recollections" is very touching, for he feared that he was "going home to die."

After an absence of ten years the relatives and friends of Mr. Flint were shocked at his debilitated appearance and believed that he had but a short time to live, but in the home of his cousin, Dr. James Flint, of Salem, with the change of climate, he improved in health and at the solicitation of his host and his friend, Mr. Joseph Peabody, he began the writing of his "Recollections of the Last Ten Years," which he finished during the summer, returning to Alexandria in the fall. The book was published in Boston in March, 1826, and proved a decided success both in this country and abroad. It is a plain, candid and graphic narrative of the author's ten years' experience in different parts of the West and South, which with its lucid style, sincerity of purpose, interesting and thrilling episodes, the winning personality of the writer ever revealing itself, became widely popular. Encouraged by its favorable reception, Mr. Flint retired from his missionary labors and devoted the remainder of his active life to literary pursuits. His days of stress and poverty were at an end. The same year that the "Recollections" were published his novel, "Francis Berrian, or the Mexican Patriot" (2 vols.) appeared, the outline of which had been derived from his friend, Judge Ballard, and was successful. Second-hand copies of this work are now quoted at ten dollars.

Having long cherished an ambition to edit a religious magazine to "more particularly vindicate our literature, charities and institutions," he moved with his family to Cincinnati where on May, 1827, he issued the first number of his periodical, called "The Western Monthly Review." A book store was opened in the city by one of his sons, Mr. E. H. Flint, who also published several of his father's books and continued the business until 1833, though the "Review" ceased publication in 1830, having run three years without financial gain. It contains much valuable matter, three-fourths of which was written by Mr. Flint, but the tone of the magazine was

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then too high to be generally popular. Not long after coming to Cincinnati Mr. Flint published his "Condensed Geography and History of the Western States, or the Mississippi Valley," (2 vols.) several editions of which appeared, the novels, "The Life and Adventures of Arthur Clenning," (2 vols.) and "George Mason, the Young Backwoodsman," which last was republished in London. In both of these works of fiction are portions which are thinly disguised recitals of the author's own personal experiences. For a brief period in the latter portion of 1833 he served as editor of the "Knickerbocker" of New York, living on Long Island opposite Staten Island, but owing to ill health he resigned and with his family moved from Cincinnati back to Alexandria in 1834.

Mr. Flint's literary career was now drawing to a close, and aside from a series of articles which he wrote for the London "Athenaeum" on "Sketches of the Literature of the United States," he did no considerable writing during the remainder of his life. His arduous application to authorship during a period of about eight years, during which time, though ever in feeble health, he performed a very large amount of literary labor, had been too much for him and he became more and more incapacitated. It is not expedient to enumerate the titles of his many articles, short stories and poems. Besides the books mentioned, he wrote two other novels, translated two books from the French, and edited "The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie." He was author of "Indian Wars of the West," a volume of lectures on scientific subjects, "Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone," fourteen editions of which were published, and "The History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley." Mr. Flint was a rapid writer and in view of the mass of literature which he hastily indited, it is not surprising that his work has rhetorical defects, which the critics were not slow in observing and commenting upon. Towards the end of his life he revised his principal works and it was hoped that a uniform edition profiting by the corrections would be published, but in a fire during the Civil War which destroyed the library of James Timothy Flint of Alexandria, the most of Timothy Flint's books and a portion of his manuscripts probably, the revisions with the rest, were consumed. Others of his books and papers were lost in the Galveston flood of 1900, together with the single portrait of him known to exist.

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Mr. Flint's last years were as pleasant as the condition of his health would permit, and he was no more pinched with poverty, the income from his books being considerable. His family was near him at Alexandria, his son Micah, a lawyer, was married and proprietor of a plantation, and his daughter Emeline was the wife of General Thomas, an attorney and prominent business man of the place. He made yearly visits to Massachusetts and indulged his fondness for travel. At home he employed himself in the management of a hundred-acre farm. He made his last journey to New England in May, 1840, accompanied by his son James. At Natchez a tornado came up the Mississippi leaving destruction in its path, hurling down buildings with great loss of life, and demolishing the hotel at which they were staying. Mr. Flint and his son were imprisoned beneath the wreckage, but owing to the fortunate position assumed by the fallen framework, they were not seriously injured. In a letter to a friend Mr. Flint graphically describes the storm and states that, owing to his exposure to the rain, he was afflicted with chills during the remainder of his journey to his brother Peter's home at North Reading. Here the condition of his health, which before leaving Alexandria had been very poor, grew worse until he felt that his end was near. He wrote his family to be prepared for the news of his death, which he said would probably occur before the letter reached its destination. The tidings were followed by the prostration of Mrs. Flint, from the effects of which she died four weeks before Mr. Flint's demise, which occurred on August 16, 1840, at the age of sixty years. He was buried in the Harmony Grove Cemetery, Salem, where a modestly proportioned monument stands to his memory. The following estimation of Mr. Flint is from the pen of Samuel Swett, his classmate, and crystallizes his dominant characteristics:

Mr. Flint was a trail blazer of American literature which in his day was in its infancy, with the few readers of culture depending upon English reprints, of which our magazines chiefly consisted. He deplored this practice, and though his works contain frequent rhetorical blemishes, he won the attention of the people through his sympathetic nature, his clear and animated style and his ability to maintain interest whether in fiction, history or science. He will ever remain a prominent man in the early literary development of our country; on the sensitive camera of his nature was delineated the people and the life of the primitive Middle West, to be repro-

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duced on the printed page to endure through future generations, not as dry, prosaic statements, but informed, vitalized and beautified with the kindly spirit of a rare and lovable personality.

NOTE.—The principal authorities depended upon in the preparation of this paper are "Timothy Flint," by John E. Kirkpatrick, Cleveland, Ohio, 1911, and a lecture on Flint which appears in "Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley," by William H. Venable, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1891. Assistance has also been derived from Duyckinck's "Cyclopedia of American Literature," Patton's "Popular History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States" and works of reference, which contain sketches of Flint's life.



A deBonneville Sketch

BY ANNE E. FORD, MUSKOGEE, OKLAHOMA



RECENTLY, during a brief stay in the historic city of Fort Smith, Arkansas, it was the good fortune of the writer to visit the old home of the oldest retired officer in the army, Brigadier General Benjamin Eulalie de Bonneville, better known to the literary world, perhaps as the central figure in Washington Irving's "Adventures of Captain Bonneville." The old mansion stands on an elevation reached by a drive through an avenue of cedars which guard, like stately sentinels, the faded glories of the old house, which is still occupied. In the early days of the country this was noted not only as a fortress, sturdy and staunch, but as the center of hospitality, and it has not lost its ancient charm in these modern times. The house is dilapidated. It reminds one of a faded old beauty shorn of youth but still interesting. It stands three stories in height, with long French windows opening on encircling "galleries." There is a trap-door to the roof from the attic. The original green shutters with their lower panels made solid for protection and warmth are thrown wide to the balmy spring air.

Inside, the noble fire-places conjure up visions of roaring fires, the ruddy glow of which lit up the gold-leaf moldings, still to be seen in tarnished splendor in the large rooms. In these rooms was danced many a minuet to the tinkling music of the "music box" and the more sophisticated piano-forte. Here bowed the belles and beaux of the period, in the many merrymakings for which the old home was famous.

In this house, built of materials brought a distance of one hundred and sixty-two miles as the crow flies and more by the winding roads over boundless prairies and through cypress swamps, may be seen various woods rare and fine, chief among them the black walnut for which the region is still famous. Its doors, windows and transoms are equipped with the original hardware, much of it, if not all, handmade. To ascend the magnificent staircase of walnut with its balustrade of hand carving, is invariably to picture

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the powdered, hoop-skirted beauties who peeped coyly at the impatient beaux below during the many delightful entertainments provided by the old General and his young adored girl-wife. The same caterer who served at the wedding, Calleux, a celebrated purveyor and much in demand, doubtless presided over the delicacies set forth on these occasions. His masterpiece, however, was the wedding cake, served at Adelaide Hall to hundreds of guests who danced until the wee small hours of the morning after the ceremony had been duly said by Father Smythe at the Catholic church at the head of the Avenue, still named Garrison in honor of the people of the past. The ushers on this august occasion were General Cabell (Old Tige) and General DuVal, both, like the bridegroom, attired in full regimentals.

It was fifty years to the day and hour when the General's first marriage had taken place. At Adelaide Hall, the wedding party was greeted by the strains of "Hail, the Conquering Hero Comes" by the garrison band, and pretty Sue Neis, in her rose-point wedding veil and her magnificent Spanish uncut white velvet gown danced to the music, while the violins sang under the manipulation of masters of the bow.

Gone, it is true, are those days, but fresh in the memory of some still living is the feast attended by all the garrison. Rare wines and champagne flowed like water on this memorable occasion. Interesting, indeed, it is to an observer to note the influence of de Bonneville's French ancestry and travel, impressed upon the home and furnishings; it is a *mélange* of the French and the Old South. The lawns are spacious and rolling, with a splendid view of the surrounding hills and valleys. A modern pump has recently succeeded the ancient well-sweep but, just as in the General's time, a sturdy potato-house still stands near by; however, the log cabins which housed the servants have fallen into decay. The soldier husband was a good provider, a careful business man, and a genial host. The house was piped with running water both hot and cold which was *pumped by hand*; the fields yielded their produce for a bountiful table; blooded cattle and mettlesome horses roamed the pastures; and contented tenants did their part toward a general prosperity. The kitchen, as was the custom then, was separated by a porch from the main house. The old stone doorstep, much worn, sits true before the door and inside a mammoth block sawed to

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a thickness of two feet from the trunk of a tree and mounted upon legs, speaks eloquently of buffalo and venison steaks, bear cuts, beaten biscuits and other epicurean foods of the period.

Mrs. deBonneville, after her husband's death, built a more modern home of brick on an adjoining hill, where she lived until her death. Here is the beautiful mahogany furniture which the General had copied from pieces in the Lafayette home, La Grange, which he visited while a young man. The dining table is quite unusual; the large base is composed of four lions, their paws upholding the table proper. The entire set of chairs, buffets, sideboard and cabinet is intact and very beautiful.

A solid silver service, consisting of tea-pot, coffee-urn, sugar and creamer with silver, is marked with a monogram of the Washington Irving family. It was presented to Mary Irving deBonneville by the illustrious author, for whom she was named.

There are many quaint pieces which have come through the years without mishap. Perhaps the two posset cups, shaped like miniature barrels with hoops and staves, held libations to Bacchus when Irving, at the home of his friend, John Jacob Astor, sat before the fire talking of the wild western country, unexplored. A filagree basket; salts—a pair of them, and many rare articles make up a collection fit for a museum. Chief, among them, for beauty and artistic workmanship, is a piece which would make an antiquary envious. It is a silver melon, resting on a large grape leaf with tendrils and veinings of silver wire. The chasing on this piece is exquisite.

There is much quaint china, quite impossible of reproduction now; pictures of all kinds from the daguerreotype to large framed portraits; books, too, many by the father of deBonneville who was a noted publicist and writer of Paris, where, it will be recalled, he was imprisoned and his estates confiscated, when he, with his bosom friend, Tom Paine, became too influential, controlling the press of the city. Their works were seized by Fourche, the officer of Napoleon, and Paine took the little Benjamin and Madame deBonneville to America, where they were tenderly cared for on Paine's estate at New Rochelle, a land-grant of several hundred acres. Here Madame deBonneville taught the children of other refugees on the estate for a time.

Among the books credited to Père Nicolas deBonneville are

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“Nouveau Théâtre Allemand,” (12 vol., 1762); “Histoire de l’Europe Moderne,” (1789-92); “Le Vieux Tribune,” (1792); and “Poésies,” (1793). Nicolas deBonneville was the founder of the “Cercle Social,” which did much to awaken the political sentiment of France. He it was who devised the idea of the national guard. He was imprisoned as a Girondist because of his and Paine’s inflammatory writings. A sword, engraved “Captured, the Reindeer—June 24-1814” was presented to Nicolas after the capture of the British sloop, when he was fighting shoulder to shoulder with other patriots for America’s liberty. There is another sword which was the property of General deBonneville. This was presented to him by none other than the illustrious Lafayette, who had been host to the young man when he was just out of West Point, entertaining him at La Grange, the country-seat, and in Paris at the palatial home there.

There came a time when deBonneville remembered that his father’s estates had been confiscated when he displeased Napoleon, and when disgrace threatened him because of delayed return to his command in the army he made over all his possessions to his daughter Mary. This unhappy situation was cleared up and the explorer was signally honored by the government he so loved.

Many testimonials of the General’s worth are the well cared for parchments, commissions, bearing the signatures of Presidents Polk, Jackson, Taylor, Pierce and Adams. But perhaps the most valuable paper is the letter written to Madame deBonneville by Lafayette in answer to one she had sent him in regard to the future of her son, then a cadet in West Point. This was written on board the “Natchez,” one of the famous boats plying the great Mississippi, and is here reproduced.

To enumerate the celebrated men whom deBonneville called his friends would read like a page from history. There were Lafayette, Andrew Jackson, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, John Howard Payne, James K. Polk, Zachary Taylor, Franklin Pierce, John Quincy Adams, Ulysses S. Grant, Winfield Scott, Beauregarde, Stanley, John Jacob Astor, at whose home he first met Irving, Tom Paine, who left his estate to the deBonnevilles, and Washington Irving. These are some who were nearest to the hero of many wars, including the Mexican War, where he was highly commended for gallantry.

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The portraits of the old General show him to be of distinguished carriage, always in uniform and invariably holding the ivory cane which belonged to his grandfather. This cane was given to the grandfather by Louis XVI. as a token of love and regard. Grand-père deBonneville was a member of the House of Deputies and Grand Chamberlain in the palace at Versailles. The cane (with the ornamental head-piece missing) was made of the tusk of a wild elephant and was presented to the monarch by some African potentate. The shaft of the ferrule is in perfect preservation and is a thing of beauty.

If this old ivory cane could talk, it might tell of the capture of the kingly lord of the forest, might whisper of intrigues behind closed doors, might disclose the secrets of a throne. It could tell of a voyage across the sea, it might speak of the vanity of ambition, could recall heads which had been bowed upon it in sorrow and despair. There was the king who presented it to another ruler; their hopes and fears—realizations and failures; the French throne which tottered to a fall; it could picture the horrors of the guillotine staring stark in the face of Nicolas and the dark, dank prison which shut him away from the light. Undoubtedly, tears fell on this old cane when Madame deBonneville wrapped it preparatory to fleeing from her motherland—France. Here in the new country where it again saw the light of day, the pioneers did not strut about carrying ivory canes; they were equipped with swords and guns—sometimes the ax and shovel. So, it lay dreaming of past greatness until the little son, to whom it belonged, became a man of note in this great new republic.

It was but natural, with such antecedents, that young deBonneville should carve out a notable career. The words engraved upon the monument which marks his last resting-place, in old Belle Fontaine, Saint Louis, seem a prophecy:

“HERE LIES ONE WHOSE DEEDS HAVE NOT ESCAPED THE PAGES OF
FAME; GENERATIONS, YET UNBORN, SHALL KNOW THE RECORD OF
HIS NAME.”

Interesting Records of "The Good Old Days"*

BY ELROY S. THOMPSON, BROCKTON, MASSACHUSETTS



GREAT deal has come down to us in song and story about the good, old days, which remind us of the enthusiastic yarns sometimes spun by "the oldest inhabitant," when in a reminiscent mood. The people of the Southeastern Massachusetts counties a century ago knew nothing of modern methods of heating houses in winter, cooling them in summer, lighting them by electricity or gas; nothing of electric refrigeration or washing machines. Those were the days of the tallow candles, open fireplaces, the open well, with its "old oaken bucket," or the cucumber pump. Many of the wells were a considerable distance from the houses, perhaps on the opposite side of the road.

Barns were frequently built on the other side of the road from the dwelling, because of the danger otherwise of both buildings being consumed if one caught fire, and the well was often beside the barn, as the better position for fire protection, against a fire in the barn, which was considered more likely than one in the house. There were no fire departments.

When the first United States census was taken in 1790, nineteen out of twenty people lived in the country. Now one-half the people of the United States live in the cities and large towns. Plymouth County has only one city, Brockton, but that contains approximately one-third of the county population.

Most of the labor-saving machinery used on the farms has been invented or at least come into general use, within the past hundred years. In those "good, old days,"

The floors were strewn with rushes,
Bare walls let in the cold,
Oh, how they must have suffered
In those good, old days of old.

*This article is reprinted by permission from advance sheets of a "History of Plymouth, Norfolk, and Barnstable Counties, Massachusetts," of which Mr. Thompson is author, from the press of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc.

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At an earlier period the houses were built of logs, with spaces between chinked with clay, one story in height. The roofs were thatched. The largest room was the living room, kitchen, dining and sleeping room for the head of the house. Smaller rooms were used as sleeping rooms for other members of the family. The large room was heated by means of a fireplace, with a big chimney, and this was the only means of heating the house. Most houses had no floors in the early days, except earthen floors, strewn with rushes, much as many street cars were strewn with straw in winter in Boston and many other cities up to a quarter of a century ago, or as long as horse-drawn cars were common in municipalities.

No Observance of Christmas—The meeting-houses, also built of logs, until Richard Church and John Tomson built the first framed meeting-house in Plymouth, were used for religious services, also for places of assembly for the community for all sorts of purposes. Benches were arranged on the sides. Worshippers were seated, men on one side and women on the other, and with special seats assigned to boys and girls, to Indians and colored people, proper distinction, according to the caste of the times, being given to age, rank and wealth. The services were simple. The feast and fast days of the Established Church of England were not permitted, nor the observance of holidays. Even Christmas was forbidden for many years. In fact the observance of Christmas was forbidden the first day that any attempt was made to erect a dwelling in Plymouth.

Governor Bradford's diary includes this entry: "On the 15 of December they wayed anchor to goe to ye place they had discovered, & came within 2 leagues of it, but were faine to bear up againe; but ye 16 day ye wind came faire, and they arrived safe in this harbour and afterwards tooke better view of ye place, and resolved wher to pitch their dwelling; and ye 25 day begane to erecte ye first house for comone use to receive them and their goods." This was the day that work began on the first house in New England of a permanent nature, disregarding the storehouse erected by Bartholomew Gosnold at Cuttyhunk, which was abandoned, owing to the decision of the voyagers, on the second visit to these shores to go to Virginia, instead of remaining to complete their work begun here, toward a settlement.

"So no man rested that day." Trees were cut down, dragged

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to the position decided upon on Leyden Street, overlooking the harbor in which the "Mayflower," with the women and children still on board, was riding at anchor. A good lookout was kept against an attack from Indians and considerable progress was made toward providing "a local habitation and a home" for a company of one hundred and two people who had been one hundred and two days and nights on the ocean, in a vessel which would not be chartered in these days to carry a handful of that number, if it would be allowed to put to sea with any number of passengers.

There is a story connected with the second Christmas in Plymouth which is interesting, as it involves what might be called the first strike in America. Some members of the colony demurred against working because it was Christmas and a holiday. Bradford says: "So ye Gov. tould them that if they made it mater of conscience he would spare them till they were better informed. So he led away ye rest and left them, but when they came home at noone from their worke, he found them in ye streets at play, openly, some pitching ye bair, and some at stoole-ball, and suchlike sports. So he went and tooke away their implements and tould them that was against his conscience, that they should play and others worke. If they made ye keeping it mater of devotion, let them kepe their houses, but there should be no gameing or reveling in ye streets."

The governor and his successors frowned upon the observance of Christmas as something which savored of the old church from which they had cut loose, but it was not until 1659 that it became a crime in the eyes of the law to observe the day. The General Court passed a law against the observance of Christmas and the penalty was five shillings for "forbearing of labour, feasting or in any other way" celebrating on the 25th of December.

Christmas remained unlawful in Massachusetts for twenty years or more and did not become a legal holiday until about 70 years ago. It was not until about forty years ago that the banks in Plymouth were closed on that day, so little was thought of the holiday.

In 1640, the General Court passed an order that "No man should be compelled to satisfy any debt, legality, fine or make any payments in money but satisfaction should be accepted in corn, cat-tle, fish, or other commodities at a rate appraised by an appointed officer." The court further ordered that wild hemp be gathered,

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against the anticipated scarcity of clothing the coming winter, and that members of families employ all possible time in working out hemp and flax for clothing. Even the children were taught spinning and weaving and set at work.

It was that same year that it was ordered by the court "that profane swearing should be punished by setting in the stocks three hours, or by imprisonment." Another order was that "for telling lies, a fine of ten shillings should be imposed for each and every offence, or setting in the stocks two hours." Money was exceedingly scarce and the stocks much in use.

That same year the court passed an act "to prevent idleness and other evils." The grand jurors in each town were authorized "to take special view and notice all persons, married or single, that have small means to maintain themselves, and are supposed to live idly and loosely and require an account of them how they live; and finding any delinquent, order a constable to carry them before a magistrate, or the selectmen, to deal with them as they see fit." The magistrates in those days had many duties to perform, among them the marrying of couples. Ministers were not allowed to perform that office, presumably because it was the custom in the old church.

Yankee Traders Began Early—The Indians had used wampum as a medium of exchange and the colonists sometimes accepted wampum in their transactions with the red men, as it furnished a convenient medium for additional purchases. When colonists purchased land from the Indians they usually gave a certain number of blankets, coats, knives or other articles of wearing apparel or implements useful to either whites or red men. The lack of money made it difficult to do business in the colonies and one article was traded for another in the way of barter. Perhaps it was this habit and the variation in values between one person and another for the same article which got into the blood and produced the "yankee traders" of later days.

There were a few English coins in the Old Colony and some Spanish coins came as a result of commerce with the West Indies. Fish, salted meats and barrel staves were sent from the Plymouth Colony, and likewise from the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and exchanged for molasses from the West Indies. This molasses was made into rum to a large extent and New England rum was a commodity which made New England famous for a time to almost the same ex-

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tent as Milwaukee was made famous from the product of its extensive breweries. Many people of the present day who will hardly admit that they have arrived at the milestone of "middle age" can remember stores in Duxbury, for instance, over the door of which was a sign reading "English and West India Goods." One of these stores also announced on its sign the same of "N. Ford and Sons." It was on the turnpike from Plymouth to Boston, through Duxbury, and was burned a few years ago.

There was a mint established in Massachusetts in 1652 at which Pine Tree shillings were coined. Later some paper money was issued.

Cruel Punishments in Those Days—The discipline in the colonies was severe in the extreme, both among the Pilgrims and Puritans, and many people of the present day have wondered whether the early religionists in this country had a zeal for cruelty or revenge as well as for non-conformistic principles. It is known that in Salem, in one case, Ratcliffe for "uttering malicious and scandalous speeches against the government and the church at Salem" was fined, had his ears cut off, and was banished. People were put in the stocks and publicly whipped for trivial offences in the Plymouth Colony, but in those same days the most inhuman punishments were meted out to offenders in England, and for many years after, as the old British prison ship which visited these shores as an exhibit a few years ago gave testimony.

Lingard's "History of England" gives information about discipline in that country, such as the cutting off of hands and ears, slitting the nose, and being branded for trivial offences. Rev. Mr. Leighton, a non-conformist minister in England, printed a book taking issue with the established church. The House of Lords sentenced him to be fined ten thousand pounds, deposed from his church, publicly whipped, placed in the stocks, an ear cut off, his nose slit open, cheek branded, and at the expiration of one week to be again whipped publicly, placed in the stocks, his other ear cut off, and his other cheek branded. Upon this sentence being carried out, he was sentenced for life imprisonment. Ten years later, Oliver Cromwell released him from prison. At that time instant death was the penalty for committing any one of one hundred and sixty offenses which, according to Blackstone in his "Commentaries," "men are liable daily to commit."

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Against the punishment of Rev. Mr. Leighton in England, might be offered, in contrast, that accorded Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who, for "heresy" was banished by the church in Boston. Her offense was, according to Governor Winthrop, "two dangerous errors, that the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person, and that no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification."

There was a law in Massachusetts in 1692 which provided that every person who shall "profanely swear or curse" be required to pay a fine of five shillings or sit in the stocks two hours. The fine was regulated as "twelve pence for every oath after the first" and among other duties required of the tithing men was to present to the justices "all profane swearers, and Cursers and the Number as nere as they Can of their oaths."

Evidently there was not a perfect understanding of this statute or possibly it had somewhat come into disuse by 1746, for in that year there was additional legislation on the subject of swearing "to more effectually prevent profane cursing and swearing," said law to "be read in the meeting-house by ministers on the Lord's day next succeeding the choice of town officers yearly." Recollections of the choice of town officers and the expressions of disappointment on the part of those whose favorites lost in the municipal battles, would suggest the advisability of reminding the populace of the law just before, rather than just after, such a town meeting.

For uttering reviling speeches Jane Boulton of Plymouth had her legs locked in the stocks. In Eastham there were idlers about the meeting-house who would not go inside and, upon complaints having been made, they were placed in the stocks for a longer time than the long service at the meeting-house. There is a record that William Vesey of Braintree was, in 1697, sentenced to the pillory for ploughing on Thanksgiving Day. The Pilgrims and their descendants were not allowed to observe Christmas, and most other holidays were taboo, but one had to be thankful on Thanksgiving Day and express his thanks. The law required it. Vesey also was introduced to the pillory for making the assertion that James II was king instead of William of Orange. Five years later he was elected to the General Court but the fact that he had suffered punishment in the pillory was brought up against him and he was

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expelled. Punishment by the pillory was considered infamous, fully as much so as the whipping post.

The latter institution was adapted to certain offenses. Thieves were flogged and then sent to jail, much the same as sentences at the present day call for a person to spend a certain number of years in prison, the first day to be in solitary confinement. More than forty stripes were not allowed and it was forbidden by law that "any true gentleman be punished with whipping unless his crime be very shameful and his course of life viscious and profligate." David Linnell and Hannah Shelly of Barnstable were flogged at the whipping post "by sentence of the magistracy," after they had confessed a statutory offense. Sarah Osgood of Newbury was sentenced "to be whipped twenty stripes for fornication within six weeks after she shall be brought to bed."

There was another instrument of punishment, or torture, in colonial New England, known as the wooden horse. Whether this had any remote connection with the wooden horse in the story of Troy has nothing to do with the case. It was smaller than the Trojan horse but just as effective in its way. There is a certain appropriateness suggested by the fact that among those favored with a ride on the wooden horse, rather than the pillory or a seat in the stocks, were the horse thieves. There is a record that "one James Brown, a transcient Person was brought to the Bar of the County Court on a complaint of Horse-stealing—being put to plead—plead guilty, and on Thursday received the sentence of the Court, that he should be confined to the Goal in this County 8 Weeks, be whipped the first Day 15 stripes on the naked Body, and set one Hour on the wooden Horse, and on the first Monday of each following Month be whipped ten stripes, and set one hour at each time on the wooden Horse."

Sought to Discourage Suicides—There was a law on the statute books in Massachusetts from October 16, 1660, until its repeal February 21, 1824, "Considering how far Satan doth prevail upon persons within this Jurisdiction to make way with themselves," which was intended to discourage suicides. The law read: "To bear testimony against such wicked and unnatural practices that others may be deterred therefrom; do order that if any person be wilfully guilty of their own Death, every such person shall be denied the privilege of being buried in the Common Burying place of Chris-

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tians, but shall be Buried in some Common Highway and a Cart-load of Stones laid upon the grave as a Brand of Infamy, and as a warning to others to beware of the like Damnable practices."

There were thousands of suicides during the one hundred and sixty-four years that law remained on the statute books of the General Court, and how many cart-loads of stones were actually rattled down upon the graves of suicides in "some common highway" is not a matter of record. It is reasonable to suppose that many of these suicides were prompted by the morbid mental conditions which were natural results of the theological terror which was preached in the meeting-houses, nurtured on the doctrines of John Calvin. A fitting sample is a sermon by Rev. Thomas Hooker, one of the colonial divines, so-called, an extract from which is still in existence and reads: "Suppose any soule here present were to behold the damned in hell, and if the Lord should give thee a little peepe-hole into hell that thou did'st see the horror of those damned soules, and thy heart begins to shake in consideration thereof; then propound this to thy owne heart, what paines the damned in hell doe endure for sinne; and thy heart will shake and quake at it, the least sinne that ever thou didst commit, though thou makes a light matter of it, is a greater evill then the paines of the damned in hell. Men shrink at this and loathe to goe down to hell and to be in endlesse torments. Oh get you into the arke, the Lord Jesus; and when one is roaring and yelling—Oh the Devill, the Devill—another is ready to hang himselfe or to cut his own throat."

Suppose there was a law now, as in the colonial days, which compelled every person to go to church every Sunday and listen to twaddle like that for two or three hours at a stretch, week in and week out, and look about them and see everyone apparently swallowing it as coming from someone who spoke with authority, and answer honestly what would the suicide record presumably be? There was no escape. Listen to these "sons of thunder" or be locked into the stocks or placed on the pillory for persons to throw rotten vegetables at, every good marksman expecting a special blessing from heaven for making a bullseye! In the language of a very modern humorist: "Them were the happy days!"

Rev. Thomas Hooker was just a little more powerful preacher than most of the parsons. He came to Massachusetts in 1633 and collaborated with Rev. John Cotton of Boston in writing the "Sur-

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vey of the Summe of Church Discipline," which was published in 1648.

It is true that the witchcraft craze did not have much of a history in the Plymouth Colony. The exceedingly busy Cotton Mather made witchcraft, murders and persecutions his favorite indoor and outdoor sport, next to hating the Indians. It is possible that Cotton Mather's vituperative tongue uttered so many accusations that finally he believed some of his own utterances. If we may believe him, there is one of his writings, dated March 16, 1703, which reads: "Should I tell in how many Forms the Devil has assaulted me it would strike my Friends with Horror. Sometimes Temptations to Impurities, and sometimes to blasphemy and Athieism, and the Abandonment of all Religion as a mere Delusion, and sometimes to self-destruction itself."

The Ides of March of 1703 would have been rather late for the Rev. Cotton Mather to have indulged this sinful temptation to self-destruction and escape the results of his superstitious enthusiasm. Undoubtedly the four generations of the Mather family which supplied preachers did a great deal of good but it was largely through Cotton Mather and his father, Rev. Increase Mather, that witchcraft trials took place in Salem and the craze ran its insane course, resulting in the imprisonment of more than one hundred and fifty men and women and the murder of twenty who were "as innocent in their lives as they were heroic in their deaths."

Cotton Mather was filled with delusions. An entry in his diary reads: "Nov., 1716. There has lately been in the Town an apparition of a Dead person. It is a thing so well attested that there can be no Room to doubt of it. It may be a service to Sundry, and serve many good purposes, for me to obtain a full Relation of ye matter, and have ye persons concerned therein to make oath unto it before a magistrate."

Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D. D., editor of the "Congregationalist" for many years, wrote: "It is to be noted, however, by him who would thoroughly understand Cotton Mather, that his chief misfortune lay in the fact that he outlived that state of society to which he was germane."

Puritans Invaded Pilgrim Colony—An interesting fact about the Plymouth Colony, although not mentioned as one which carried with it any virtue or otherwise, mentioned merely as a matter of dis-

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tion, is that, with the exception of the people from the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in Salem and Boston, very few joined the Pilgrims so long as Plymouth remained a colony. The Massachusetts Bay Colony overflow was, however, very substantial, and, at the establishment of the General Court in 1639, there were six towns or settlements, gathered around a church, on the South Shore, beside Plymouth. They were represented in the General Court by deputies and, strange to say, it was not an easy matter to find men in those days who cared for the distinctions or experiences of political action.

Among those who came to Plymouth from Salem was Roger Williams, the founder of Providence, and famous for many things. At Salem, he was assistant to Rev. Samuel Skelton, the pastor. He voiced views hundreds of years in advance of his time, insisted upon the Indians having some rights which the colonists were bound to respect, was more liberal in religion than the Puritans, and for all these convictions, freely expressed, and for many other peculiarities, he was expelled from Salem and its environs.

Evidently the Puritans expected him to go out into the wilderness and die, neither respected nor regretted. Instead, he came to Plymouth, where he "tarried for a while" and, according to Bradford's records, "he exercised his gifts amongst them, and after some time was admitted a member of the church." But, within a year, he caused great dissatisfaction by printing a paper in which he criticized the custom of taking land from the Indians for such paltry payments that it amounted to practical confiscation. He asserted that the charter gave no title to the land; that King James told a solemn public lie, because in his patent he blessed God that he was the first Christian prince that had discovered this land, and also cast several other severe reflections upon King James and King Charles. As has already been said, he was in advance of his time.

New England was more thickly settled than other parts of the country when present-day nonagenarians were born. There was a certain social life which was joyous, sometimes convivial, usually destined to promote the prosperity and larger outlook on life. New England was thrifty, populated largely by descendants of the people from the British Isles, many of whom retained many of the traits of the Pilgrims, and Plymouth County was the essence of New England. It is sometimes said today that New England and Nova

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Scotia can best be described as the places "where the men still go to church." This church-going characteristic functioned almost one hundred per cent a century ago.

The particular part of New England of which we write was a century ago largely populated by people who lived on small farms. Each family raised most of its own food supply. There were occasional hired men on the farms but most of the work was done by the owner and his sons. Neighbors sometimes united in work, and husking bees, barn raisings and log rollings were social events as well as co-operative methods of getting a large amount of work done.

Clumsy wooden plows and harrows, wooden rakes, scythes, flails, heavy forks and spades were used up to a comparatively short time ago. The first iron plow was patented in 1797. The grain cradle came in 1803 but very little modern farm machinery came into use before 1830. Indian corn, potatoes and pumpkins were natives of America and grown by the Indians, but wheat, rye, oats and barley, cabbages, turnips, peaches and apples were brought over by the early colonists. The Indians possessed no domestic animal except the dog, but horses, cattle, swine and sheep came from Europe to America shortly after the landing of the Pilgrims. It was a long time before the number of horses was equal to the number of oxen used as beasts of burden.

Famous Daniel Webster Plow—Daniel Webster, the famous statesman, who was a resident of Marshfield, in Plymouth County, always kept several yokes of oxen. There is still in existence at Durham, New Hampshire, at the University of New Hampshire, a plow which was presented to Mr. Webster by a group of his friends about 1840. It was used by him on his Marshfield farm, where he greatly enjoyed holding the handles behind four yokes of oxen and listening to the roots crack, as the big plow tore them from the tough soil.

Mr. Webster died in 1852, and the plow was secured by the New Hampshire Historical Society, as a valuable relic of the statesman-farmer and something which he had personally used with much pleasure. He was a native of New Hampshire, and the plow was kept in Hanover, in that State, until the opening of Culver Hall at Dartmouth in 1871. On that occasion it was taken into the college field and several furrows ploughed, with Hon. David M. Clough

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holding the handles. Mr. Clough was a resident of Canterbury and was known as the "corn king of New Hampshire."

In 1893 the plow was transferred from Hanover to Durham, where it has been ever since, except on a few occasions when it was loaned for an agricultural fair or otherwise exhibited under appropriate circumstances.

During the annual Farmers' Week at the University of New Hampshire in August, 1919, it was hitched to a tractor, and with Dean Taylor holding the handles, two furrows, 300 feet long, were turned. It turned furrows, ten inches deep and eighteen inches wide, without a creak. It is made of white oak with a wooden moldboard, covered with strips of iron. It is thirteen feet long, twenty-five inches high, and weighs 372 pounds.

Clothing was homespun up to one hundred years ago and spinning wheels are still to be found in some attics in Plymouth County, although no longer in use. Many have been bought by antique hunters in recent years and served to ornament colonial rooms or museums. There are still a few grandmothers who can remember the days of making coarse linen and woolen cloth, such as were used for clothing in their childhood. Much hand-made furniture is still in use in the county, including the first rocking chair ever made, an invention for the comfort of a gentlewoman of Kingston, and still kept in the house in which it was made.

Plymouth and Barnstable counties furnished a large number of young men who engaged in cod fishing, shipping on the fishing schooners which sailed away from Kingston, Duxbury and the Cape Cod ports. The call of the sea met with ready response and some of the most skillful and daring seamen of the country have been the boys of these two counties. Whale fishing was an industry in which several generations engaged.

Shipbuilding flourished in Plymouth County. There were numerous grist-mills, iron moulding foundries, sawmills and small manufacturing plants, giving promise of the large factories of the present generation. Furnaces for smelting iron ore, which was found in the ponds and bogs, were in most of the towns. Where the family, if at home, now in long, winter evenings, listens to the radio, it was the custom a hundred or more years ago for the women and girls to spend the evenings in spinning and weaving, while the men and boys made barrel staves, hoops or shingles before the colonial

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fireplaces. Staves and hoops found a ready market in the West Indies. Most towns had a cooper, and barrels and kegs were in general use for all kinds of purposes. The first cooper in the county was John Alden, the secretary to Captain Myles Standish. The colonial home was a factory in which was produced nearly everything needed by the family.



History Amusingly Related By McFingal*

By ELROY S. THOMPSON, BROCKTON, MASSACHUSETTS.



HERE were numerous outstanding patriots who took a prominent part in events which led up to the Revolutionary War, whose homes were in Plymouth County. There was the usual proportion of Loyalists or Tories, and this county, as all counties, had riotous demonstrations between neighbors of opposing political views regarding Great Britain and the Colonies. There were Plymouth County men who rallied to the defense of Boston, following the Battle of Lexington and the Concord fight. This grand, old county gave a good account of itself in the Revolution and in all the wars.

When there became pronounced opposition to the home government and the tyranny of its officials in this country a Plymouth County clergyman, Rev. Gad Hitchcock of Hanson, was a member of the convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts in 1765. He preached the election sermon in the presence of Governor Gage in 1774, taking for his text, "When the righteous are in authority the people rejoice; but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn." (Proverbs, 8-2.) After commenting in severe terms upon the calamities resulting from the reign of the wicked he remarked, "We need not pass the limits of our own nation for sad instances of this. Whether or how far it has been exemplified in any of the American colonies, whose government in general are nearly copies of the happy British original, by the operation of ministerial unconstitutional measures, or the public conduct of some among ourselves, is not for me to determine. It is, however, certain that the people mourn."

The sermon referred to was preached in Boston and filled General Gage with rage. Before going into the pulpit, Dr. Hitchcock had been told that General Gage and some of the king's troops were to be present and he was advised to tone down his sermon accord-

*This article is reprinted by permission from advance sheets of a "History of Plymouth, Norfolk, and Barnstable Counties, Massachusetts," of which Mr. Thompson is author, from the press of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc.

HISTORY AMUSINGLY RELATED BY McFINGAL

ingly, but his answer was: "My sermon is written and it will not be altered."

Among those who heard the sermon and were mightily pleased with the fearlessness of the minister and the way in which he had put over his message in the presence of the king's troops and their proud and haughty governor, was Samuel Adams. He and other leaders, in admiration, presented Dr. Hitchcock with a suit of homespun clothes, as a mark of their appreciation.

In after years "Harper's Magazine" thus referred to him: "Dr. Hitchcock was celebrated for his patriotism and his fearlessness in avowing it, and in doing all that he could for the cause of his country. He sometimes acted as chaplain in the army of the Revolution, and never shunned the dangers to which the soldiers were exposed." Reference is made to him in this history as typical of the men of Plymouth County in the Revolutionary War days, or in any other time of political stress. There were several military companies in the various towns in the county, at Plymouth, North Bridgewater, Middleborough, Bridgewater, Hingham, Scituate, Abington and some smaller towns.

Some amusing flashes, picturing the Revolutionary struggle from the standpoint of the Plymouth Colony, telling something of the peculiarities of the colony itself and reflecting some of the prejudices and judgments commonly held in those times which tried men's souls, were contained in the poem of McFingal.

If you ask the average person today, among those having considerable literary attainments and believing that they know their Old Colonial history, "What can you tell me about McFingal?" the chances are very fair that he will answer in Yankee fashion by asking another question, "Who is McFingal?" This name, however, had a tremendous effect in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and then, as now, most people jumped at the conclusion that McFingal was a real personage, moreover one gifted with second sight.

"McFingal" was a modern epic poem which was first published in America in 1782 in its completed form, although a part of it had been published in Philadelphia in 1775, and the next year reprinted in London, where it passed through several editions. It was published anonymously but was at first thought to have been composed by an Englishman. It dealt with situations in the Plymouth Colony and told the truth about the Revolutionary War, in its later cantos,

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as no other writing seems to have done, and is deserving of a place in a history of the Pilgrim land. Its author was John Trumbull, Doctor of Laws, whose ancestor came from England in 1645. He was for a time a law student in the office of John Adams, later President of the United States. He was a student of the political turmoil of the time and an ardent advocate of liberty. In 1775 the Battle of Lexington began the Revolutionary War. Congress was in session in Philadelphia when Trumbull wrote the first part of the poem of McFingal in an effort to inspire confidence in the plan for crushing the Tory party and preparing the public mind for the Declaration of Independence. Friends of the cause immediately took steps to have the poem published in Philadelphia while Congress was in session in that city. The last of the poem was not written until after the surrender of Cornwallis decided the fate of the Revolution. As the poem was not copyrighted it was reprinted by thirty or more printers and booksellers and obtained what was then an enormous circulation. Associated with other young men gifted with powers of satirical writing, many essays appeared more or less mysteriously and had the effect, by their boldness and satire, to check and intimidate leaders of disorganization and infidel philosophy.

An indication of the style of the poem "McFingal" is shown in lines descriptive of the rout of the British from Concord and Lexington when fired upon by the colonists who

"Fired the shot heard round the world."

These opening lines of Canto I were as follows:

Then Yankees, skill'd in martial rule,
First put the British troops to school,
Instructed them in warlike trade
And new manoeuvres of parade,
Made them give up, like saints complete,
The arm of flesh, and trust the feet,
And works, like Christians undissembling,
Salvation out, by fear and trembling;
Taught Percy fashionable races,
And modern modes of Chevy-Chases.

The buildings used as places of public worship in the Old Colony were called meeting-houses rather than churches, as they were

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used on secular days for whatever gatherings of the people might take place, or, in the language of McFingal:

That house, which loth a rule to break
Serv'd heaven, but one day in the week,
Open the rest for all supplies
Of news, and politics, and lies.

McFingal described one of the early town meetings, such as were held in the meeting-houses:

And now the town was summon'd, greeting,
To grand parading of Town-meeting;
A show, that strangers might appal,
As Rome's grave senate did the Gaul.

* * *

Stood forth the constable; and bore
His staff, like Merc'ry's wand of yore,
Waved potent round, the peace to keep,
As that laid dead men's souls to sleep.
Above and near the hermetic staff,
The Moderator's upper half
In grandeur o'er the cushion bow'd,
Like Sol half seen behind a cloud.
Beneath stood voters of all colours,
Whigs, Tories, orators, and brawlers;
With every tongue in either faction
Prepared like minute-men for action;
Where truth and falsehood, wrong and right,
Drew all their legions forth to fight.
With equal uproar scarcely rave
Opposing winds in Aeolus' cave;
Such dialogues with earnest face
Held never Balaam with his ass.

Abijah White of Marshfield was employed to carry from that Plymouth County to Boston famous town resolves, censuring the Whigs and reprobating the destruction of the tea at the Boston Tea Party. He armed himself in ridiculous military array, as a comic opera hero, pretending he was afraid he would be robbed of his documents. About this time, some British officers, walking on Beacon Hill, Boston, after sunset, were affrighted by noises in the air which they took to be the sound of bullets. It is supposed the cause was the flying of bugs and beetles. An historian says: "They left the hill with great precipitation, spread the alarm in their en-

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campment, and wrote terrible accounts to England of being shot at with air guns." Indeed, for some time they seriously believed, that the Americans were possessed of a kind of magic white powder, which exploded and killed without report. McFingal tells the story:

As comets thro' th' affrighted skies
Pour baleful ruin as they rise:
As Aetna with infernal roar
In conflagration sweeps the shore;
Or as Abijah White, when sent
Our Marshfield friends to represent,
Himself while dread array involves,
Commissions, Pistols, Swords, resolves,
In awful pomp descending down
Bore terror on the factious town:
Not with less glory and affright,
Parade these generals forth to fight.
No more each British colonel runs
From whizzing beetles, as air-guns;
Thinks horn-bugs bullets, or thro' fears
Muskitoes takes for musketeers;
Nor 'scapes, as if you'd gain'd supplies,
From Beelzebub's whole host of flies,
No bug these warlike hearts appalls;
They better know the sound of balls.
I hear the din of battle bray;
The trump of horror marks its way.
I see afar the sack of cities,
The gallows strung with Whig-committees;
Your moderators triced, like vermin,
And gate-posts graced with heads of chairmen.

It was the custom, born of necessity, in early Plymouth days for the Pilgrim Fathers to carry their guns with them to religious services, as indeed wherever they went. McFingal paints the word picture as follows:

So once, for fear of Indian beating,
Our grandsires bore their guns to meeting;
Each man equipped on Sunday morn
With psalm book, shot, and powder horn,
And looked, in form, as all must grant,
Like th' ancient true church militant,
Or fierce, like modern deep divines,
Who fight with quills, like porcupines.

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As the Revolution approached, commissioners were appointed to ferret out the Tories and bring them to a renouncement, in writing of their toryism; and it was ordered if they should refuse, they be brought before the people assembled and dealt with as the assemblage should decide. Some of these recantations were described by McFingal as follows:

I now renounce the Pope, the Turk,
The King, the Devil, and all his work:
And, if you will set me at ease,
Turn Whig or Christian—what you please.

Sometimes, however, there was a Loyalist or Tory who would not recant, come what would, and in such an event, there was the liberty pole which was the fitting scene for patriotic doings of all sorts and the personification of McFingal would be eased into its presence.

And with loud shouts and joyful soul,
Conduct him prisoner to the pole.

* * *

And stood heroic as a mule
To meet the worst—for recompense
To trust King George and Providence,—

When the good work went on

There from the pole's sublimest top
The active crew let down a rope,
At once its other end in haste bind
And make it fast upon his waistband,
Till like the earth, as stretched on tenter,
He hung, self balanced, on his centre;
Then upwards, all hands hoisting sail,
They swung him like a keg of ale,
Where looking forth in prospect wide
His tory errors he espied,—

Such a scene as Trumbull has described had its counterpart around the liberty pole in several Old Colonial villages

While loyalty, oppress'd in tears,
Stands trembling for its neck and ears

and some of the characteristic and effective ways in which the Tories were treated is described in a chapter devoted to that pur-

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pose in this history. Many of the Tories had a vision of what was to come and were like McFingal when he says

I hear a voice, that calls away,
And cries "The Whigs shall win the day."

Many of them joined the British Army or sailed for Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, or elsewhere, fearing the vision of McFingal might be realized:

I see the Mob, beflipped at taverns,
Hunt us, like wolves, through wilds and caverns!
What dungeons open on our fears!
What horsewhips whistle round our ears!
Tar, yet in embryo in the pine,
Shall run on Tories' back to shine;
Trees, rooted fair in groves of sallows,
Are growing for our future gallows;
And geese unhatched, when plucked in fray,
Shall rue the feathering of that day.

Trumbull described in his inimitable way the cruelties of the British commanders. It has been said that the conduct of the Turks in putting all prisoners to death is much more humane than that of the British army for the first three years of the Revolutionary War, or till after the capture of Burgoyne. Loring, a refugee from Boston, was made commissary of prisoners by General Howe. The consummate cruelties practiced on the American prisoners under his administration, almost exceed the ordinary powers of human invention.

Where Britons, all their captives taming,
Plied them with scourging, cold and famine,
By noxious food and plagues contagious
Reduced to life's last, fainting stages.
Amid the dead, that crowd the scene,
The moving skeletons were seen.
Aloft the haughty Loring stood,
And thrived, like Vampire, on their blood.

Burgoyne, in his northern expedition, arranged to give compensation to the Indians for American scalps, without distinction of gender. He denied, however, his personal agency in these transactions, which is hardly borne out in the correspondence between him

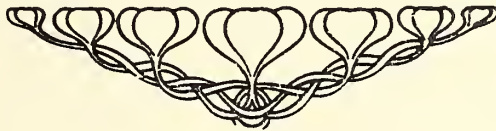
and General Gates, occasioned by the murder and scalping of Miss McCrea.

There is a footnote in the London Edition of "McFingal" which states, "Loring was a refugee from Boston, made commissary of prisoners by General Howe. The cruelties practiced on the American prisoners under his administration almost exceeded the ordinary powers of human invention. The conduct of the Turks in putting all prisoners to death is certainly much more rational and humane than that of the British army for the three first years of the American war, or till after the capture of Burgoyne."

It is asserted that General Howe's troops, openly and without censure, in many instances, on his first conquest of Long Island, tied up the first captives for the troops to shoot at, and "hoped they'd learn on foes thus taken,"

To aim at rebels without shaking.
Then deep in stratagem, he plann'd
The sure destruction of the land;
Turn'd famine, torture and despair
To useful enginry of war;
Sent forth the smallpox, and the greater
To thin the land of every traitor.

Concerning the above allusion to the smallpox in the poem "McFingal," it is explained that "Great pains were taken by emissaries from New York to communicate the smallpox through the country. It became necessary to counteract the attempt by a general inoculation of the inhabitants."



Building The Federal City*

THE FIRST DECADE (1791-1801) OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

BY EDWIN MELVIN WILLIAMS, WASHINGTON, D. C.



SO as to make it clear that the District of Columbia, e. g., the capital city of the United States, was laid in a territory which "was far from being the desolate delitescient wilderness that has sometimes been pictured," a few prefatory paragraphs might be written regarding the original families of the Potomac region.

In 1790, Georgetown and Alexandria, the trading ports of the vicinity, were prosperous towns, enjoying considerable water-borne trade. George Washington's country-seat, Mount Vernon, was near Alexandria, and it was at that port that the British troops of the ill-fated General Braddock disembarked in 1755, preparatory to an expedition to oust the French from Fort DuQuesne (Pittsburgh) and the Ohio Valley. Alexandria, indeed, hoped to rival Philadelphia as a shipping port; and Georgetown expected to surpass Alexandria.

The surrounding country, on both sides of the Potomac River was, however, mainly forest, and in some parts swamp-land, with a gentleman's plantation here and there of the traditional Virginia and Maryland type, of colonial times.

The planters, in the main, were of good British families—cultured, well-educated gentlemen of easy means, who lived a manorial life and took a kindly interest in the slaves who worked their plantations. To the extent that the more primitive environment would enable them to do so, the leading families of the Potomac region lived as country gentry of their period would in the mother-country. And in many cases, they sent their sons to England to be educated. Thomas Addison, born in Maryland to the Reverend Lancelot Addison, was sent to Oxford University. So was his cousin Joseph.

*This article is reprinted by permission from advance sheets of "Washington, Past and Present," of which John Clagett Proctor, LL.M., is editor-in-chief, and which is soon to come from the press of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc.



A NIGHT VIEW OF THE CAPITOL

(By A. J. Olmsted)

BUILDING THE FEDERAL CITY

Upon his return, Thomas Addison married, and built a manor house on the banks of the Potomac opposite Alexandria. In 1713, 3,000 acres of land between Rock Creek and the Potomac was granted to Colonel Thomas Addison and James Stoddert. Nancy Addison, who married William Murdock, son of the rector of Rock Creek Parish, inherited the Rock Creek estate of Col. Thomas Addison. Their daughter married into the family of President Adams, and the Murdock homestead, known as Friendship, which stood upon part of the land inherited from Col. Addison, was the scene of many distinguished social gatherings during the first years of the Capital. Its site is now part of that of the American University.

Major Benjamin Stoddert and General Uriah Forrest were joint owners of a tract of land north of Georgetown and west of Rock Creek. The estate was known as Rosedale. Both these patriots were impoverished by the Revolutionary War, but later recovered their fortunes in business partnership in Georgetown. Stoddert became Secretary of the Navy, and his house, at the corner of Prospect and Frederick streets in Georgetown, witnessed many brilliant social scenes. General Forrest bought his partner's interest in Rosedale, and lived upon it until his death, in 1794. He was poverty-stricken in his last years, having speculated unwisely, and had it not been for the aid given by his brother-in-law, Philip Barton Key, he would have lost his Rosedale estate altogether. Key, who lived luxuriously at Woodly, a portion of the Rosedale estate, bought the Forrest home and 130 acres of the Rosedale estate for Mrs. Forrest at public sale.

North of Georgetown, during Revolutionary years, the country was comparatively thickly settled by well-to-do-families. Along the road from Georgetown into Montgomery County were many old manor houses. One of these manorial estates was Hayes, near Chevy Chase. The manor house was erected just before the Revolution by Rev. Alexander Williamson, rector of Rock Creek Parish, a popular parson who "rode straight to hounds, negotiated his three bottles at a sitting, freely backed his own and his friends' race-horses, and played whist for double-eagle points and five on the rubber." He is reputed to have built his house of bricks imported from England, though this seems improbable, when one realizes that brick-making clay was nearby, and cargo-space was small.

Clean Drinking Manor was near Hayes. The original

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owner was John Coates, whose Crown grant of fourteen hundred acres was in the year 1680. Elizabeth, grand-daughter of John Coates, married Charles Jones, "gentleman;" and upon the Coates estate "Uncle Charlie" Jones, a "boon companion of Parson Williamson," erected the manor house in 1750. In this house Washington "tarried for a thankful rest upon his way home to Alexandria from Fort Duquesne in 1775"; and in it Postmaster Monroe took refuge, with his mail bags, from the invading British in 1814.

At Warburton was the home of George Digges, who married into the Carroll family. His widow built Green Hill, on a portion of the Chilham Castle Manor estate which was so named after the ancestral home of the Digges family in Kent, England. William Dudley Digges, son of Widow Digges, married Eleanora, daughter of Daniel Carroll of Duddington. In the Digges home at Green Hill, L'Enfant "found a refuge in his last days."

An hour's ride southeastward of Green Hill was Riversdale, a rich plantation just beyond the port of Bladensburg. The lord of the manor was George Calvert, "a handsome man of cultivated tastes who lived in the lordly fashion of the wealthy planter of his time." "His house was the focal point of culture and good breeding and its dignified hospitality was enjoyed by the most distinguished men and women of the day."

There were other family seats—Arlington, Analostan, Duddington and others—the colonial homes of collateral lines of aristocratic British families. "The members of these old families" of the Potomac region "intermarried and kept up a constant exchange of social courtesy and festivities. A ten-mile ride for the purpose of paying a visit, or attending a dance, was a matter of no account to the young man or woman of those days. The urban centers supplied them with all the conveniences and most of the luxuries of the period, and it is doubtful if the best country life of today is productive of anything like as much enjoyment as our colonial ancestors contrived to get out of theirs."

Broadly, it may be stated that the land-owners of the region in which the Federal Government eventually placed the national capital were, in truth, landed gentry who sought to live as English gentlemen and gentlewomen did. In the centres of commerce, in the urban districts, the standard of gentility was lowered perhaps, just as happens in England, but the planter families of colonial

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days in those parts of Virginia and Maryland that adjoined or were in the "ten miles square," taken in 1791 to form the federal District of Columbia, were comparable with the county gentry of England.

Politicians pictured the Potomac region as a most undesirable part of the country in which to establish the permanent seat of the Federal Government, but most of those who thought so "had their own fish to fry." Revolutionary records indicate that the former thirteen colonies, independent states bound together in common federal union only for better defense against their common enemy, Great Britain, were in some respects jealous of each other. This jealousy was palpably apparent whenever the question of choosing a permanent seat for the Federal Government was discussed, during and immediately following the struggle for American independence. As the war neared its end the subject was "insinuating itself in all great national questions." The states, jealous not only of each other but to a greater degree of the Federal Government itself, looked indeed with suspicion upon the very idea of central government. Some Continental Congressmen hoped that the need of federal authority would altogether pass when Britain gave up hope of regaining sovereign power over her former American colonies, then in revolt. Still, if a permanent Federal Government must be endured and that Government seated somewhere within the territory of one of the now quite free and altogether independent state sovereignties, then more than one congressman, it may be presumed, mentally resolved to do his utmost to seat that National Government within his own state. In this, of course, he would be actuated by loyalty—a loyalism, however, which, closely analysed, was localism; also it seems probable that increase of land values to some extent entered into the calculations of those who strove to seat the Federal Government within their own state.

As early as November, 1779, the buying of a site was before Congress, or at least was being discussed by congressmen. Benjamin Rush, writing from Philadelphia, then referred to the matter, stating that "some of the members of Congress were talking of purchasing a few square miles of territory . . . wherein to erect public offices and buildings for a permanent house." In January, 1783, peace, with American independence, was "confidently expected"; so, on the 29th of that month, the municipal authorities of

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Kingston, N. Y., resolved "to ascertain the sense of the town as to whether it would be agreeable to them to have the Honourable the Congress of the United States come and reside in their town." The townsmen were willing, whereupon the town authorities memorialized the State Legislature to further the movement. The State of New York looked quite approvingly upon the movement, and its delegates in Congress were instructed to make known the wish of the State. The proposed grant was even doubled to two square miles. Not to be outdone by Kingston, the corporation of Annapolis, Maryland, in May, 1783, unanimously approved "an offer to Congress of land" in Maryland. Indeed, Annapolis was willing to give 300 acres. The Maryland House of Delegates did not frown upon the movement. In communicating the offer to Congress, the State authorities pointed out that Annapolis "is more central than any other city or town in the federal states." They would even "present to Congress the building and grounds in the said city appropriated for the residence of the governor of their state for the habitation of their President." In June, 1783, New Jersey angled for the federal seat. If Congress should "make choice of any part of the state of New Jersey for the place of the permanent residence," the State would give the Federal Government "jurisdiction, authority and power over a district of twenty square miles," and, further, would grant money "for the purpose of procuring lands and erecting building thereon." Virginia made its wish known a few days later. That state was prepared to welcome Congress to the town of Williamsburg, and, further, to "present the palace, the capitol, and all the public buildings, and 300 acres of land adjoining the said city" together with more than three times as much money as New Jersey had offered, said money-grant "to be expended in erecting thirteen hotels for the use of the delegates to Congress." Furthermore, Virginia was prepared to "cede a district contiguous to the said city not exceeding five miles square with such exempt jurisdiction within the said limits as the inhabitants residing therein shall consent to yield to Congress."

Virginia, apparently, had made up its mind that the Federal Government should be within its borders, or contiguous thereto. The Virginia Legislature "also offered to cede a like district at any place on the Potomac and to appropriate a sum not to exceed 100,000 pounds for erecting public buildings." She was even willing to

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share the advantage with Maryland, rather than lose it altogether. Virginia was prepared to cede land opposite that ceded by Maryland on the Potomac River, only stipulating that "in the event Congress locates on the north side, its proportion would be 40,000 pounds, Maryland to supply the deficiency."

During the many years of heated discussion that followed, the states lost their local entities in thinking of this matter, and gradually divided into North and South, the line between them being approximately where Slavery divided them three-quarters of a century later.

The first reference in Congressional records to the matter of a permanent seat was of action by Congress on June 4, 1783, setting a day in October for the consideration of the offers of New York and Maryland. However, a sensational happening was soon to affect Congress, and indeed, to lessen its dignity by rendering it transient. Mutinous soldiers marched to Philadelphia, where until then it had seemed that Congress was securely seated. These disgruntled soldiers made "a disorderly and menacing appearance" before the halls of Congress. The Federal Government, to preserve its dignity, later left Philadelphia for Princeton, where the next session was held.

During the next eighteen months, Congress sat in three places, Princeton, Annapolis, and Trenton; but wherever they went they suffered inconvenience, there being no public buildings large enough for the legislative and governmental needs of the Federal Government. Legislators were even more inconvenienced. Madison, writing of his own experiences at Princeton, stated: "We were extremely put to, to get any quarters at all. Dr. Jones and I are put into one bed in a room not more than ten feet square."

It soon became apparent that Congress could not be satisfactorily placed in small towns. Madison writes: "In any small place Congress is too dependent on courtesy and favor to be exempt either in their persons or their sensibility from degrading impositions." General Washington, referring to Princeton, complained that the "want of accommodation added to a disinclination of the southern delegates to be further removed than they formerly were from the centre of the empire." He was pessimistic as to the plan for a northern federal seat. "Seven states, it is said, will never

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agree," wrote Washington. Thus it seemed, even in 1783, that the Potomac was the only logical site.

When debate opened, at Princeton, in October, 1783, "it was soon manifest that the southern members favored the Potomac. A location on that river, they asserted, would be geographically the centre of the United States, at least as far south as Georgetown." Favor did not enter into the question, the southern states asserting that "justice and equality" pointed to the Potomac as the site.

However, if seven southern states favored the Potomac, the stronger northern states, generally, favored Trenton; and on October 7, 1783, Congress resolved to seat the Government permanently near the falls of the Delaware River, above Trenton. Ten days later, however, Congress felt the pressure of southern opinion. A resolution, presented on October 17th by Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, called upon Congress to place "a national capital at or near the lower falls of the Potomac at Georgetown." In offering the resolution, Mr. Gerry explained that Congress "had no prospect of a general assent to any one place and that there is every reason to expect that providing buildings for the alternate residence of Congress in two places would be productive of the most salutary effects by securing the mutual confidence and affection of the states and preserving the federal balance of power." While these two capitals were being built, Trenton and Annapolis were to be the alternate seats of government.

On December 23, 1784, during a session at Annapolis, Congress definitely abandoned the "double capital idea." The Potomac was the loser, for soon the Congress appointed commissioners to lay out a "district of not less than two and not more than three miles square on the banks of the Delaware near the falls for a federal town." However, this measure got no farther than the appointment of commissioners.

For two years no attempt was made to lay out either a northern or southern site for a federal city. The question hinged vitally upon the Constitution, and it was not until September 17, 1787, that the Constitutional Convention was able to transmit to Congress that instrument without which the United States would be a government in name only. With the ratification of the Constitution, national legislators could give closer attention to one of its sections, that which gave Congress power to "exercise exclusive legislation in all cases

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whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession by particular states and the acceptance by Congress, become the seat of government of the United States."

The Continental Congress, during the last four years of its existence, met in New York City. There also, in 1789, the First Congress of the United States was held. In that city, not then by the way the largest in the United States, Congress was comfortably housed, and the City began to erect a residence for the President of the United States.

There were many, probably, who hoped that the permanent seat of the Federal Government would be within the New York zone, but undoubtedly there were many who sought the advantage for another place. A year and a half later, New York City lost both Congress and President, the seat of government being moved to Philadelphia. The latter city, however, had little chance, at any time after the march of the mutinous soldiers upon Congress in 1783, of ever becoming the national capital, except temporarily. Indeed, the southern members of Congress in 1789 had come to an understanding with Pennsylvania, whereby the latter state would vote with Southerners in support of the Potomac site, upon being assured that Philadelphia should be the seat of government for fifteen years, while the Potomac site was being developed. Eastern interests, however, soon prevailed upon Pennsylvania to change sides, and favor New York City as the temporary seat, upon promise that the Susquehanna River, not the Potomac, should be the site of the permanent seat of government.

Very many places aspired to notice. As one Congressman pointed out, in 1789, "Trenton, Germantown, Carlisle, Lancaster, York and Reading, have sent us an abundance of petitions setting forth various advantages. We wish the inhabitants may enjoy the benefits of them, and if they are pleasantly situated and have plenty of fish, we are glad to hear it, and if it should ever suit Congress to remove to any of them, why Congress will enjoy the benefit of them also." But the contest, actually, for some time seemed to be only between Georgetown on the Potomac and Wright's Ferry on the Susquehanna.

It was pointed out that Georgetown was "considerably south of the centre of population," but Wright's Ferry proponents put greater emphasis upon the possibility that the western country

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might secede and that the southern states would withdraw also. In such an emergency, it would be more satisfactory to realize that the federal city was east of the Susquehanna, in one of the strongest northern states.

As the consideration of the Residence Site Bill proceeded, several changes of site were made, and, as the session neared its end the Senate decided upon Germantown. "In the course of the debate in the House on the bill, as it came back from the Senate, it was pointed out that the Senate" had ignored "both the Potomac and the Susquehanna sites, yet satisfaction was expressed over the proposed financial arrangement (Robert Morris having promised that Pennsylvania should furnish \$100,000 to be used in the erection of public buildings) as better suited to the state of the Treasury."

The Residence Bill did not again come before Congress until five months after the second session of the First Congress had begun, in January, 1790. At the end of May, the House adopted a resolution to hold the next session of Congress in Philadelphia. The Senate did not concur, and at once began to consider the report of a committee which favored the Potomac as a site. On June 11th, another resolution by the House was before the Senate, the latter being asked to concur in the holding of the next session in the city of Baltimore. The inhabitants of that place had raised between twenty and thirty thousand pounds, Maryland currency (\$53,000 to \$69,000), to provide for the accommodation of Congress, if Baltimore should be selected. The Senate, however, "laid aside the house amendment naming Baltimore, and proceeded to consider a bill naming a Potomac site between the mouths of the Eastern Branch and Conococheague, as reported favorably by a committee." This bill, practically unchanged, was adopted on July 1, 1790, the vote being twelve to fourteen. A clause "authorizing the President of the United States to borrow a sum not exceeding \$100,000 to be repaid from the duties on imports and tonnage" was omitted, but the President was authorized "to accept grants of money" or land, with which to carry through the undertaking.

There was good reason for striking out this clause, for there was encouraging financial support almost within reach. Virginia had passed legislation, in the previous December, granting the Federal Government "an advance" of \$120,000, conditional upon a Potomac site being chosen. And the Maryland authorities were

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expected to coöperate, advancing a sum "at least two-thirds of the amount named by Virginia. Both states had been coöperating in improving the navigation of the Potomac, joint action by Maryland and Virginia having, in 1784, brought into corporate existence the Potomac Company, with General Washington as its president. By constructing canals, this company planned "to overcome the natural obstacles in the form of falls and rapids in the Potomac," and it was in great measure due to the focussing of the interest of Marylanders and Virginians in the improvement of the Potomac that the two states came to see mutual interest and joint advantage in seating Congress on the Potomac at, mainly, State expense. The Maryland Legislature, in November, 1790, therefore, authorized the State to make a grant of \$72,000, said sum to be "advanced towards the expense of erecting the public buildings" on the Potomac site of the national capital.

The legislation which gave the Potomac the federal city was not however carried through without a very striking instance of "practical politics." The political bargain, to which the District of Columbia on the Potomac owes its birth "furnished the first recorded instance of 'log-rolling' in the annals of Congress." At that time, the most vital question before the country was the national assumption of the individual debts of the States. Alexander Hamilton was the father of the measure, and Virginia was the strongest in opposition—with good reason, for Virginia had already funded its debt at six per cent. and had provided for the payment of the interest. Virginia, however, wanted the national capital to be on the Potomac. Jefferson refers to the circumstances which "dovetailed" these two questions. He tells the story in his *Anas* thus:

As I was going to the President's one day, I met him (Hamilton) in the street. He walked me backward and forward before the President's door for half an hour. He painted pathetically the temper into which the Legislature had been wrought, and the disgust of those who were called the creditor States, the danger of the secession of their members, and the separation of the States. He observed that the members of the Administration ought to work in concert; that though the question was not in my Department, yet a common duty should make it a common concern; that the Presi-

¹"Washington: the City and the Seat of Government," by C. H. Forbes-Lindsay, p. 15.

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dent was the center on which all administrative questions ultimately rested, and that all of us should rally round him; and that the question having been lost (in the preceding Congress) by a small majority only, it was probable that an appeal from me to the judgment and discretion of some of my friends might effect a change in the vote, and the machine of the Government, now suspended, might be set in motion again. I told him that I was really a stranger to the whole subject; not having yet informed myself of the system of finance adopted, I knew not how far this was a necessary sequence; that undoubtedly if its rejection endangered a dissolution of our Union at this incipient stage, I should deem that the most unfortunate of all consequences, to avert which all partial and temporary evils should be yielded. I proposed to him, however, to dine with me the next day, and I would invite another friend or two; bring them into conference together, and I thought it impossible that reasonable men, consulting together coolly, could fail, by some mutual sacrifices of opinion, to form a compromise which was to save the Union.

“The discussion took place. I could take no part in it but an exhortatory one, because I was a stranger to the circumstances which should govern it. But, it was finally agreed that, whatever importance had been attached to the rejection of this proposition, the preservation of the Union and of concord among the States was more important and that therefore it should be better that the vote of rejection should be rescinded, to effect which some members should change their votes. *But it was observed that this bill would be peculiarly bitter to the Southern States, and that some concomitant measure should be adopted to sweeten it a little to them.*

The Residence Bill was the “concomitant measure” that could be most readily sweetened—by the placing of the permanent federal city on the Potomac; and, finally, this was the Congressional candied product that brought the States into a more coöperative state of mind, as to their national liabilities. Jefferson’s story continues:

There had been propositions to fix the seat of government either at Philadelphia, at Germantown, or on the Potomac, and it was thought that by giving it to Philadelphia for ten years, and to Georgetown permanently afterwards, this might, as an anodyne, calm in some degree the ferment which might be excited by the other measure also. So two of the Potomac members (White and Lee, but White with a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive) agreed to change their votes and Hamilton undertook to carry the other point (the fixing of the capital on the Potomac). In doing

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this, the influence he had established over the Eastern members, with the agency of Robert Morris with those of the Middle States, effected his side of the engagement, and so the assumption was passed, and twenty millions of stock divided among favored States.

The Assumption bill was passed by a very narrow margin, and the Residence bill carried, in favor of the Potomac, by an even smaller margin. "Indeed, it required the votes of South Carolina, which had just previously joined the Union. The House voted 32 to 29, and the Senate 14 to 12 in its favor."²

The Residence bill became law on July 16, 1790. By its provisions Congress was to next meet, in the following December, in Philadelphia, to which city, prior to that time, it was stipulated, "all offices attached to the seat of government shall be removed," there to remain until the first Monday in December in the year 1800; and "That on the said first Monday in December, 1800, the seat of government of the United States shall, by virtue of this act, be transferred to the district and place aforesaid." This "district," not exceeding ten miles square was to be located on the river Potomac "at some place between the mouths of the Eastern Branch and the Connogocheague . . . and the same is hereby accepted for the permanent seat of the government of the United States."

The confluence of the Conococheague and the Potomac is near the town of Williamsport, Md., about twenty miles south of the Pennsylvania line, and about seventy-eight miles north of Washington. It was nearly the same distance eastward of Cumberland. Altogether, the Conococheague site was not a desirable one, and those who strove to secure the federal city for the Potomac had no intention that the latter should be laid out far from Georgetown. Conococheague was referred to sarcastically, during the debate, as "That Indian place"; another ridiculed the thought of "building a palace in the woods." As a matter of fact, the optional range was extended so far northward from the seaports of the Potomac, so as to meet the objection of northern states to Georgetown, which they said was too far south, of the centre of population.

On July 12, 1790, President Washington wrote in his diary: "And about noon had two bills presented to me by the joint committee of Congress. The one, an act for establishing the temporary and permanent seat of the Government of the United States." An

²Ibid, p. 19.

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earlier reference to the federal seat can not be found in General Washington's diaries, though for many years he had had the Potomac region in mind as the most desirable site for the national capital. Knowing it so well, he could see advantages in it, for this purpose, that would pass unobserved by others. And now, in him, was vested the main responsibility of creating a capital which would adequately serve the needs of the nation, or at least of the national government.

He did not move hastily. The bill was a law, but New York was powerful, politically; and powerful influences of that State might carry legislation which would deny the Potomac the capital after all. New York City keenly resented the removal of Congress from New York to Philadelphia. New York had built a Federal Hall for the Federal Congress, and with many heartburnings they saw the last session of Congress in New York end on August 12, 1790, to meet again in Philadelphia in December. The following doggerel, which appeared in a New York newspaper of that day, and was supposedly written by "The waiting girl in New York to her friend in Philadelphia," seems to suggest that the Gothamites had not given up hope of again becoming the federal seat of government. Certainly, they were angry at the very thought that the Potomac region should have come into the consideration of Congress. The lines read:

"Well Nanny, I'm sorry to say that since you writ us
The congress and court have determined to quit us.
And for us, my dear Nanny, we're much in a pet,
And hundreds of houses will be to be let.
Our streets that were quite in a way to look clever,
Will now be neglected and nasty as ever.
Again we must fret at the Dutchified gutters,
And pebble-stone pavements, which wear out our trotters.
My master looks dull, and his spirits are sinking,
From morning till night he is smoking and thinking,
Laments the expense of destroying the fort,
And says our great people are all of a sort.
He hopes and he prays they may die in a stall
If they leave us in debt for Federal Hall.
In fact he would rather saw timber, or dig,
Than see them removing to Conecogueague,
Where the houses and kitchens are yet to be framed,
The trees to be felled and the streets to be named."

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However, the session that ended in August, 1790, was the last that the United States Congress was destined ever to hold in New York.

Official duties kept the President from his country-seat, Mount Vernon, until about September 11th; and up to this time, he seems to have made no move in the matter of locating the Federal City.

On October 15, 1790, however, he came to Georgetown from Mount Vernon. Next day, as the *Times and Patowmack Packet* reports it, Washington "with the principal citizens of this town and neighborhood set out to view the country adjacent to the river Patowmack in order to fix on a proper selection for the Grand Columbian Federal City."³ The day was spent in viewing land near Georgetown, and that night Washington remained in Georgetown. Next day, says the same newspaper report, the President "set out for the Great Falls and the Conococheague." The editor then touched upon Georgetown's prospects. "We are informed," he said, "that since the arrival of the president in our parts, bets respecting the selection of Georgetown run high in favor of Georgetown. By the return of the president we hope to have it in our power to lay a circumstantial account of this important matter before the public." But Washington proclaimed no decision, publicly, until January of the next year. However, during or shortly before his visit to Georgetown in October, several landowners in that vicinity had assured him, in writing, that they would sell "on such terms as the president may determine to be reasonable." The signers of this assurance were Robert Peter, Thomas Beall of George, Benjamin Stoddert, Uriah Forrest, Will Deakins, Jr., John Stoddard, J. M. Lingan, George Beall and Anthony Holmead.

Washington conscientiously viewed the other likely sites on the Potomac. At Hagerstown he gave utterance to a significant toast: "The River Patowmac! May the Residence law be perpetuated and Patowmac view the Federal City," as though he doubted whether it would. Politics is like quicksilver—ever changing its position. Certainly, Pennsylvania was making ominous plans, even including the erection of a presidential mansion, at State expense, in Philadelphia. Washington did not like the thought of being, as it were, chained by realty to Pennsylvania; indeed, so apprehensively did he think of its ultimate effect upon the siting of the federal city that he

³Issue of October 20, 1790.

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refused to occupy the mansion when built and placed at his disposal. However, in 1790, many political students were quietly confident that Philadelphia would ultimately win. One political writer prophesied in November, 1790, "that the flourishing state of Pennsylvania will have acquired so much wealth and influence during the ten years residence of Congress in Philadelphia that the seat of government will never be moved from that city." In November, also, it became known in Georgetown that President Washington had ordered plats made of land adjacent to the Conococheague, many many miles distant from Georgetown. So it was hard for those who might have visions of profits from sudden increase in realty values to take advance action.

In November, the President went to Philadelphia, where Congress was to meet in December. The matter of site of the federal city was discussed by him with his secretary of state, Thomas Jefferson. Apparently, they had the vicinity of Alexandria and Georgetown often in their minds at that time. Jefferson, supposing that a site below the Little Falls would be chosen, suggested to Washington "that the area of acceptance be to the Eastern Branch and then from the lower end of Alexandria to the commencement on the Maryland side, with the further suggestion of amendatory legislation authorizing the President to include land on the south side of the Eastern Branch." Jefferson thought 1,500 acres would be ample for the national capital. Washington thought four times as much would do. He certainly thought that a *national* capital should have a larger area than a *state* capital—than Philadelphia, for example. Washington's plan was magnificent. Jefferson, however, would have two squares, of eight acres each, set apart for the President's house, offices and gardens, and nine squares or seventy-two acres, for the public walks. Eventually, 339 acres were set aside for the President's grounds and the Mall, "the most lavish provision for pleasure grounds and lawns that has ever been made in the plan of an American city." And why not? Surely, the national capital should be the pride of the nation. Standing rather than expense should be the determining factor.

That Georgetown was the subject of particular attention in December, 1790, is indicated by correspondence that passed between the President and Messrs. Deakins and Stoddert of Georgetown. On Dec. 9, 1790, they gave him a report as to the situation of the lots

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in Hamburg. Having made inquiry of Jacob Funk of Washington County, Md., who was the original proprietor of that town-site, they reported: "We find there are 287 lots laid out upon 130 acres of land. . . . The whole of the lots are in the hands of about 150 proprietors, principally Dutchmen residing in Frederick and Washington counties and in Pennsylvania who have hitherto held them in but little estimation, and we have reason to believe that the far greater part of them might now be purchased at a little more than the original cost, which was 5 pounds (\$13.30) each lot. Most of these lot owners had bought merely for speculative profit, so there was need for carefulness in approaching them. ". . . there can be no doubt," pointed out Washington's correspondents, "that if the seat of government should be fixed so as to comprehend these lots, a much higher value would be instantly set upon them."

No man saw more clearly than Washington that speculative tendencies were to be expected; and no public servant was more determined than he to give as little opportunity as possible for land speculators to benefit, at the expense of the Government. No decision was made until January 24, 1791, and then, in a message to Congress, the President stated that "in mature consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of the several positions within the limits prescribed" he had, that day by proclamation, ordered commissioners "to survey and limit a part of the territory of the ten mile square on both sides of the river Potomac so as to comprehend Georgetown in Maryland and extend to the Eastern Branch." He pointed out that he had not included in the territory to be surveyed "the whole extent to which it is susceptible in the direction of the river," because he thought it important that Congress should consider an amendatory law that would "authorize the location of the residue at the lower end of the present, so as to comprehend the Eastern Branch itself and some of the country on its lower side in Maryland and the town of Alexandria in Virginia." Congress, on March 3, 1791, passed an amendatory law which met the suggestions of the President, and extended "the limits of the federal district south of the Eastern Branch on the Maryland side, and also south on the Virginia side as far as Hunting Creek just south of Alexandria."

Two days before the proclamation was made public, the President appointed Thomas Johnson and Daniel Carroll of Maryland,

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and Dr. David Stuart of Virginia, commissioners. Under his direction, they were "to survey the District, to accept and purchase land on the eastern side of the river, and to provide suitable buildings for the accommodations of Congress, the president, and the executive departments." These three commissioners were men of distinguished record, with whom Washington had had long and intimate association. Only one, Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek, was of the vicinity in which the federal city was to be placed, Mr. Johnson being of Frederick, Md., and Dr. Stuart of near Fairfax, Va. Daniel Carroll had served in both the Continental Congress and the United States Congress, and notwithstanding that his uncle, Daniel Carroll, of Duddington, was the largest individual owner of land within what had been decided should be the federal district, his undoubted integrity in the public cause stifled the thought, if it ever came, that his family interest in the land to be conveyed, should disqualify him as commissioner. Dr. Stuart was a practising physician, who had married the widow of John Park Custis, the son of Mrs. Washington. Dr. Stuart was, moreover, a close personal friend of the President. In all the commissioners, the President had implicit confidence.

There was a particular reason why Washington should endeavor to forestall the efforts of speculators. If any party should benefit by advance in land values, that party should be the Government itself, thought Washington. The \$192,000 which the states of Maryland and Virginia had granted might not be sufficient to purchase the land, and erect public buildings, but revenue might come from the sale of public property if properly bought. So, on the day that the proclamation was issued, Washington wrote to his friends Colonel William Deakins and Benjamin Stoddert, of Georgetown, asking them to act as the agents of the Government in the preliminary negotiations with the landowners. He enjoined upon them "the most profound secrecy," but told them to give the widest publicity to the proclamation which he was sending them, "to prevent any kind of speculation." Washington asked them to purchase certain lands, or to get options on tracts which were important, "especially that of Mr. Burnes," and "to so conduct themselves as to excite no suspicion that they are on behalf of the public."

These agents, a week later, advised Washington that they intended to offer Mr. Burnes as high as twelve or eighteen pounds

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(\$32 to \$48) an acre for his holding, but that if he should demand twenty-five pounds an acre, they would await further instructions. On February 17, 1791, the President advised them to offer £25, saying: "To prevent delay I would wish his lands to be purchased even at those prices rather than not obtain them." This was the rate later fixed, £25 or \$67 an acre, to be paid to all landowners for land taken by the United States for public purposes. As to the lots of the town site of Hamburg, or Funkstown, Washington was willing that his agents, Messrs. Deakins and Stoddert, should pay at the rate of £25 an acre, there also, rather than have to resort to condemnation proceedings which were possible under Maryland law.

The President of course was in supreme direction of the Federal City project, but he had appointed three commissioners. It hardly seems that he had expected these commissioners to be mere dummies. Nevertheless, Washington did not wait for them to act. One of the commissioners, Daniel Carroll, was of course delayed in Philadelphia by his duties as congressman, and it was not possible for the commissioners to hold their first meeting until March 12th. But the President had been actively paving the way a month earlier. Not only had he set his real estate agents, Messrs. Deakins and Stoddert, to work, but early in February through Secretary Jefferson, he had instructed Andrew Ellicott, a surveyor, "to proceed by the first stage to the federal territory on the Potomac for the purpose of making a survey of it." He had also appointed Charles Pierre L'Enfant to "prepare a plan of the city." Ellicott was the first to reach Georgetown, and with him, according to the *Georgetown Weekly Ledger* of March 12, 1791, was Benjamin Banneker, "an Ethiopian whose abilities as a surveyor and astronomer clearly proves that Mr. Jefferson's concluding that that race of men were void of mental endowments was without foundation." This self-taught quadroon was a remarkable mathematician.

Ellicott arrived in Georgetown before the middle of February, and had completed his first line of survey, and was four days advanced on the second line when, on March 9th, Major L'Enfant, reached Georgetown to begin his work. The *Georgetown Weekly Ledger* of March 12th notes the arrival of "Major Longfont, a French gentleman employed by the President of the United States, to survey the lands contiguous to Georgetown where the federal city

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is to be built." Washington, in a communication to Deakins and Stoddert, on March 2, 1791, stated that L'Enfant had been given instructions "to confine himself to the lands within the Eastern Branch, the Potomac River, the Tiber and the road leading from Georgetown to the ferry on the Eastern Branch. He was directed to begin at the lower end and work upwards, and nothing further is communicated to him." The letter of instructions to L'Enfant was written by Jefferson, on behalf of the President. "You are to proceed to Georgetown," reads the instructions, "where you will find Mr. Ellicott employed in making a survey and map of the federal territory. The special object of asking your aid is to have drawings of the particular grounds most likely to be offered for the site of the federal town and buildings."

In making these surveying plans ahead of first action by the commissioners, Washington seems to have been actuated more by the desire to acquire the land upon favorable terms before the land-owners had so advanced their ideas of land values that acquirement upon reasonable terms, except by condemnation, would be difficult. In his letter to his agents, Deakins and Stoddert, advising them of the despatch of L'Enfant, the President adds: "The purpose of this letter is to desire you will not be yourself misled by the appearance, nor be diverted from the pursuit of the objects I have recommended to you. I expect that your progress in accomplishing them will be facilitated by the presumption which will arise on seeing this operation begun at the Eastern Branch and that the proprietors nearer Georgetown who have hitherto refused to accommodate will let themselves down to reasonable terms." He wished them to renew "the negotiations with Mr. Burns."

Mr. Burnes owned a large portion of the land that now lies between the White House and the Capitol, and for some distance to the north and south. Either he "did not want to sell, or insisted on one condition at least of parting with his property that the public buildings should be located there," writes Bryan, "and thus early in the history of the city began that struggle between the different sections which continued for so many years to play an important part in local affairs." A like ambition actuated the property holders of Carrollsburg. Jefferson would have cut out Carrollsburg; indeed, he made a rough plan of the federal city

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“adapted to the Georgetown locality,” but Washington’s scheme called for four times as much land.

Washington left Philadelphia, on a southern tour, on March 21, 1791. The bad state of the roads forced him to take the water route to Annapolis. On the 27th of March he left Annapolis, stopping at Queen Ann on the Patuxent, and putting up that night at Bladensburg. Leaving there at 6.30 next morning, he was met en route to Georgetown by the leading citizens of that place. They escorted him to Georgetown, and in Suter’s Tavern the President established himself for the important negotiations that were before him. That day, he spent examining the surveys of Mr. Ellicott “who had been sent on to lay out the district of ten miles square for the federal seat.” These are Washington’s own words. So also are the following quoted words regarding L’Enfant, who had been engaged “to examine and make a draught of the grounds in the vicinity of Georgetown and Carrollsburg.”

That night, the President was the guest of the Mayor, Thomas Beall and Corporation of Georgetown, at a dinner given at Suter’s Tavern in his honor. Then also he met there the three commissioners he had appointed, and in their company he rode over the proposed site of the national capital next day.

In the evening, at his request, and landowners of Georgetown and Carrollsburg gathered at Suter’s Tavern, to confer with him. Washington was anxious to consummate the great land transaction. To the gathered landowners, Washington “represented that the contention in which they seemed engaged” did not in his opinion “comport either with the public interest or that of their own, that while each party was aiming to obtain the public buildings they might, by placing the matter on a contracted scale,” explained Washington, “defeat the measure altogether, not only by procrastination but for want of the means necessary to effect the work.” The President pointed out “that neither the offer from Georgetown or Carrollsburg separately was adequate to the end of insuring the object; that both together did not comprehend more ground, nor would afford greater means than was required for the federal city and that instead of contending which of the two should have it, they had better by combining more offers make a common cause of it, and thereby secure it to the district.”

Next day, the President was no doubt pleased and relieved to

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be able to write in his diary that "the parties to whom I addressed myself yesterday evening having taken the matter into consideration saw the propriety of my observation . . . and therefore mutually agreed and entered into articles to surrender for public purposes, one-half of the land they severally possessed within bounds which were designated as necessary for the city."

"This business being thus happily finished" the President left Georgetown, dined in Alexandria, and reached Mount Vernon before night.

The all-important agreement, so satisfactorily concluded by the President reads:

We, the subscribers, in consideration of the good benefits we expect to derive from having the Federal City laid off upon our lands, do hereby agree and bind ourselves, heirs, executors and administrators, to convey in trust to the President of the U. S., or Commissioners, or such person or persons as he shall appoint, by good and sufficient deeds in fee simple, the whole of our respective lands which he may think proper to include in the lines of the Federal City, for the purpose, and on the conditions following:

The President shall have the sole power of directing the Federal City to be laid off in what manner he pleases. He may retain any number of squares he may think proper for the public improvements or other public uses, and the lots only which shall be laid off shall be joint property between the trustees on behalf of the public, and equally divided between the public and the individuals as soon as may be after the city is laid off.

For the streets the proprietors shall receive no compensation, but for the squares or lands in any form which shall be taken for public buildings or any kind of public improvements or uses, the proprietors whose lands shall be taken shall receive at the rate of £25 (equivalent to \$66.66 in Pennsylvania currency) to be paid for the land on which the same shall remain.

Each proprietor shall retain full possession and use of his land until the same shall be sold and occupied by the purchase of the lots laid out thereon, and, in all cases, when the public arrangements, as the streets, lots, etc., will permit of it, each proprietor shall possess his building and other improvements and graveyards, paying to the public only one-half the present estimated value of the land on which the same shall be, or £12 s10 per acre; but in cases where the arrangements of the streets lots squares etc. will not admit of this and it shall become necessary to remove such buildings, etc., the proprietors of the same shall be paid the reasonable value thereof by the public.

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Nothing herein contained shall affect the lots of the parties to this agreement which they may hold in the towns of Hamburgh and Carrolsburgh.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1791.

ROBERT PETER,
DAVID BURNES,
JAS. M. LINGAN,
URIAH FORREST,
BENJAMIN STODDERT,
NOTLEY YOUNG,
DANIEL CARROLL,
 of Duddington,
OVERTON CARR,
THOMAS BEALE, of George,

CHAS. BEATTY,
ANTHONY HOLMEAD,
WM. YOUNG,
EDWARD PIERCE,
ABRAHAM YOUNG,
JAMES PIERCE,
WM. PROUT,
ROBERT PETER,
JAS. WARREN,
 by Benj. Stoddert,
WM. KING.

This agreement gives, substantially, the fundamental realty basis of the District of Columbia. On the very day that the agreement was signed, President Washington issued a proclamation announcing the exact lines of the federal district.

Next day, he wrote to Jefferson, who had suggested a smaller federal city. To him, the President explained that the acquirement of the larger federal district "postponed the propriety of designating the particular spot on which the public buildings should be placed until an accurate survey and subdivision of the whole ground is made." Washington need not have apologized to Jefferson for rejecting the plan of the latter, for when Jefferson heard of the price at which the conveyance was to be made, he thought that the Public should take "very liberal reserves." In a letter to the President on April 10, 1791, Jefferson wrote: "The acquisition of ground is really noble, considering that only twenty-five pounds an acre is to be paid for any grounds taken for the public and the streets not to be counted, which will in fact reduce it to about nineteen pounds per acre, as I think very liberal reserves should be made for the public."

On April 4th, in a letter to L'Enfant, the President outlines the bounds of the city, as including all land "lying between Rock Creek, Potomac River and the Eastern Branch, and as far up the latter as the turn in the channel above Evans Point (half a mile north of the ferry); these including the flat back of Jenkins height (since known as Capitol Hill); thence to the road leading from

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Georgetown to Bladensburg as far easterly along the same as to include the branch which runs across it at 7th Street, northwest), somewhere near the exterior of the Georgetown Session; thence in a proper direction to Rock Creek at or above the ford (near the present P Street bridge) according to the situation of the ground." The bounds of the city were defined and set down in writing a few days later, in the deeds of conveyance to Thomas Beall of George and John M. Gantt, as trustees, thereby giving effect to the legal agreement signed on March 30th by the landowners concerned. As to the city boundaries, Bryan writes: "As far as it is now possible to form a conclusion about the location of lines not surveyed but described to some extent by landmarks long since forgotten, the area of the city as defined in the deeds coincided with that described by Washington in his letter to L'Enfant and apparently with that of the city as finally laid out." Some of the signers of the agreement refused to sign the deeds, contending that Washington had included much more land than they had understood him to ask for. Approximately, these protestants would cut off almost the whole of the northeast and most of the northwest sections of the District as now known. It was not until June 29th that all the property holders agreed, and signed the deeds.

In the meantime, the commissioners had intimated to the President "that the proprietors of Georgetown are desirous of being comprehended within the limits of the Federal City." Washington was quite willing "providing the property holders come in on the same terms as those on the east side of Rock Creek." This proviso chilled the desire, and several years were to pass before the subject was again broached. Georgetown, like other places, was looking for material advantage, and there seemed to be little for the landowners in transactions like that which President Washington had carried through.

It seems, however, that realty speculators had been active during the second quarter of 1791. Names attached to the agreement Washington influenced on March 30th were not identical with those put to the deeds of conveyance on June 30th. For example, in March, John Waring of Prince George County, Md., owned 500 acres. Shortly afterwards William Bagley bought this tract, "for himself and for Benjamin Stoddert, Philip Richard Fendall, Uriah Forrest and William Deakins, Jr." George Walker had acquired

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the property of Overton Carr. Speculation was apparently Walker's intention, for he was a Philadelphia merchant. Samuel Davidson of Baltimore also seemed to have the same reason for buying the holding of Edward Pierce, "about Lafayette Square." Clement Woodward was another new name, and an agreement recorded by Jonathan Slater related to land he had undertaken to buy from John Prout.

However, there was little profit to be made, and all the landowners seemed to be influenced to nobler thoughts by the President. At his conference with them in June, Washington was able to show a partially completed sketch by L'Enfant of the plan for the city, and thrill them with some of his own enthusiasm. "But the moment he (Washington) appeared, all difficulties vanished," states the "*Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*," July 5, 1791. "Instead of Washington's plans being thwarted, as had been anticipated, the landowners resigning all narrow considerations cheerfully entered into the necessary business of making the proper conveyances, which being completed to the utmost wishes of the president, he then submitted to the inspection of the proprietors and a large number of gentlemen attending, the plan of the city, which had for several weeks occupied the attention and talents of Colonel L'Enfant, assisted by Baron de Graff, and which, with some small alterations he had determined to adopt.

"By this plan and the president's explanation, it appears that the buildings for the legislature are to be placed on Jenkin's Hill on the land of Daniel Carroll, Esq., of Duddington, about two miles from Rock Creek, and about one and a quarter from the Eastern Branch, and that the houses of the president and for the great departments are to be situated on the rising ground adjoining Hamburg within one mile of Georgetown and about one and a quarter from the houses of legislation, an arrangement which afforded the most general approbation, satisfying each interested individual."

The commissioners appointed by the President to build the national city made up their minds, during the summer of 1791, that the Federal district should be known as "The Territory of Columbia," and the Federal city as "The City of Washington." They called the District and City by these names on September 9, 1791, in a letter then sent to Major L'Enfant, directing him to so entitle his map. General Washington would know, of course, of their inten-

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tion, and of the general wish that the national capital should be known by his own patronymic; but, throughout the remainder of his life, President Washington, with gentlemanly reserve, refrained from speaking or of writing of the capital city as having any other name than *Federal City*. However, though the President should elect to ignore the real name of the capital, and might perhaps have wished that it would ultimately take the ancient name, *Rome*, or *Room* (by which name the tract is identified in a certificate of a survey made in 1663, says Varnum, for Francis Pope) there were many other influential Americans who were determined that it should perpetuate his own name; and as the *City of Washington* the capital at once became generally known; and as such it appears in most official papers other than those of General Washington himself. The name, *City of Washington*, appears on the silver plate inscribed to mark the cornerstone of the Capitol laid by General Washington, on Sept. 18, 1793; therefore his use of *Federal City* thereafter may perhaps be attributed to his characteristic modesty.

As to the original plan of the city, L'Enfant, in a letter to the President, in 1791, describes his method of planning. "Having first determined some principal point," he writes, "to which I wished making the rest subordinate, I next made the distribution regular with streets at right angles, north-south and east-west. But afterwards I opened others in various directions as avenues to and from every principal place, wishing by this not merely to contrast with the general regularity nor to afford a greater variety of pleasant seats and prospects . . . but principally to connect each part of the city with more efficacy by, if I may so express, making the real distance less from place to place."

L'Enfant had great imagination, grand ideas. He planned "a grand city for a great nation," and was jealous of his creation, apprehensive that others would mar the grandeur he hoped to see in the capital of America. This sensitiveness, born of genius, was indeed his undoing. He feared that lucre would mar what art had drawn—that the interference of practical men who wished the federal government to have in its hands, quickly, the money that the selling of lots in the portentous townsite—the capital city—seemed certain to bring. He did not even give thought to logic. How could the money to carry out fully his magnificent plans be obtained except by the sale of lots? Of what use were his paper plans

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if means with which to create the beauties he pictured were not to be had? He only saw that such commercialism would be apt to destroy the ideal he had set for the nation; and although he lost his official post, and saw fall to others the responsibility of carrying through what he had originated, he at least had the satisfaction of seeing his ideas generally prevail and the wonderful city of his imagination be saved from irremediable blots. Loans rather than lot-selling was L'Enfant's plan of gathering means, and he converted the President to his plan before commerce or speculation could litter the way of art. The more practical but equally artistic Chief-Planner, Washington, concurred. Ex-President William Howard Taft, in a delightful article on "Washington: its Beginning, its Growth and its Future," published in the National Geographic Magazine of March, 1915, writes:

"If General Washington, at a time when his country was a little hemmed-in nation, boasting of a single seaboard, with a population of only five millions, and with a credit so bad that lot sales, lotteries, and borrowing upon personal security of individuals had to be resorted to in order to finance the new capital, could look to the future and understand that it was his duty to build for the centuries to come and for a great nation, how much more should we do so now?"

Fortunately, the Federal City has many more influential inhabitants now, than in the first decades of its existence, who are determined that Washington as it grows shall become even more beautiful. Our first President, while keeping his ideal well before him, had to meet the Federal needs of the time in the best way possible. So we find him the central figure at a sale of lots in September, 1793, and, indeed, a purchaser himself of four lots on the Eastern Branch. But not even the promise suggested by a great occasion—the laying of the corner-stone of the north wing of the Capitol by General Washington—could induce many others to follow his example and acquire lots in the great city-to-be.

By the way, at this memorable cornerstone-laying, a physician, solicitous for the well-being of the President, offered the veteran General "the only umbrella which the company possessed, to shield him from the rays of the sun." The President declined it, with a hasty ejaculation. "To the ladies with it, Doctor!" he is alleged to have said. "I have been exposed to the sun *before*, in the course

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of my life." This, "after the manner of its utterance, made a great impression on the hearers," says Varnum. It was "one of the few instances in which Washington joked or smiled." How much richer, however, would the humor have seemed to a somewhat deaf onlooker, had his ears wrongly caught the President's expression as "*To the Hades.*"

A few days later, however, on September 23, 1793, a young Bostonian, James Greenleaf, then only twenty-seven years old but already a financier of good repute and important connections—including even a business association with Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution—manifested some interest in realty of the Federal City. He brought a letter of introduction to the commissioners from the President, the latter advising them that Mr. Greenleaf had "laterly been appointed consul for the United States at Amsterdam." Further, the President wrote: "This gentleman, I understand, has it in contemplation to make certain proposals to you for building a number of houses in the federal city provided he can have lots upon such terms and conditions as may correspond with his interest in the undertaking, while it tends, at the same time, to promote the great object of the city. . . . He has been represented to me as a gentleman of large property and having the command of much money in this country and in Europe. But I can say nothing on this head from my own knowledge."

Greenleaf was wealthy. In 1796, "Greenleaf claimed that his estate could be liquidated at the rate of a million a year for five years."⁴ Certainly, Washington had good reason for stating to his commissioners: ". . . if you can find it consistent with your duty to the public to attach Mr. Greenleaf to the federal city, he will be a valuable acquisition." Greenleaf offered to buy three thousand lots, and on September 23, 1793, concluded agreement with the commissioners for these lots "of an average of 5,265 square feet each." The purchase price was \$66.50 per lot, payable over seven years without interest, and conditional upon the building, by Mr. Greenleaf of ten houses yearly for seven years, also that he should sell no lots unimproved before January 1, 1796, "except on the condition that on every third lot sold a house should be built within four years following the date of the sale."

⁴"History of the National Capital," by W. B. Bryan, vol. 1, p. 215, quoting "Greenleaf and Law in the Federal City" (Clark), p. 173.

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A more important clause in the agreement was that which gave Mr. Greenleaf the role, almost, of financier of the Federal City project. Greenleaf obligated himself, individually, to lend to the commissioners at 6 per cent. interest no less than \$2,200 a month until the public buildings were completed. Mr. Greenleaf had the support of Robert Morris to the extent of one-third of the lots, but the loan was a personal obligation which Mr. Greenleaf confidently hoped to underwrite in Holland.

Two months later, Mr. Morris became more confident, a new agreement, in their joint names, taking the place of the first. The commissioners sold to Messrs. Morris and Greenleaf six thousand lots, instead of three thousand. Land values, however, seem to have advanced in the meantime, for the new agreement called for the payment of \$80 a lot. The conditions were very similar to those of the first agreement, except that twenty houses yearly, instead of ten, were to be erected. They also had the right to associate other financiers in the transaction without obligation to build. In other words, Morris and Greenleaf were to head a syndicate of realty operators, but small, or "ordinary" buyers of lots were required to build on their property within four years. John Nicholson, Controller-General of Pennsylvania, was named as surety for Morris and Greenleaf, and eventually he became a direct associate in the Federal City realty enterprise.

These three leading men were planning courageously. They had such faith in the growth of the federal region that they soon began to reach out for property beyond the ten miles square. And although they were to assume the rôle of developers, to an extent, they expected to make quick sale of lots, not improved properties. In a letter to Washington September 21, 1795, Mr. Morris said:

Nobody can suppose that Mr. Nicholson or myself entered into these engagements with an expectation of holding the property. It was, from the beginning, and is now our intention to sell when it can be done to our satisfaction, and I believe the interest of the city will be more certainly promoted by interesting a number of individuals, than by any one or two men continuing to hold a large number of lots.

Apparently, realty had not been active in the intervening two years. Messrs. Morris and Greenleaf before the end of 1793 had acquired 7,234 lots. In addition to the 6,000 lots above mentioned,

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they had purchased 428½ lots from Notley Young, 220 lots from Daniel Carroll, 119½ lots, described as "Lands called the Hop-yard, 239¼ lots from Forrest and Stoddert, 108 lots from William King, 79½ lots from William Bagely, 40 lots from Peter Cazenove and George French."

This syndicate, therefore, to all intents governed realty in the national capital. And they were men of such unquestioned financial standing that the commissioners were disposed "to comply with Greenleaf's wish to secure title to a portion of the lots *before* they are paid for." In stating their conclusions to Washington, in December, 1793, the commissioners said "that if Morris and Greenleaf together with Nicholson would join in a bond to secure the payment of the money, they would be justified in substituting personal security for real estate." The President agreed with them, and so it happened that these great financiers, who were destined ultimately to reach a state of hopeless embarrassment, gained title to large blocks of Washington realty for which they had not paid.

The commissioners had to some extent become involved in a lottery in the city, and while it is clear that they had been quite guilelessly drawn into the scheme by a somewhat imprudent and over-optimistic man, the fact that they had permitted the lottery seemingly to have almost a Government status had done them no good. Samuel Blodgett, one of the incorporators of the Georgetown Bridge Company and the owner of real estate in the District, secured appointment as supervisor, or business superintendent, under the commissioners. It was not a federal appointment, but had that appearance. On the very day that Blodgett became officially connected with the affairs of the federal city, he interested one of the commissioners in a lottery scheme, which seemed likely to promote what they all had in mind. The grand prize was to be a hotel building in the Federal City, an accommodation that would be quite useful. It was to cost \$50,000, and the cornerstone was laid, with impressive ceremonies, in the presence of 1,500 people. The commissioners had permitted the lottery to be advertised as "by the commissioners appointed to prepare the public buildings, etc., within the city of Washington," the papers being signed "Samuel Blodgett, agent for the affairs of the city." The commissioners did not even demur to the lottery being described as Federal Lottery No. 1. Only when it became apparent as the day for beginning of drawing

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neared that sale of lottery tickets had been insufficient did the commissioners begin to show nervousness. Blodgett absolved them from all part in it, taking the responsibility upon himself, which was proper; but as many, many months passed before Mr. Blodgett made public the list of prize-winners, the odium that was cast upon him during this time of uncertainty did not entirely miss the commissioners. They took the superintendency away from Blodgett in January, 1794. Nevertheless, in the summer of that year, he advertised another lottery, "Federal Lottery, No. 2," the drawing for which would commence in the following December.

The first prize was to be a mansion to cost \$30,000. Other prizes were houses in the Federal City. Altogether, the lottery scheme called for \$400,000. If a surplus should accrue, it would be "made a part of the fund intended for a national university to be erected within the city of Washington." To secure the payment of the prizes, Blodgett, in July, executed a deed of trust on all his property in Washington—the identical property which six months earlier he had conveyed to trustees to secure the first lottery.

In December, 1794, the drawing of the first lottery was finished. The hotel building had been drawn by Robert S. Bickley of Philadelphia. He at least had the satisfaction of holding the winning ticket, for which he had paid \$3 more than its face value, \$8. But he was never able to exchange his ticket for a \$50,000 hotel, because the hotel was never finished by Blodgett. However, Blodgett had great success in the sale of tickets throughout the country for the second lottery, and it had reached the stage at which drawings might begin, in 1795, stated Blodgett. This prompted the editor of the *Washington Gazette* to remark that, at two drawings weekly "it would be ten years before the drawing was completed." The editor advised all ticket-holders "to mention them in their wills." Upon another occasion, the same newspaper quotes a visitor as stating that "in riding through your city this morning I was struck, at a great distance, with the word Hotel inscribed in red letters upon the front of a magnificent building, half finished."

After many years, Blodgett found himself in jail—imprisoned for debt. But he was not the only speculator in Washington real estate who suffered that shame. Robert Morris also saw the gates of the debtor's prison close upon him. His career, however, was far

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different, and should not be compared with that of Blodgett, who was an extraordinary but unstable man.

Greenleaf began to erect buildings in 1794, and his syndicate paid the first instalment (\$68,571) of the purchase price of their 6,000 lots. Thereupon, the commissioners delivered to Greenleaf deeds in fee simple for 857 lots. Later, the change was made in their case to personal security instead of cash. This was done to facilitate the negotiation of a loan by Greenleaf in Holland. The latter expected to borrow \$1,200,000, but was only able to borrow \$120,000, and the whole of this was absorbed by the syndicate, the city getting nothing for one thousand lots for which they had given title upon personal security only. To make matters worse, Greenleaf had deeded some of the lots to Dutch capitalists "without the condition of improvement of every third lot sold before June 1, 1796," which had been an important stipulation of the original agreement.

The commissioners seem to have been somewhat easy to deal with. When the second installment of the purchase money became due, and the Syndicate had not the \$68,571 in cash with which to meet it, the commissioners considerably met them by accepting notes of Morris, Nicholson and Greenleaf. These notes they deposited in the Bank of Columbia at Georgetown "but under protest as they think cash should be given." But their protest did not have vigor enough to induce them to deny the Syndicate the title deeds to another 857 lots. Apparently, they had full confidence in the stability of the syndicate, though temporarily short of cash.

The first buyer of any of the lots held by Greenleaf, Morris and Nicholson was General Walter Stewart of Philadelphia, a friend of Robert Morris. He bought from Greenleaf, at the end of 1794, land at the northwest corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Nineteenth Street. He also interested himself in other holdings than those which the syndicate held; but death closed his operations in 1796.

In 1794, however, Greenleaf made the acquaintance of Thomas Law, an Englishman of means. He interested the latter in Washington realty, and in December Mr. Law secured from Mr. Greenleaf an option. Obviously, the tract was extensive, for the purchase price set was \$133,000. Law came to Washington in February, 1795, and confirmed the purchase. Another Englishman, William Mayne Duncanson, crossed the Atlantic with Mr. Law. He was also interested, and came on to Washington with Mr. Law. The possi-



(Above) The Van Ness Mausoleum, south side H Street, between Ninth and Tenth Streets N.W., before its removal to Oak Hill Cemetery.

(Center) Looking west along K Street N.W., from Thirteenth Street, 1850.

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bility seemed attractive, so Mr. Duncanson invested some of his fortune in Washington land, his purchases amounting to between \$60,000 and \$70,000. Mr. Law paid for the number of lots he had agreed to purchase, but, pending selection of them, was prudent enough to get from the syndicate "a mortgage on such of their property as had been conveyed in fee simple to it." When the crisis came, Mr. Law proved to be the only purchaser who was a secured creditor. He had paid a high price for his lots, \$266 each for lots that had been bought a year earlier for \$80. That he paid more than they were worth is indicated by the fact that few others followed him. Real estate values had been very sluggish, and in the next year they were as bad. President Washington was agitated by the sale—stirred against the speculators, Greenleaf and Morris. To Daniel Carroll, a commissioner, he wrote a few weeks later: "You will recollect, no doubt that I yielded my assent to Mr. Greenleaf's first proposition to purchase a number of lots in the Federal City (although I thought the price he offered for them was too low) because at that time the business seemed to be in a stagnant state and something was necessary to put the wheels in motion again. To the second sale which was made to him, my repugnance was greater, inasmuch as the necessity for making it was not so apparent to my view—and because another thing had become quite evident, viz: that he was speculating deeply, was aiming to monopolize deeply, and was thereby laying the foundation of immense profit to himself and those with whom he was concerned."

However, Mr. Law was satisfied, and focussed his attention on that part of the city south of the Capitol to the Eastern Branch. In that part of the District, thought Mr. Law, lay the future of the Federal City. He even made plans to enter into the East India trade with James Barry.

By the way, he was not the only operator of that period who was convinced that the water-front was the most valuable part of the District. The commissioners would sell that on frontage, and Greenleaf himself had become identified with the mercantile firm of Lear and Company. They were doing a considerable business in 1794, at their wharf, between 26th Street and the Potomac and F and G Streets. In the fall of 1795, the Barry Wharf at the foot of New Jersey Avenue was nearing completion. Greenleaf also had

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a wharf at the foot of 6th Street, SW., and near the foot of 7th Street was a wharf built by Notley Young in 1795. The commissioners had a wharf near New Jersey Avenue, and there, in the fall of 1795, the Barry wharf was well under way. It was, of course, the day of water transport, and trading possibilities were measured by water facilities.

The invasion of Holland by France made it impossible for Greenleaf to meet his liabilities in Washington, or to raise further loans. The commissioners threatened to take legal steps to force payment, but the prestige of Morris, who interceded for Greenleaf, seems to have weakened their resolution. Matters, financial, were allowed to drift.

In 1796 the commissioners sought to get a banking firm in Amsterdam, Holland, to negotiate a loan of \$200,000. But in September, they were informed "that the unfavorable circumstances of the times, the penury which then existed, made it impossible to succeed at that moment." However, the syndicate had come to their rescue, Morris and Greenleaf not being yet quite "at the last ditch." "The amelioration of our finances during the present season," writes the commissioner, was "accomplished by the original funds of the city—a circumstance which authorizes the pleasing hope that if we should not obtain all the advantages intended by the guarantee, our own resources will enable us to prepare the necessary buildings in time for the reception of Congress."

The commissioners seemed likely soon to enter upon easier times, however. In December, the Legislature of Maryland adopted a resolution to lend the Federal City \$100,000 in United States 6% stock at par, the commissioners giving, as security, a bond for the amount of the loan, and a further bond, in their individual capacities, of \$200,000. The stock however had then only a market value of 80½, so the City was correspondingly poorer.

Mr. Law worked actively to bring the city his way; and so indeed did some of the other land owners. Indeed, a French statesman found, when he visited the city, in 1797, that the immense area of the District had convinced the proprietors that "the city would not be so speedily covered with houses as was expected," and that, consequently "common interest ceased and the proprietors became rivals," each seeking to foster the development of the city on his own land, "without regard to any other interest." An English

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friend thought Mr. Law's venture very risky, "for doubt was entertained not only whether in case of General Washington's death the proposed change would take place, but whether the removal of the seat of government would carry with it the augmentation of commerce and population, which Mr. Law anticipated and which was essential to the success of his speculation."

However, to the average citizen, the national capital seemed to be shaping promisingly. In June, 1796, they were able to see begun "the largest single building operation up to that time attempted in the new city." The Greenleaf-Morris-Nicholson syndicate had begun to erect twenty two-story brick houses "covering the entire west frontage of the Square on South Capitol Street between M and N Streets and also a portion of the N Street front." In September, the houses had been roofed, and then the builders, Messrs. Morris and Nicholson provided a barbecue, to celebrate the event. "We do not recollect," states the *Washington Gazette* of September 28, 1796, "ever to have seen a greater appearance of social glee on a similar occasion. The buildings are the greatest effort of private enterprise of any in the city and for the time in which they were building the greatest in the United States. . . . We must note that this is the first and entire front built on any square in the city." They did not know that the great Robert Morris had only a little while before narrowly averted having suit brought against him by the commissioners. A "liberal cash payment" by Mr. Morris had postponed the suit. Neither did the Washingtonians know that these houses whose roofing they were rejoicing over would never be finished, and had indeed been begun only because Mr. Carroll, the original proprietor, had insisted upon their erection, to comply with terms of land purchase.

Money was by no means plentiful in the coffers of the Syndicate at that time, but the prime object of the realty operators was to sell land, not to improve it. A cash payment by the operators, to appease the original land-owner, would at the worst reduce the Syndicate's indebtedness for land, whereas money expended by them for buildings upon that land might ultimately prove to have been money thrown away if, for example, Philadelphia should be strong enough, politically, to have its temporary status as the seat of the national government changed to a permanency. Morris's interest in the Federal City on the Potomac had reached no farther than his

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hope to financially profit by his realty holdings in the place. He had not visited it until this enforced building had seemed to demand a viewing by him, the principal operator. He had left Philadelphia "doubtful about the value of his Washington property." His opinion changed considerably "when he came into the atmosphere of the new city and found purchasers there for his lots at treble and quadruple the prices he had thought of selling them."

Then, no doubt, he was glad that he and his partners had been forced to begin the building of the block, for it was to this evidence of improvements that he could attribute most of the enhanced interest of the public in Washington realty. As an operator, with large holdings of what the public demanded, one can understand why Morris wrote to his son-in-law, on November 1, 1796: "I am delighted with the place. Nature has done for it all that could be desired, and I see that man will soon do the rest."⁵ But the Syndicate had no desire to erect more houses than were necessary to keep the interest of prospective lot buyers from flagging.

However, the Greenleaf-Morris-Nicholson syndicate were not the only builders of residential and business properties. Mr. Law had been active. James Barry, his import partner, had completed his wharf at the foot of New Jersey Avenue, and had erected a store. At that point a ferry had been established, and Joseph Wheat opened his tavern here in October, 1796. Another tavern advertised for patronage at that time—the Capitol Hill Tavern of Elizabeth Leslie. Presumably this inn was on or near Jenkins' Hill, and this seems to be the first reference to the plateau by its present name. Another trade advertisement of 1796 was the card of William O'Neale, a cooper, whose habitation was "on the north side of I Street, just west of 20th Street, a three-story brick house, which, in subsequent years, enlarged, became the celebrated Franklin Hotel." On the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue, between 8th and 9th Streets, SE., "where the building still stands,"⁶ was the Eastern Branch Hotel, opened in the fall of 1796 by William Tunnicliff, an Englishman. It was probably thought to be conveniently situated—on the road leading from the upper Eastern Branch Ferry through the city; and it was in this hotel that the "Washington Dancing Assembly" was held in December, 1796. Blodgett's

⁵Ibid, I, 281.

⁶Ibid, I, 292.

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"Great Hotel" was still not much more than a cornerstone, but a "Little Hotel" had been open since June, 1795. Its location, as stated by Bryan, was "the north side of F Street, seventy-five feet east of 15th." It was built by James Hoban, but it was referred to as Scott's Tavern in 1796, Gustavus Scott being the landlord. This was the pioneer tavern in that section of the city, and in it on February 22, 1797, a "birthnight ball" was held—probably the first of such assemblies held in the Federal City to honor our first President on an anniversary of his birthday. These were not all the Washington hostelrys of that time. John Travers invited public patronage of his tavern on the Eastern Branch in the summer of 1793, and the *Impartial Observer and Washington Advertiser* of June 17, 1795, issue carries a card of Mark Ward's Tavern at Greenleaf's Point.

These public houses were evidences of population and that the Federal City was growing, but nothing in the dwelling-house line of construction had been as auspicious as the enterprise of Messrs. Morris and partners in 1796, which brought to the roofing stage a whole block of dwelling-houses.

Mr. Law, in 1796, began to complain of the commissioners. Why should they dwell outside the Federal City? Why should they give to Georgetown an advantage? The commissioners replied that there were no suitable houses available within the new city limits. Mr. Law looked frowningly, indeed, upon the partiality of the commissioners for the vicinity of the President's house. He would have them settle nearer his wharf and sugar factory (the latter he began to build in 1797, on the square bounded by 1st, 2nd, and M Streets, and the Eastern Branch, SE). Representations were made to President Washington, and the latter quite emphatically expressed his wish, in 1796, that the commissioners should take up their residence within the federal area. So Commissioner Thornton, in March, 1797, offered for sale "the brick house opposite the Bank of Columbia lately occupied by the subscriber (now removed to the city of Washington).'" The Bank of Columbia then occupied a building on M Street just west of 32nd Street, NW.

When it became known that the commissioners would have to take residence in Washington City, the resourceful Blodgett, ever seeking publicity and governmental connections to aid his lottery

"Centinel of Liberty," issue of March 17, 1797.

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sales, wrote to Dr. Thornton:⁸ "I hereby empower you to take possession of the lot No. 7 and on Square 253 and to remain in the possession thereof for twelve months for which, as the house is not yet completed, you can pay but half the rent, which a reference to indifferent persons may be deemed just for a finished house and in a similar situation. This rent may be expended in improvements (for the benefit of the fortunate adventurers who may draw the house) at your discretion." Dr. Thornton occupied this house; in later years it was known as 1331 F Street, NW, and in it Dr. Thornton made his home until his death. Lotteries, in these days of protracted drawings, sometimes spanned many years.

In 1796, Commissioner Scott was building a house for himself "just beyond the bounds of the city, between Florida Avenue and Rock Creek, a short distance north of P Street." He completed this house and occupied it.

Another evidence of population, existing and prospective, was in the erection of a stone brewery, in 1796, on the square bounded by 21st, 22nd and B Streets and the Potomac River. The building had been erected by, or for, James Greenleaf, who became partner of Dr. C. Coningham, an English physician, in this pioneer brewery enterprise. In the spring of 1797, Mr. Greenleaf—with the shadow of the debtor's prison before him—sold his interest in the brewery to his brother-in-law John Appleton.

Mr. Duncanson, the English gentleman who had come to Washington with Mr. Law, and had also invested heavily in real estate—though not as cautiously—built a house for himself. It still stands, somewhat changed, "on the triangular plot of ground bounded by South Carolina Avenue, D, 6th and 7th streets, SE," wrote Bryan, in 1914. Duncanson, with a fellow-countryman, James Ray, had embarked in the commission business, with principal office in Philadelphia, but his losses on his Washington realty closed the partnership in 1798.

When, early in 1797, financial difficulties began to bring the affairs of Morris and Nicholson to unfavorable public notice, Thomas Law demanded from the commissioners a fee simple title to the lots he had bought and paid for. His agreement with Morris, Nicholson and Greenleaf contained no such provision, as to improvement of land, as their agreement with the commissioners contained; there-

⁸On July 9, 1796.

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fore, he had not felt called upon to build a house on every third lot. The commissioners contended that in no other way could "they enforce the building requirement on individual purchasers." They were upheld by the attorney-general, but the matter was not ended, for they had been very inconsistent in their dealings with the Syndicate, having, in some cases, waived the provision.

The commissioners were becoming enmeshed by their own lax conduct of realty business. Their greatest difficulty, however, arose from the failure of the Syndicate members. Had Greenleaf, Morris and Nicholson met success in their operations in other fields, they would of course have met their liabilities in Washington. But, having reached the point where their resources were well-nigh exhausted, the financiers found that past greatness counted nought. That the great house of Morris was crumbling could be read between the lines of some stock-selling incidents in Georgetown in March, 1797. Messrs. Morris and Nicholson, on January 27, 1797, inserted a notice in the Georgetown paper, *Centinel of Liberty*, that they would sell at public auction some of their paper. Part of this paper may have been notes given to them by individual purchasers of lots in Washington; some of it no doubt would be paper of doubtful security that had no connection with Washington realty. Morris was a financier of international scope, but apparently there was some fissure in the Washington syndicate, for in addition to the advertised sale of the notes of Morris and Greenleaf, John Nicholson advertised, cautioning prospective purchasers of shares in the North American Land Company, offered by the assignees of James Greenleaf. They had no right to sell, for as a matter of fact the shares belonged to him, not to Greenleaf.

Ten days later, Mr. Greenleaf "cautioned the Washington commissioners against making further conveyances of lots to Morris and Nicholson without his consent."

Then followed acrimonious newspaper controversy between the two financiers, but not to the good of either. On May 31st, 1797, the local newspapers carried an advertisement, which made it clear to all people that Morris and Nicholson were in difficulties. The commissioners offered "for sale a long list of lots belonging to Morris & Nicholson, to be sold in default of the payment of the third instalment of the purchase money." A few weeks later, on June 26, 1797, Messrs. Morris and Nicholson assigned their property

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interests in the city of Washington to others—to what was known as “The aggregate fund, Henry Pratt and others, trustees.” The Philadelphia financiers assigned not only their own realty holdings, but those also of their former partner, James Greenleaf.

During the next few months, the affairs of the former partners were straightened out, to the extent of a formal notice being publicly made⁹ by the trustees that they had “accepted assignments from Messrs. Morris, Nicholson and Greenleaf of all their and each of their rights, legal and equitable, in the city of Washington, etc.” But by that month, the debtors’ prison had opened for Greenleaf in Philadelphia, and some months later all three principals of the Washington syndicate were in the same unfortunate predicament. Greenleaf a year or so later, by bankruptcy process, was released from custody, but Nicholson died in prison at the end of 1800, and the great financier of the Revolution languished in prison until August of 1801.

Land titles became almost hopelessly entangled by the failure of the Syndicate. They had been given title to land for which they had not paid, and upon which there were certain restrictions, imposed by the federal agents; but the Syndicate had sold considerable parts of their holdings to others without restrictions, and had been paid. As has been stated, Thomas Law was the buyer who secured himself best in his transactions with the Syndicate, but his holdings were the subject of litigation for very many years after Greenleaf Morris and Nicholson had passed out of the reckoning—see the records of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and of the United States Supreme Court: Pratt vs. Law. Pratt was a trustee of the “Aggregate Fund” into which the Syndicate, when facing the crisis, deposited all their assets. The first suit in this connection was one of the first filed in the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia. The court was organized on March 23, 1801, and the said suit was filed next day.¹⁰ By the way, Greenleaf himself became attorney-in-fact of the Aggregate Fund in 1804, and to some extent recovered his standing, but debt, which in those days carried greater shame, or at least punishment, to debtors than we, of the twentieth century, can imagine possible, clung relentlessly to his great associates, Morris and Nicholson, and ended otherwise worthy

⁹“Centinel of Liberty,” October 13, 1797.

¹⁰“Greenleaf and Law in the Federal City,” by Allen C. Clark, p. 184.

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lives in disgrace. For more than half a century, too, the District of Columbia realty which they had handled was more or less beclouded by title complications.

To what extent the failure of the Syndicate delayed the development of the federal capital can only be conjectured; but realty men know only too well the deadening effect of title uncertainties. The city commissioners, in 1797, threatened to sell by public auction in accordance with the provisions of the Maryland law, the property of the Syndicate, and were only at the last moment prevailed upon not to do so—at least for some time—because the trustees of the Aggregate Fund believed that the assets of the Syndicate pooled in this fund would be sufficient to meet all liabilities, eventually. The city commissioners, however, proceeded against other delinquent property owners in 1797. Sale by public auction continued for two weeks, with very discouraging results. “In a number of instances at these sales no bid was received at all for some of the lots offered and they were added to the list of lots prepared for next day’s sale.”¹¹ This indicates that the attempt of the Commissioners to get the money, with which to continue the construction of the government buildings in the new federal city was not very successful. The attempt to float a loan in Holland had also failed; therefore the Federal Government again applied to Maryland for a loan. They needed \$100,000, to provide for the building operations of the next year, and Maryland granted this sum, notwithstanding that there was a growing doubt as to the future of Washington. A correspondent of the *Washington Gazette*, twice during 1797, referred gloomily to the national capital. Imprudent management of Washington city funds had, he said, shaken the confidence of the people in general, and the realty investors in particular. “The enthusiastic spirit in which the operations of the city commenced,” he pointed out, “opened a wide field for speculation which had been practised in all its various forms and has terminated in the ruin of all those who were drawn into its vortex, whose capital and talents were inferior to others.”

Still, there was a likelihood that Congress would be forced to establish itself in Washington, uncompleted though it was, in 1797, three years before the stipulated time for removal from Philadel-

¹¹“History of the National Capital,” by W. B. Bryan, I, 299.

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phia. Yellow fever raged in Philadelphia in the summer of 1797, and in an open letter published in a Washington paper "a citizen" suggested that "commissioners, proprietors, monied men and every man who feels himself interested" should coöperate, "to get the city in such a condition that the Congress can meet here early in November."

At that time, the only public buildings "in course of construction" were the Capitol and the President's house. Early in that year, George Hatfield had prepared plans for two buildings, one for the Treasury and the other for the State, Navy and Post Office departments. When built these would appear "as wings" of the President's house. President Washington had passed through the city in October, 1796, on his way to Mount Vernon, and he had at that time decided that these buildings for the executive departments should be located "along the extension of the south line of the President's house." He approved the plans for the executive buildings, in 1797, a few months before he retired from presidential office, but more than another year passed before construction of these buildings was begun.

The Maryland loan was not sufficient to meet the building budget of 1798, and the commissioners were compelled to apply to Congress. The House voted a loan of \$200,000, but the Senate thought \$100,000 would be sufficient, and the lower figure was the final amount provided by the Act passed. In appropriating \$50,000 for 1798 and \$50,000 for 1799, Congress believed that city lots "had a loanable value." They were to be the security, and the amounts appropriated were to be repaid in five years, beginning in 1805.

All of the delay and confusion in building plans can not be attributed to lack of means. In many minds, it was more lack of will than of means. General Washington had been of the opinion that a mile and a quarter was not too great a distance between executive and legislative departments. Congressmen would be inclined to interfere with the functioning of executive departments if the latter were housed as many hoped they would be, on Capitol Hill. President Adams would prefer to see the President's house and the Executive Buildings placed near the Capitol; and had equity not entered into the consideration, it is possible that the departments, and possibly the President's residence, would have been

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relocated near the legislative houses. But the poverty-stricken involved national capital could not at that time risk adding to its difficulties the equity claims that might follow "a change in the uses of a public appropriation or disposing of it entirely, when property has been sold, because of its proximity to such public property." So President Adams gave his approval to the original plans.

Building activity was more apparent in 1798 than it had been for some years. There was good reason why it should be, for within two years Washington must become the national seat of government; it must no longer be a centre of realty speculation with only a future as a city; two years hence it must take up the responsibility for which it had been created—it must in truth be the national capital.

As the time when Washington would enter into its full civic importance was so near, and as the Government showed positive building activity, private operators gained courage. William Tunnicliffe landlord of the Eastern Branch Hotel, joined with George Walker in erecting another hotel on A Street, "just east of the southeast corner of 1st and A Streets, NE." With Congress so soon to be given accommodation, Landlord Tunnicliffe knew that the Eastern Branch Hotel could not supply the need, but this new building, which a year later became the Washington City Hotel, might hope to attract the patronage of the legislators. The lots at 10th and F and 11th and G, NW., and on Virginia Avenue, between 3rd and 4th, SE., and at New Jersey Avenue and C Street, SE., were being improved. Upon the last named site, the northwest corner of New Jersey Avenue and C Street, SE., Thomas Law built a house for himself in 1799, and early in the next year he occupied it. In 1798, Mr. Law was given a building permit for improvements at the northwest corner of New Jersey Avenue and E Street, SE. The row of two-storied houses known as the "Ten Buildings" resulted. In the same year, 1798, Mr. Law also received building authority for improvements at the northwest corner of South Capitol and M Streets.

One of the most interesting building permits granted in 1798 was that secured for General George Washington, "for the erection of two houses on the west side of North Capitol Street, between B and C Streets." The lot, which had a frontage of fifty-four feet eight inches, had just been purchased from the commissioners by

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General Washington for \$535.70, or ten cents a square foot, payable in three annual instalments, without interest. The first instalment had been paid. Dr. William Thornton acted for General Washington in this building operation, superintending the building of a house which could readily be used as a single or double house. General Washington does not seem to have had any intention of living in the house himself. "To aid in the accommodation of the members of the general government was my only inducement to plan these buildings," he wrote to Dr. Thornton, from Mount Vernon in October, 1799. "For my own convenience, another site will be chosen, when, if ever, I am in circumstances to encourage the expense." He seems to have then cherished a hope of building a Washington residence for himself, but a few months later death intervened, ending all his earthly plans.

In 1798 Daniel Carroll received authority to build in the centre of the block on First Street between East Capitol and A Streets, SE. Seven years passed before he began this building, but the hotel he then raised became part of what comes into the record as Carroll Row. Mr. Carroll also planned to improve, and early in the new century did build along the south front of a square which later became part of the Capitol grounds but then extended from Delaware Avenue to First Street and between A and B Streets, NE.

A realty transaction worthy of note was the sale to Robert Sewall on January 29, 1799, of the lot that adjoined on the west the northwest corner of Maryland Avenue and 2nd Street, NE. Upon it Mr. Sewall built a house, and from it "was fired the only shot against the advancing forces of the British, after they left the battlefield of Bladensburg, in the summer of 1814." The shot killed only the horse upon which General Ross was riding; had it killed the General it is feared that Washington, the national capital, would have been completely destroyed. The soldiers were commanded to burn only the public buildings, but had their beloved General been shot, their torches would probably have reached more private property than Mr. Sewall's house.

Before 1798 ended, considerable progress had been made in the erection of the public buildings. The exterior of the President's house, the cornerstone of which had been laid on October 13, 1792, and building steadily prosecuted, under James Hoban, the architect, had been completed, and workmen were engaged "in cleaning down

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and *painting* the wall of the building and striking the scaffolds." This fact indicates that the common thought as to the origin of the name *White House* is erroneous. The President's house was known as the White House prior to its burning by the British in 1814, and it was not so named because of "the painting of the walls to conceal the smoke stains after the burning of them by the British in 1814." The walls were painted sixteen years before the enemy blackened them with their torches. In 1798, also, the roof of the Capitol was *painted*. According to the official report, the roof was "boarded, shingled and painted."

In November, 1798, the commissioners began to build the first of the executive buildings—the Treasury. The foundation of that building on the site "east of and parallel with the south front of the President's house" was excavated. A pretentious building was not planned. The structure was to be only two stories and an attic, and specifications called for only the cheapest available building material—brick. The building would contain fifteen office rooms on each floor and its extent may be gauged by the dimensions of the foundations—147' 0" x 57' 6"; but the structure was not intended to be more than serviceable, apparently. The contract price, \$39,511, provided no great sum to be spent in ornamentation, or superior interior finish. The Nation had neither the inclination, nor the means with which, to build palaces at that time.

Leonard Harbaugh was the successful bidder for the contract to build the Treasury Building, and in the next year he also secured the contract for the twin department building which was intended to house the other executive departments and was to be erected on the west of the President's house. The two executive office buildings were to be similar, and the identical plans were used. This resulted in a heated controversy between the commissioners and George Hadfield who had drawn the plan for the Treasury Building and objected to his plan being "duplicated" for the other structure without compensation. He was discharged.

The lack of money, in 1799, brought the commissioners to a decision to stop work on the President's house, and use the money available to complete the Capitol, if possible, and erect the executive office buildings. The departments and the legislators must be accommodated they thought; the business of the nation must go on; and its figurehead, the President, might, for some time, until the

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money stringency had passed, live "in a private house." If only they could collect all the sums overdue, the commissioners could carry through all the building projects begun by the Government, but, as their report to the President reads: "the impossibility of enforcing payment of these debts in season has induced us for some time past to suspend the work on the President's house."¹² Attempts had been made to sell the property of the Syndicate, but at every sale the trustees of the bankrupt, or, at least embarrassed, Syndicate had cautioned prospective buyers that lawsuits might follow. In this way, explained the commissioners, "the public has been so alarmed as to defeat the object," which particularly was to get the money with which to complete the public buildings that would be needed in 1800.

The Syndicate trustees so effectively tied up the property that litigation records spread over more than fifty years. The commissioners, at the time when Greenleaf applied to the Maryland House of Delegates, in 1798, for protection under the bankruptcy law of Maryland, pointed out that Greenleaf had not kept faith with them. "Very few" they said, "of the 140 houses contracted by Messrs. Morris and Greenleaf have yet been erected and they, with John Nicholson, stand the only sureties for \$80,000, the price of the 1,000 lots." Washington realty was also entangled in the suits of Dutch money lenders. These difficulties almost completely destroyed chance of sale, and in 1800 when the last instalment of the purchase money was due by the Syndicate, or its agents, to the District, an attempt was made to pass a law "conferring the title on purchasers" of former Syndicate lots from the Commissioners. Legislative action, however, was not then taken, at least not to the extent of securing the proposed indemnity.

The relations of private owners with the defunct syndicate were even more complicated. Captain Duncanson reached such a state of exasperation that he fought a duel with Greenleaf; but that brought him no material satisfaction, and in 1800 the impoverished Englishman was compelled to move from the large house he had built at South Carolina Avenue and Sixth Street, SE., to a less pretentious house near the foot of Thirteenth Street, SW. Daniel Carroll, of Duddington, who had been so delighted that the Syndicate should

¹²Letter to the President from the Commissioners, Dec. 5, 1799.

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build a whole block on his land, with his own bricks, found, in September, 1799, when he tried to sell this block, the so-called Twenty Buildings, that "no purchaser appeared."

In 1798 action was taken to officially set apart and determine the ground selected for public uses. In the summer of that year, President Adams affixed his signature to "a paper specifying where and what were the public appropriations, as they were called. Such a paper had been signed by General Washington in the spring of 1797, at the close of his administration, but as the Appropriation Map, as it was termed, prepared by James R. Dermott was, through some oversight not attached, the trustees to whom the proprietors of the land had transferred their holdings, in accordance with the agreement, refused to execute deeds, assigning as a reason that the land thus to be appropriated was not described. This omission was corrected, and an order similar in terms to the one signed by General Washington was approved by his successor." The landholders, however, still demurred, alleging that the "description of the appropriations did not agree with the plan to which it referred." The Attorney-General, however, assured the city authorities that "the property was as effectually vested in the United States as if it were formally conveyed."¹³ This opinion has never been reversed, but Bryan points out that "the formal title of the United States to the land in the city devoted to streets and reservations has never been recorded."¹⁴ The title rests on the deed of November 30, 1796, which Thomas Beall and John M. Gantt, trustees for the landholders, executed, conveying to the commissioners of the city all the lands of the original proprietors "which have been laid off into squares, parcels, or lots for buildings." But this has been sufficient to bring judicial affirmation of the said opinion of the Attorney-General.

The commissioners gave notice, in 1799, to all interested parties that they would take possession of these reservations in that year, and they requested all occupiers to note that all trees "not marked for public sale" and still standing at the end of six months would be "considered public property." Daniel Carroll, who owned part of the Mall, had brought it under tillage. He was given permission

¹³Commissioners to Committee of the House, March 23, 1802; Am. State Papers, Misc., vol. I, p. 333.

¹⁴"History of the National Capital," I, 325.

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to plant crops, "but subject to the possibility of the commissioners planting trees." However, the widow of David Burnes (whose obituary notice in the Washington paper, May 10, 1799, was given in eighteen words, notwithstanding that he was "a very considerable proprietor of lots") was given notice not to plant crops that year, as the Government would need the reservation.

The triangular pieces of land that resulted from the cutting of transverse avenues across the city of rectangular streets seemed properly to come into public ownership, as parts of the thoroughfares. The landowners, however, did not think so. They objected to sell them at the acreage price, when there was a possibility of selling to private parties on a footage basis. One of the commissioners, Dr. Thornton, did not like to think of what would happen to these triangular pieces of land, if privately owned; "if occupied by individuals" these fractions of land, some of them large enough for one building lot, and some large enough for two or more, "might justly be considered as nuisances," argued Dr. Thornton, "yet, if appropriated to public use, they would not only be highly useful but also ornamental, as they would serve for churches, temples, infirmaries, public academies, dispensaries, markets, public walks, fountains, statues, obelisks, etc."¹⁵ Unfortunately, he was overruled, and the District divided the triangular plots with the original proprietors. Those that fell to the Public made possible the beautiful circles of which the City has so many, but none too many.

General Washington had agreed with Dr. Thornton, believing that the erection of any buildings on these open spaces would give property owners "just cause for complaint." However, Washington was no longer in office, and he did not like to "intermeddle" in public matters that were being directed by others.

The City of Washington, as the national capital, was a project that he cherished dearly. No other American had such influential part in its creation. The wish or counsel of no other public servant would be heeded so readily, in any matter that pertained to the Federal City on the Potomac. Alas! He was not to see the great project brought to completion. Death came to General Washington in the last month of the ending year of the eighteenth century, and Washington, the city, was not to begin its life as the national seat

¹⁵Dr. Thornton to General Washington, May 31, 1799: American State Papers, Misc., I, 335.

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of government until the first year of the new century. Thus, the crowning satisfaction that would have been his,—in seeing successfully achieved the first attempt ever made to “create at legislative command a capital city of a country,” was denied to the men by whose efforts it had been made possible. But for Washington’s influence in political circles, prejudice and the jealousy of states might have killed the project while it was still in early embryonic form. Even while our beloved first President was on his deathbed, there was doubt as to whether Congress would act on the law of 1790 and order the removal of the seat of government from Philadelphia to Washington in the next year.

However, the House, in replying to that part of President Adams’ Message to the Sixth Congress, in 1799, which pointed out that by the Residence Law of 1790 “the sessions of that body should begin in the new city on the first Monday of December, 1800,” presumed that “no obstacle . . . will exist to a compliance with the law.” No obstacle came in the way, but it was not until April 22, 1800, that a bill was passed removing all doubt.

The President was, by the act, authorized to direct the removal of the government departments to Washington at any time after the close of that session. Appropriations to cover cost of removal and of furnishing the public buildings in the new seat of government were made. Provision was made even for footways “for the greater convenience of the members of both houses” and for “the facility of communication between the various departments.”

The provision for footways was carefully worded. Congress had no intention of paving Washington at public expense. Only so much of its footways as were needed by legislators or officials of the Government were to be chargeable to the Nation. Thus, at the outset was it made clear that the City of Washington was not to become wholly a charge upon the national treasury. The Government would pay for what part of its municipal conveniences it needed and used, but the citizens were to pay for the municipal facilities they used, just as they would in another city.

President Adams visited the city in June, staying at Tunnicliffe’s Hotel. On June 11th, the first of the public offices in Washington was opened. This, the Post-Office Department, used a three-storied building on the northwest corner of 9th and E Streets, NW. The Post Office Department at that time employed only nine per-

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sons, including the Postmaster-General and his assistant, and they used only three rooms on the second floor, one 27x17 ft., and the others each 15x14 ft. The City Post Office was established on the first floor, on June 20th, and the third floor was used for living quarters by the family of the Assistant Postmaster-General, Abraham Bradley, Jr. While the President was in the city, in June, he saw the other executive departments—State, War, Navy, and Treasury—established, at least temporarily in the new capital. The State Department, employing seven officials, used part of the Treasury Office Building until August 27 then removing to one of the Six Buildings on Pennsylvania, between 21st and 22nd Streets. The Navy Department also, it is believed, found accommodation in one of these buildings for its staff of fifteen. The War Department, numbering eighteen employees, found headquarters on the opposite side of Pennsylvania Avenue, east of 22nd Street, in a three-story house leased from Joseph Hodgson. Thus, the Treasury Department, which was larger than all the others combined, was able to have full possession of the only executive office building then completed, and to distribute its sixty-nine officials in the thirty office rooms of the Treasury Building. These are interesting figures, to those who know that the Government Departments of today employ more than 60,000 clerks and officials, in Washington.

In November, 1800, a fire completely destroyed the house used by the War Department, and most of the public records were lost. A couple of months later a fire threatened the Treasury Office Building also. Fortunately, it was confined to one room, and subdued before much damage was done. By the way, the President took a place among those who formed a bucket brigade on that exciting occasion.

Secretary of the Treasury Wolcott wrote to his wife in July, 1800, describing the city. He thought its situation "pleasant, and indeed beautiful," but he feared that the congressmen and government officials who would have to live in the city would find few comforts in it. In Georgetown conditions would be better but in Washington life would be hard. "There are in fact," he wrote, "but few houses at any one place and most of them miserable huts, which present an awful contrast to the public buildings. The people are poor, and, as far as I can judge, they live like fishes, by eating each other." At Greenleaf's Point, he said, there were

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“fifty or sixty spacious houses, five or six of which are occupied by negroes and vagrants, and a few more by decent-looking people;” but none of the houses had been fenced and there were no gardens. Assistant Postmaster-General Bradley, who reached the city a few weeks before Wolcott, also considered the city beautifully situated, but likewise found the housing accommodation inadequate. He found that rents were higher though food was cheaper than in Philadelphia.

In the nine years of preparation of the chosen Federal District nearly one million dollars of public money had been spent in making Washington able to take the place of Philadelphia as the Seat of Government, and although new and in many respects uncompleted it was able to meet governmental needs fairly well. Pennsylvania Avenue was a morass from which only in the previous winter the elder bushes had been cleared, “the width of the avenue,” between the Capitol and the White House, but Congress had appropriated money for a footway, to connect these major buildings, and this footway was to be of stone, so that pedestrians might move between legislative and executive departments without much difficulty. Shortly before the arrival of Congress it was decided to extend the stone footway as far as Twentieth Street, and a bridge of stone was built over the river Tiber where it crossed Pennsylvania Avenue at 2nd Street. It was in domiciliary appointments that Washington compared unfavorably with older cities.

Stimulation was given to building in the city by the action of the commissioners, in offering city lots at about half their former value. This reduction, and the expectation that the coming of Congress would entirely change the aspect of Washington, revived the interest of investors in Washington realty. Better stage schedules seemed to shorten the distances by making the new capital more accessible. It was now possible to do the trip from Philadelphia in 22 hours, or from Baltimore to Georgetown in nine hours. But when one reached Washington, it was not always possible to find accommodation. The taverns were overcrowded, and the residences in many instances were unfinished.

When President Adams reached the city on November 1st, 1800, he “went at once to the partially finished president’s house.” Sixteen days later, Mrs. Adams arrived. In a letter to her daughter, five days later, Mrs. Adams complained that “not a single apart-

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ment” had been finished, that the interior walls of many of the rooms were unplastered, that there were no bells in the house, and that firewood was scarce. She admitted that the scale of the house was grand, but “not very well proportioned to the President’s salary.” The large East Room was then in such an unfinished state that Mrs. Adams could think of no better use for it than as an enclosed space in which to hang the “family washing.” The White House remained unfinished for several years; as late as the year 1803 “the walls of some of the bed chambers, the great room at the east end of the house and of the principal stairs were still naked.” Mrs. Adams, during the few months they were in residence, had no bells with which to summon her servants, and no attempt had yet been made to improve the grounds. As late as March 20, 1801, the grounds of the President’s House were noticed to be “in great confusion, having on it old brick kilns, pits to contain water used by the brick makers, rubbish, etc.”¹⁶

With such an untidy unfinished state prevailing at the house of the President, with the latter actually in residence, it may be supposed that ordinary newcomers were called upon to endure even worse discomfort in the Federal City in the opening years of last century. When the President met both legislative houses in the senate chamber of the Capitol on November 22nd, and read his Message, the Capitol consisted of only the north wing, though the foundations for the dome or central section had been built, and the walls of the south wing were beginning to show above the ground. However, by comparison with the state of things at the Executive Mansion, the legislators could congratulate themselves upon the degree of completeness of the halls provided for them. They labored under no delusions however, as to the provisions made for their comfort, in their private hours. Mr. Jefferson, the Vice-President, reached the city on November 27th; he was inclined to be satisfied with little, nevertheless the eminence of his office should have suggested dignified domiciliary surroundings for him. But he could find no better quarters than a bedroom and a parlor in a boarding-house, at the northwest corner of New Jersey Avenue and C Street, SE. That and the adjoining house belonged to Thomas Law, and had been temporarily leased to Conrad and McMunn, “for the accommodation of travellers and the usual patrons of a tavern.” Jefferson was fortunate in securing a parlor as well as

¹⁶Dr. Thornton’s Diary, p. 101.



(Top) Old Georgetown, showing Georgetown College, 1887.
 (Center) First Baltimore and Ohio Depot in Washington, D. C., 1835. Penna. Avenue and Second St., N.W.—N.W. Corner.
 (Bottom) Burning of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, January 24, 1865.

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a bedroom, for the other boarders—mostly Congressmen—had to content themselves with sleeping quarters, and a common table, at which the Vice-President also ate. Somewhat similar conditions prevailed in another “Congressional mess” across the way—on the northeast corner of New Jersey Avenue and C Street, SE. There, Speaker Sedgwick lodged, the dignity of his office securing for him the exclusive use of a whole bedroom. The remainder of the boarders, however, “were obliged to room in pairs,” thankful perhaps that separate beds were provided and a good table spread.

Some of the southern congressmen found better living conditions in Georgetown, but that place was a long way from the Capitol. A stage line was established in 1800, and did the “round-trip” twice daily, between the terminal points, M Street near Wisconsin Avenue and Tunnicliffe’s Tavern, near First and A Street, NE.; but by this schedule the last stage left Tunnicliffe’s at 3.45 p. m., a time that legislators, warming in debate, would be apt sometimes to find inconveniently early. And even in those days congressmen at times showed themselves oblivious to personal considerations when pressing their opinions on public questions in a contentious House. When Congress came, in 1800, to the new Capitol and Capital, “it came,” says Woodward,¹⁷ “agitated by political contest,” and “in the ardor of triumph,” it “forgot its inconvenience and privation.” Most of the legislators preferred to occupy a “sell” in some boarding-house, tavern, or private home near the Capitol than find greater personal comfort farther from their work. For the same reason, officials of the executive departments accepted what quarters were to be had near their offices.

That Jefferson did not lose his democratic principles when the Nation elevated him to the highest official post it possessed is seen in the fact that Inaugural Day, 1801, found Jefferson still a lodger at Conrad and McMunn’s boarding house, at New Jersey Avenue and C Street, SE. Notwithstanding that guns were booming and militia marching, and that the streets “presented a spectacle of uncommon animation,” the marching troops had to call at this common boarding-house for the President-elect; and although this was the greatest event of Washington history up to that time, the central figure of this first inauguration of a President in the city of Washington walked from his lodging house to the Capitol, and

¹⁷Considerations on the Government of the Territory of Columbia No. 8, p. 21.

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after the ceremony, he walked back to his lodging house. In his estimation, a gilded coach was not necessary to a coronation, and pomp was incongruous in a democracy.

Certainly, he did not feel that the inauguration had done more than add to his responsibilities. The dignity of the presidential office had not swelled his physical frame or mental importance. The bedroom and parlor at the boarding-house were still large enough for him, as President. In his old lodgings, President Jefferson made his home until March 19th, workmen meanwhile clearing the shavings out of the East Room of the President's house, and making other efforts to make the presidential mansion more habitable. When Jefferson moved into the "great stone house, big enough for two emperors, one pope and the grand lama in the bargain," he was not much perturbed to find that many rooms were still unplastered, the main stairway still unbuilt, and the East Room still not much better for having had the shavings carried away. There was room enough in it for himself, and for a dining table around which, each day, twelve might sit and discuss matters of state, or exchange international courtesies while they ate. Soon Mr. Jefferson found, it was said, that in the presidential mansion a home could be provided for Mr. Madison, the Secretary of State, and also for Mr. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury. President Jefferson apparently was hospitable and accommodating, and felt it to be his duty, as President, to put public property to the fullest use. Secretary and Mrs. Madison did live in his house for some time in 1801, but in the fall of that year, the Madisons took possession of the house at 1333-35 F Street, where they remained until Mr. Madison became President. Secretary Gallatin lived on the north side of M Street, a short distance from Wisconsin Avenue, in the spring of 1801, moving to that house from Capitol¹⁸ Hill.

The first public reception given in the presidential mansion took place on the Fourth of July, 1801. At noon of that day the invited guests, to the number of about one hundred, gathered in the dining room and helped themselves to what they found on the four large sideboards—"cake of various kinds and the wine and punch," the latter "supplied in profusion." In an adjoining room, the Marine Band "played patriotic airs." It is evident, therefore, that the President's house was able to accommodate more than the not very particular Mr. Jefferson.

¹⁸Bryan, I, 406.



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John Gribbel

By T. H. BATEMAN, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA



MONG American men of achievement mention must be made of John Gribbel, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania who is a type of man born to leadership in many spheres. So complex would necessarily be any description of him in a single phrase as to make it clearly evident that the character and work of such a man are best set forth in the simple and unadorned narrative of the deeds which have given him an international reputation. The ancient Gribbel family from which he is descended bears arms of Crusader origin, the description being as follows:

Arms—Sable, a cross engrailed within a bordure or.

Crest—A greyhound's head erased at the neck argent, pellettée, collared and ringed or.

John Gribbel was born March 29, 1858, in Hudson City, New Jersey, and is a son of the late James and Anna (Simmons) Gribbel. After preparatory courses of study he entered the College of the City of New York, remaining until 1876. In that year he found employment in the Importers' and Traders' National Bank of New York City, transferring his services, in 1877, to the Leather Manufacturers' Bank in the same city. After remaining with the latter institution until 1883, Mr. Gribbel went to Philadelphia as agent for Harris, Griffin & Company, manufacturers of gas meters. In 1890 the firm was reorganized under its present name of John J. Griffin & Company, and Mr. Gribbel was admitted to a junior partnership. Two years later he became sole owner of the business, which continues under the same name and ownership and has been notably successful, rendered so in large part by Mr. Gribbel's sagacity and vision. Since becoming head of this concern, the sphere of his interests has gradually widened to such an extent as to assume a national character and to include gas, electric and street railway utilities, operating in several parts of the United States. He is president and director of the Royal Electrotpe Company, and a director of the Philadelphia-Girard National Bank, the Real Estate

JOHN GRIBBEL

Trust Company, and the Pennsylvania Sugar Company. Mr. Gribbel is also a director of the United Gas and Electric Corporation of New York; president of the Tampa Gas Company, Florida. He is a member of the American Gas Institute and the Association of Illuminating Engineers. Many years ago Mr. Gribbel became interested in the Curtis Publishing Company, of Philadelphia, of which he is a director, and so had a close business and personal association with Cyrus H. K. Curtis for a long time before they purchased, in partnership, the "Public Ledger," of Philadelphia. This was at the end of 1912. In September, 1914, Mr. Gribbel severed his connection, resigning the office of vice-president and leaving the management wholly in the hands of Mr. Curtis.

Politically John Gribbel is a Republican, and in December, 1914, he was elected president of The Union League of Philadelphia, retiring at the expiration of three terms in that office. His other clubs are the Lotos, of New York; the University, Art, City, Five O'Clock and Bachelors' Barge, all of Philadelphia. He belongs to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, serving as a member and Vice-President of the Council. His religious membership is in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and he is a trustee of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, which university conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts, in ——. He also received, in 1916 from Temple University of Philadelphia the honorary degree of LL.D.

Large and engrossing as are John Gribbel's responsibilities as a man of affairs, it would be a mistake to think of him in that character only. Apart from business his greatest interest is in the study and collection of American Colonial historical documents, and of seventeenth century English books and engravings, valuable for their rarity and their intrinsic worth. His lectures on these subjects are replete with interest and information, notably one on Robert Burns, which he delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

His enthusiasm for Scotland's greatest poet was the origin of the most noteworthy episode of Mr. Gribbel's literary experience. In 1913 he found the famous "Glen Riddell Manuscripts" of Burns offered for sale in the United States and discovered that they had been sold privately to a London dealer by the Liverpool "Athenaeum," Mr. Gribbel purchased the manuscripts and pre-



Gribbel

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sented them to the Scotch people in perpetual trusteeship, to be held alternately five years by Edinburgh and Glasgow.

John Gribbel married, January 8, 1880, Elizabeth Bancker, daughter of Arnold and Sarah Louise (Reynolds) Wood, and they are the parents of: Wakeman G. Griffin, Idella L., John Bancker, and Elizabeth.

John Gribbel is one of those men who do the large things of life, and whose work is not for their own day and generation alone, but for those who are to come after them.



Hayden and Allied Families

BY E. D. CLEMENTS, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

Hayden Arms—Quarterly argent and gules, a cross engrailed counter-changed.
Crest—A talbot statant argent, spotted sable.



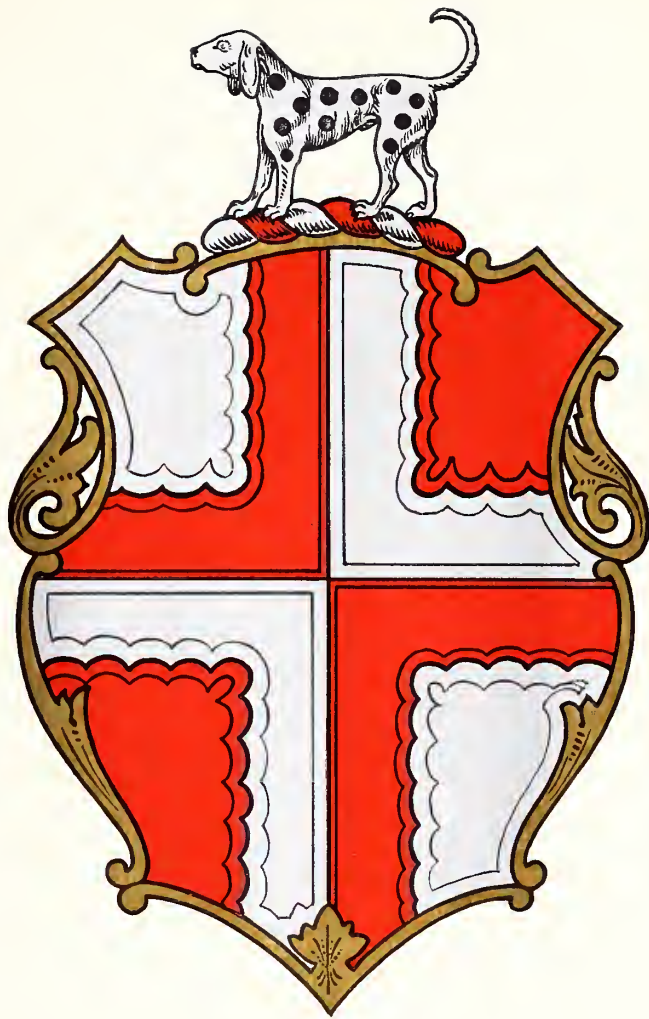
THE English Heydons or Haydens are of historic record from the time of the Norman Conquest. The family comes into prominence, however, early in the thirteenth century in the person of Thomas de Heydon, a resident of Heydon, and a justice itinerant in County Norfolk in 1221. The surname is of local origin, derived by the earliest ancestors of the family from the town of Heydon in Norfolk, where they had been seated from the close of the eleventh century. Literally translated the name means "high down," or plain-on-the-hill, and the town itself is rich in history and tradition. From Thomas de Heydon all English families of the name are descended. The principal branch remained in Norfolk, acquiring the estates of Heydon, Baconsthorpe, etc. A cadet branch of the house was founded by John de Hayden, in Devonshire, about 1273, and another, a few generations later, at Watford, near London. The American family, tracing from John Hayden, of Braintree, is an offshoot of the old Devonshire Haydens. The line herein under consideration is that of the late Hiram Washington Hayden, of Waterbury, inventor, executive and business leader of note in that city in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

I. *Thomas de Heydon*, resident of Heydon, justice itinerant in County Norfolk in 1221, is the progenitor of the English Heydons. He was born about 1185, and died in 1250.

II. *William de Heydon*, son of Thomas de Heydon, was born about 1220, and died in 1272. He inherited the estate at Norfolk.

III. *John de Heydon*, son of William de Heydon, was county judge in Devonshire in 1273.

IV. *Robert Hayden* or *de Heydon*, son of John de Heydon, seems to have been the first to change the spelling of the first syllable to Hay, a form that afterward distinguishes this branch of the family. He settled at Boughwood, in the parish of Harpford, Dev-



Hayden



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onshire, near which estate his descendants continued to dwell for centuries. He deeded this estate to his son Henry in the nineteenth year of the reign of Henry I. He married Joan ———.

V. *Henry Haydon*, son of Robert Hayden or de Heydon, married a kinswoman, Julian, daughter and heir of Haydon of Ebford.

VI. *William Haydon*, son of Henry Haydon, was his father's heir, and inherited the estate of Boughwood.

VII. *Robert Haydon*, son of William Haydon, succeeded his father.

VIII. *John Haydon*, son of Robert Haydon, married and had a son Henry.

IX. *Henry Haydon*, son of John Haydon, had the Boughwood and Ebford estates in 1397.

X. *William Haydon*, son of Henry Haydon, inherited the estate of his elder brother John, who died without issue.

XI. *Richard (1) Haydon*, son of William Haydon, was living on the estate in 1476.

XII. *Richard (2) Haydon*, son of Richard (1) Haydon, had the estates in 1522. He married Joan Trent, daughter of Maurice Trent, of Ottery Street.

XIII. *Thomas (1) Haydon*, son of Richard (2) and Joan (Trent) Haydon, married Joan Weeks, daughter of Richard Weeks, of Honey Church.

XIV. *Thomas (2) Hayden*, (note change in spelling of name) son of Thomas (1) and Joan (Weeks) Haydon, inherited the family estates of Hills in Kelmiston, Boughwood and Ebford. He married Christiana Tidersleigh, daughter and heir of Robert Tidersleigh, in Dorsetshire.

XV. *Robert Hayden*, son of Thomas (2) and Christiana (Tidersleigh) Hayden, inherited the estate of his grand-uncle at Cadhay, a distinguished lawyer, who held the charter for incorporating the church when England broke away from the Roman Catholic Church, in 1536, known as St. Mary Ottery, where many of the family are buried. His wife, Joan, inherited the estate at Cadhay, and he rebuilt the house, which is still in existence and in good repair. He married Joan Paulet, daughter of Sir Amias Paulet, of Somersetshire.

XVI. *Gideon Hayden*, son of Robert and Joan (Paulet) Hayden, succeeded to the Cadhay and Ebford estates. He married

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Margaret Davy, daughter of John Davy, of Creedy. The author of the Hayden family history says: "They had seven sons and five daughters. Several of the sons grew to manhood and were living in 1630. The eldest, Gideon, succeeded him. The names of the others do not appear. I take it there must have been a John, William and James, and that they were the John, William and James who emigrated to Boston in 1630-33." Gideon Hayden owned the ship "Dove" of Lymston in 1629, and it was commanded by his son Gideon. The son, John Hayden, commanded the "Phoenix" of Dartmouth, in 1628. In any case the American branch is closely allied with the Devon family.

(The Haydens in America).

I. John (1) Hayden, son of Gideon Hayden, is said to have come to Boston in 1630. He was admitted a freeman there, May 14, 1634, having previously become a proprietor of Dorchester in 1632. On June 8, 1639, his "fine for entertaining an unlicensed servant, as he did it ignorantly, was remitted to him." In 1640 he was a resident of Braintree, where he died in 1681-82. His will, dated October 31, 1678, was proved July 26, 1682. John Hayden married Susanna.

II. John (2) Hayden, son of John (1) and Susanna Hayden, was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, in May, 1634. He was a life-long resident there and a prosperous farmer until his death in 1718. John (2) Hayden married, April 6, 1660, Hannah Ames, daughter of William and Hannah Ames, of Braintree; she was born May 12, 1641, and died July 3, 1690. (See Ames II).

III. Josiah Hayden, son of John (2) and Hannah (Ames) Hayden, was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, June 19, 1669, and died at Sudbury, December 9, 1730. He removed to Sudbury with other Braintree families, and was one of the earliest and most important settlers there. His home lot was near the westerly boundary of the town. In 1707 he signed a remonstrance against the division of the town into two parishes. The last of his descendants in Sudbury was Dana Hayden, who died on the homestead about 1850.

IV. Edmund Hayden, son of Josiah Hayden, was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, and settled in Hopkinton.

V. Corporal Josiah Hayden, son of Edmund Hayden, was born about 1740. In 1772 he was a resident of the town of Williamsburg and a tax-payer there. He served with the Continental troops

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during the American Revolution, enlisting from Williamsburg, in Captain John Kirkland's Company, Colonel Woodbridge's Regiment, in which he held the rank of corporal from August 16, 1777. An affidavit in the Hampshire Company, January 28, 1778, signed by Lieutenant Abner Pomeroy and Sergeant Phineas Wright, states that they were sent to bring Hayden and others back to camp, they having deserted, and did so, the men returning without guard or compensation; they received the punishment ordered and served until the expiration of their engagement. This was a common occurrence, many men leaving when they considered their services no longer necessary, in order to care for their farms. In the census of 1790 the name of Josiah Hayden, of Williamsburg, appears as head of a family of three males over sixteen, and three females. He married Ruhamah Thayer, daughter of Zachariah and Abigail Thayer. (See Thayer V.) Among their children were Daniel, of whom further; and Ruhamah, who married Simeon Guilford. (See Guilford VI.)

VI. *Daniel Hayden*, son of Corporal Josiah and Ruhamah (Thayer) Hayden, was born March 25, 1780, in Williamsburg, Massachusetts. He learned the trade of machinist, and at the age of seventeen years went to Springfield, Massachusetts, where he learned the gunsmith's trade. On finishing his apprenticeship he went to Pawtucket, Rhode Island, where he entered the employ of Samuel Slater, at that time the only cotton manufacturer in the United States. Working in conjunction with Mr. Slater he constructed the first machinery for the manufacture of cotton goods made in this country, eventually becoming a recognized expert in this field. He was later associated with David Wilkinson in Pawtucket, but in 1808 returned to Williamsburg, and established the first cotton mill in Western Massachusetts. The village which subsequently grew up around this mill was named in his honor—Haydenville. In 1817, Mr. Hayden disposed of his interests here to his nephews, Josiah and Joel Hayden, and removed to Waterbury, Connecticut. He rented space in the factory of Leavenworth, Hayden & Scovill, and began the manufacture of lamps and other articles of brass. The first brass lamp made in Waterbury was designed and executed by hand, by Daniel Hayden in 1819. In 1830 he collaborated with his son, Joseph Shepard Hayden, in constructing a machine, the first of its kind ever used, for covering buttons with cloth. He was ac-

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tively interested in this business until his death. Daniel Hayden was a prominent figure in the early history of the brass industry in Waterbury.

On August 20, 1801, he married Abigail Shepard, who was born April 1, 1775, daughter of Major Joseph Shepard, of Foxborough, Massachusetts, an officer in the Revolution.

VII. Joseph Shepard Hayden, son of Daniel and Abigail (Shepard) Hayden, was born in Foxborough, July 31, 1802, died in Waterbury, February 17, 1877. He was an accomplished mechanic and inventive genius. He was the inventor of the first machine for covering buttons with cloth, and also invented a machine for making button eyes. He constructed the first engine lathe ever seen in Waterbury. In 1830, in partnership with his father, he commenced the manufacture of cloth buttons by machinery, and developed the enterprise to a most successful stage. He married Ruhamah Guilford, daughter of Simeon Guilford. (See Guilford VII). They were the parents of six children, of whom four died in infancy, the others being: 1. Hiram Washington, of whom further. 2. Edward Simeon, died in his youth.

VIII. Hiram Washington Hayden, son of Joseph Shepard and Ruhamah (Guilford) Hayden, was born in Haydenville, Massachusetts, February 10, 1820. During his childhood the family was established in Waterbury, and here he attended the old Waterbury Academy. Later he entered the employ of J. M. L. & W. H. Scovill and began the work of engraving metal buttons, an art which at that time was in its infancy. Because of the close confinement necessitated by the nature of the work, he abandoned this occupation, afterwards resuming it; and thus it was that he made the first chased button manufactured by the Scovills, and among the first produced in the country. In 1838 he removed to Wolcottville, and entered the employ of Wadhams & Company, button manufacturers. In 1841 he returned to Scovills & Company, making all their best dies for buttons and medals until 1853. While at Wolcottville he became interested in the method of manufacturnig brass kettles there, and soon devised a more effective way of making them. This single invention of the spinning process affected vitally the history of four of the leading manufacturing concerns of Waterbury. In the old method there was a tendency to make the metal thinner at the angle formed by the bottom and sides of the kettle, where the



Engraving by A. H. F. 1860

H. W. Hayden

greatest strength was needed. In his process the metal here was thickest, and his invention, patented in 1851, he sold to the Waterbury Brass Company. This invention revolutionized the manufacture of brass and copper kettles, and is the only method in use now. In 1853 he joined with Israel Holmes, John C. Booth and Henry H. Hayden in the organization of Holmes, Booth and Haydens, which firm was formed to manufacture brass and copper articles. Mr. Hayden had charge of the factory, and from the time of the founding of the company until his death was never absent from a stockholders' annual meeting. Mr. Hayden took out a remarkable number of patents in this country and Europe, a large number of which were assigned to Holmes, Booth & Haydens. Among his many inventions is a breech-loading rifle, a magazine rifle and a breech-loading cannon. A machine for making solid metal tubing, which he invented, was sold to a Pittsburgh company. His love for art led him into the development of the daguerreotype. While engaged in this, the idea came to him of taking pictures on paper. A scientific article on this subject, written by him in 1851, contained the following notice of his discovery:

Mr. Hiram Hayden, ingenious artist of this village has shown us three landscape views taken by the usual daguerrean apparatus upon a white paper surface, all in one operation. This is the first successful attempt to produce a positive picture by this extraordinary medium. The pictures exhibit the effect of light and shade, similar to a fine engraving, bringing out the most delicate minutiae with the fidelity of the ordinary daguerreotype. For many purposes this improvement will be of great importance, as it will enable the operator to produce views and portraits of any size that may be required and at a cheap rate. We understand that Mr. Hayden has made application to secure a patent upon a mode of preparing the paper previous to its use.

His studies in photography were almost continuous, and he was president of the Waterbury Photographic Society. During his leisure hours he devoted himself to various branches of the fine arts, etching on copper, modelling in wax, and sketching with charcoal and pencil. Always a diligent reader and student, he acquired a large store of information on all subjects.

On July 31, 1844, Mr. Hayden married Pauline Migeon, daughter of Henri Migeon, a French gentleman, and personal friend of General Lafayette, who became the founder of the family in Amer-

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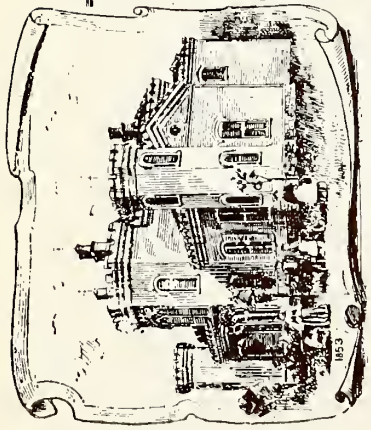
ica in 1828. (See Migeon Line). Mrs. Hayden died in Waterbury, April 20, 1873. They were the parents of the following children: 1. Edward Simeon, of whom further. 2. Lena Migeon, who became the wife of Frederick J. Brown. 3. Florentine Harriet, who makes her home in Waterbury.

Hiram Washington Hayden died at his home in Waterbury, July 18, 1904. His death marked the passing of a man who had been a vital force in the manufacturing and industrial world of Waterbury for nearly half a century.

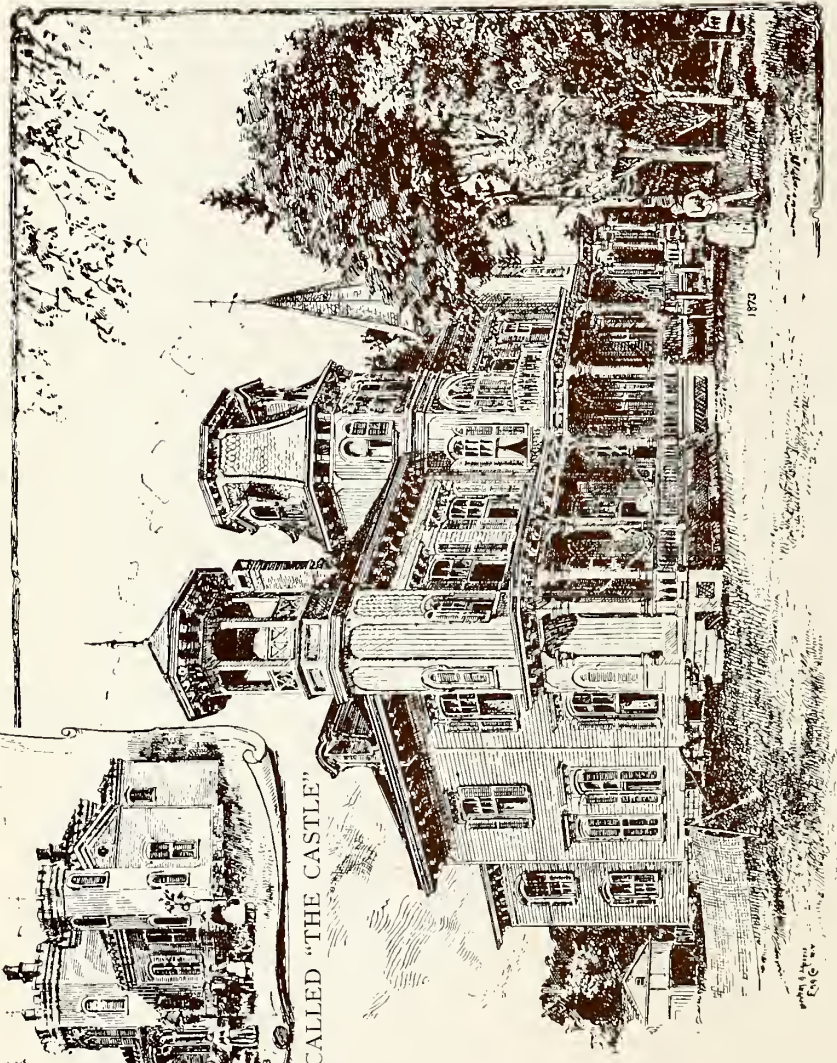
Mr. Hayden's home in Waterbury, Connecticut, was of rather more than ordinary interest. The site was chosen by him while a young man. He chose the site not because of its woodland scenery, because there was no woodland scenery there. It rose, a sandy bluff, from the wooded tracts which lay about it and, because of its elevation which at that time commanded a splendid view of the growing city, Mr. Hayden selected it for a home site. He did this against the advice of other local men who were building nearer the center and who could not conceive of a home in "the wilds" as the land about Grove and Pine streets was considered in those days.

Mr. Hayden, however, saw in his mind's eye the artistic possibilities of the location and bought it. His land ran all the way back to Pine Street and also included "the valley" as the present site of the First Baptist Church was known. "The valley," with a beautiful maple grove and a silvery brook, was not only one of the beauty spots of the section but yielded as well rich black loam much of which Mr. Hayden had transferred to the bluff. The entire tract is made ground, as he literally built Maplewild on a foundation of sand and gravel, he having the gravel covered first with fertile soil and then setting out all the greenery which now makes the place so lovely. With the exception of a choke-cherry tree which was blown down in a storm a few years ago, and some maple trees which surround the gate, he set out all the trees and shrubbery at Maplewild, including the pines, which are now giant trees, and also laid out a garden and an orchard.

The first house was completed in 1853, from Mr. Hayden's own architectural design and, because of its three round towers with battlement ornamentation, became known as "The Castle." It was a picturesque white structure with ornamental wrought iron balconies. Trailing roses climbed over the sides, a fountain played in



1853 CALLED "THE CASTLE"



1873 "MAPLEWILD"—HAYDEN HOMESTEAD

HAYDEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

front of the house, and back of the tennis court, an orchard of apple and cherry trees rambléd down toward Pine street. "The Castle" continued to be one of Waterbury's uniquely attractive places until 1873 when Mr. Hayden completely remodelled and enlarged it. The three towers were extended several feet and their outlines changed and the house given an extra story. House and barn were painted red and, although Maplewild was its official title, the property came to be known to the neighborhood as "the red house" and is referred to as such even now. Mr. Hayden continued to beautify the land, setting out additional elms and pines, and planning walks and driveways. Because there was no city water available at that time, he purchased a lot on Pine Street, quite a distance from his house, where three fine springs were located. He had the water from these springs conveyed to the red houses through pipes. It is an interesting coincidence that the present home of his daughter, Florentine H. Hayden, is built on the lot where the springs were located.

The growth of the neighborhood around Maplewild has been phenomenal. When its owner chose the site, it could be seen from West Main Street, there being no cross-streets laid out between West Main and Grove streets at that time. It is said that, while the house was in process of erection, those interested would go down on West Main street and view operations from there. The nearest houses north of the place were a few homes at the far corner of what is now Johnson Street.

But even as grass and shrubbery began to cover the sandy tract that was Maplewild, new streets and new houses began to grow on all sides. The house was practically the only one in the vicinity with a large portion of land around it, so closely have residences been built in. As a recreational spot, Maplewild will not be serving in an entirely new capacity. For many years, children of the neighborhood looked upon the estate as an ideal park. In fact their interest in the orchard was not entirely esthetic. But, except for those times when they were inclined to be destructive none of the youngsters can remember that members of the Hayden family ever prevented them from enjoying the beauties of the place.

Until a short time ago the house was continuously occupied by members of the Hayden family. On Mr. Hayden's death, Miss Florentine Hayden occupied the place until she built her present home on Pine Street. Mrs. Frederick J. Brown, another daughter,

HAYDEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

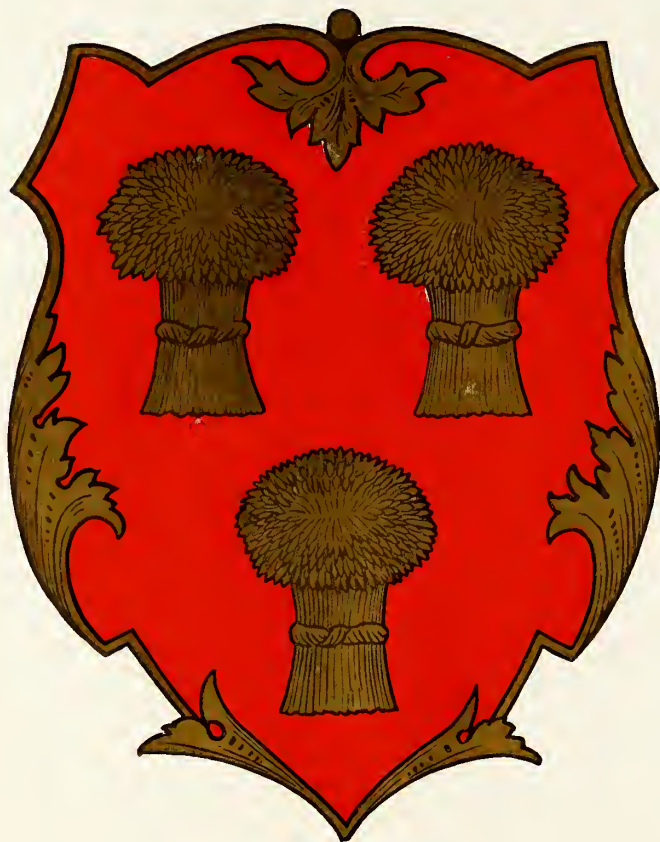
also lived there for a time, as did Edward S. Hayden, the father of Mrs. William Shirley Fulton and Miss Margery Kellogg Hayden, both of whom were born in the "red house," and who in 1921 became the donors of the Hayden Homestead as a park to the city of Waterbury. After the members of the family had built new residences, the house was occupied for a short time until it was removed when made a gift to the city. The property, as presented to Waterbury, has a frontage of three hundred twenty feet on Grove Street, and a depth of two hundred seventy-eight feet. Hayden Homestead Park, as the tract is known, is not only a valuable addition to Waterbury's appearance as an artistic achievement, but will, as well, keep before the public mind the name of Hiram Washington Hayden, the original owner, who as an inventor had advanced beyond his time.

The park is approached by granite steps from Grove Street, leading to the top of the bluff, while paths of easy access follow about the sloping banks, where each season is greeted by its growth of shrubbery from spring bloom, and summer roses to autumn colorings. A pool with central fountain on the hill-top is dedicated to the memory of Edward S. Hayden, by his eldest daughter (Pauline Migeon Hayden), Mrs. William R. Pitkin, of New Haven, Connecticut. The birds still sing in the old trees, while many small children, and people who seek a haven of rest, find here a quiet beauty spot in the midst of Waterbury's busy manufacturing life.

IX. Edward Simeon Hayden, son of Hiram Washington and Pauline (Migeon) Hayden, was born in Waterbury, Connecticut, October 20, 1851, and died February 14, 1899. He secured his elementary education in the private schools of Waterbury, and later attended the Riverview Military Academy at Poughkeepsie, New York, and on completing his course there returned to Waterbury, and at once entered upon a business career. In 1869 he became connected with the Waterbury National Bank in the capacity of bookkeeper, and remained with this institution for ten years. In February, 1879, he was elected secretary and treasurer of Holmes, Booth & Haydens, with whom he was identified until 1886, when, having in the interim made a comprehensive study of the metallurgy of copper, he became connected with the Bridgeport Copper Company, where in the capacity of expert and consultant he put into practice his studies and experiments. He was one of the promoters of the Baltimore Electric Refining Company, which was organized



Edward S. Hayden



Migeon



HAYDEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

in March, 1891, for the purpose of using his process of electrolyzing metals, an invention which he patented in the United States and in foreign countries, and which is used in the factories of the two companies above mentioned. The extensive plant of the Baltimore Electric Refining Company at Baltimore, Maryland, was built wholly from his plans and under his general supervision. The inventions of Edward S. Hayden made a deep impression and wrought wide changes in the methods of electrical refining. He was widely known in business circles, not only as a man of inventive genius but as an able executive and a farsighted man of affairs. His esthetic faculty was marked from boyhood and amid the occupations of manhood he found opportunity for delight in the higher forms of art. His death, in the midst of what promised to be a most brilliant career, was deeply mourned.

Mr. Hayden was a well-known figure in military circles in Connecticut. On September 30, 1878, he was appointed first lieutenant and paymaster of the Connecticut National Guard. On January 23, 1883, he was commissioned major and brigade commissary, and on April 23 of the following year he was commissioned major and brigade quartermaster. He resigned his military offices in 1890, because of the insistent demands of his business affairs. He was well known in club circles, and was a member of the Sewanhaka Corinthian Yacht Club, the Racquet Club of New York City, the Tennis Club of New York City, the Waterbury Club, and the Country Club of Farmington. By virtue of descent from several patriots, he held membership in the Sons of the American Revolution, and the Connecticut Society of Colonial Wars.

On October 8, 1877, Edward S. Hayden married Elizabeth Gilder Kellogg, daughter of Norman and Rebecca T. (Hinckley) Kellogg, of New York City. Mrs. Hayden died December 25, 1910. Their children were: 1. Pauline Migeon, wife of William R. Pitkin, of New Haven. 2. Rose Hinckley, who married William Shirley Fulton, of Waterbury. 3. Margery Kellogg.

(The Migeon Line).

Migeon Arms—Gules, three garbs or.

Henri Migeon, a Frenchman of excellent connections, bearing a letter of introduction and commendation from the Marquis de Lafayette to the mayor of New York City, came to America in 1828,

HAYDEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

as a textile expert, to introduce French methods of cloth manufacture to American mill owners. It was not his original intention to settle here permanently, but such was the warmth of his reception and the promise of the field that he determined to make America his home. After a stay of a few months here, Mr. Migeon returned to France, taking with him to General Lafayette, numerous testimonials of appreciation from leading American manufacturers for his judgment in sending so able an exponent of French textile art as Mr. Migeon. A letter written by the great Frenchman to Jacques Migeon, father of Henri Migeon, gives evidence of the enthusiasm with which the son was received:

Paris, July 8, 1829.

SIR:—It is with great pleasure that in renewing our ancient acquaintance, I am able to congratulate you upon the return of your excellent son. I have received news of him from the friends to whom I have written, viz: Mr. Hone, one of the most respectable gentlemen in the state of New York, expresses his thanks for the introduction of Mr. Migeon to him, and hopes he will soon return.

A friend of the manufacturer informs me that he is regarded with sentiments of esteem and approbation in his employment. Mr. Hone also informs me that the respectable agent of the manufactory is much attached to him. I am persuaded that these expressions of approbation and friendship will be agreeable to you, and also to all his family. I beg of you to accept the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

LAFAYETTE.

Henri Migeon was born in Haraucourt, Department of Ardenes, near historic Sedan, on September 11, 1799, the son of Jacques Migeon. On completing his studies he entered the employ of a woolen house in the capacity of salesman, but subsequently became interested in methods of cloth manufacture and qualified as an expert. Through his friendship with the father, Lafayette learned of the son's proficiency in this field, and recommended that he go to America, where the textile industry was in its infancy, and there was sore need of skilled labor and advice. Armed with a letter of introduction to Mr. Hone, then mayor of New York, Mr. Migeon sailed for America in 1828. Impressed with the outlook, he returned to France for his family, and in 1829 was back in New York. Here he received flattering offers from numerous mill owners, among them Governor Oliver Wolcott, of Wolcottville, Connecticut,

HAYDEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

who subsequently became his staunch friend. Mr. Migeon's decision to go to Millbury, Massachusetts, was a keen disappointment to Governor Wolcott, who continued to write him at intervals during 1831 and 1832 on the subject. He later made Wolcottville his home.

From Millbury Mr. Migeon went to New York; after a short period spent there, he went to Wolcottville, Connecticut, where he was engaged in the manufacture of woolens with Mr. Grovers until 1836. During the financial pressure of 1837 he removed to New York, and there engaged successfully in business until normal conditions were restored. He had invented a method of refinishing broadcloths, which practically revolutionized the trade in these materials, since prior to his work in this field damaged materials were considered nearly worthless. Mr. Migeon returned to New York to exploit his patent. His business developed rapidly, and after a few years he admitted to partnership with him in the enterprise his two nephews, John and Eugene Lenoir, both of whom were lost on the ill-fated steamer "Arctic" which foundered in the Atlantic on a return voyage from France in 1853. Staggered by this loss, Mr. Migeon quietly disposed of his business interests in New York, and returned to his home in Connecticut. Several years before he had purchased the Governor Wolcott mansion in Litchfield, Connecticut, and had steadily accumulated an extensive property there, which was his pride and delight, and to the improvement of which he gave much thought and time. An avenue in Wolcottville, which he improved and made one of the finest in the town, was named in his honor. An interesting anecdote is told about his first visit to Wolcottville. He came from New York to Litchfield on the stage, arriving about dark, and as the stage went no further, determined to proceed on foot to Wolcottville. The road wound among the hills, through lonely forests and valleys, and the wind sighing through the trees made all manner of unearthly sounds. Mr. Migeon, in a strange country, among a people whose language he understood but slightly, carrying with him all the capital he possessed, was much concerned for his safety. In after years he often alluded to this journey, and frankly confessed his terror, expressing his thankfulness that he had met no one on his lonely journey, for in his nervousness he was prepared to shoot any one who accosted him.

Every phase of the life and affairs of Wolcottville had his keen

HAYDEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

interest. Born in the time of the French Revolution, his father a participant in that struggle and an especial admirer and friend of Lafayette who himself had strong leanings toward Republican principles, Mr. Migeon became an old line Whig, and a citizen and patriot of the finest type. He became a friend of Henry Clay, and when engaged in business made a length of cloth for the statesman. Years later the two met at a banquet in New York; mention was made of the suit, and Mr. Clay said: "Yes, they still hang in my wardrobe not worn out." The welfare of Wolcottville was always close to his heart. He was deeply interested in the schools of the town, and on July 4, 1876, distributed to every child of the public schools a newly minted coin, with the date of the year, to be kept in remembrance of the day. The students of the Wolcottville Academy received a similar gift. It was his custom also to distribute firecrackers to the children of the village every fourth of July.

Henri Migeon was a gentleman of culture, a student and a lover of the arts, keenly interested in the practical application of science. He was a collector of ancient coins and other antiques, which he housed in a little museum in his home. He also gathered a fine aggregation of mineralogical and fossiliferous specimens, and had probed deeply into these sciences. A man's man, quick of perceptions, kindly, and sincere of purpose, he had made a large acquaintance among public leaders in the course of his frequent travels. He had crossed the Atlantic about forty times. Mr. Migeon was presented at the court of Napoleon III during the height of the Emperor's power and prosperity. During the Franco-Prussian War, he was active in the raising of funds for the relief of the suffering in France, particularly in the region of Sedan, which was the home of his daughter, Madame François V. Baudelot. Her house, protected by the American flag, was the sanctuary of fugitives and of the starving people of the beleaguered town. Loyalty to his adopted country never caused him to forget his native France, and up to the time of his death he kept on deposit with French bankers a sum of money, the interest on which he devoted solely to French charities.

Henri Migeon married Marie Louise Baudelot (see Baudelot II). Mrs. Migeon was a woman of culture and refinement, raised in affluence, beloved of all who knew her and an inspiration and helpmate to her husband until her death. She died at sea on the



Pauline (Migeon) Hayden

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steamer "Lafayette," June 30, 1871, while returning from France, and was buried at Wolcottville, Connecticut. Children: 1. Pauline, of whom further. 2. Arcène, born September 28, 1823; married Henry Munson, of East Bloomfield, Ontario County, New York. Children: i. Adèle B. ii. Ada. iii. Elise T. 3. Florentine, born in Sedan, France, in 1826, married Frederick J. Seymour. 4. Eliza Josephine, born in Millbury, Massachusetts, March 26, 1831, married George B. Terrell, of Fairfield, Connecticut. Children: i. William H. ii. Achille Migeon. iii. Louise N. iv. Elise. 5. Achille, born February 7, 1833, in Millbury, Massachusetts; married, September 1, 1858, Elizabeth Farrel, daughter of Almon Farrel, of Waterbury. 6. Adèle R., born in Wolcottville, Connecticut; married François Victor Baudelot, of Haraucourt, France. Children: i. Louis. ii. Nelly. iii. Léon G. 7. Louise Justine, born in Wolcottville, married Capitaine Louis Brahy of France.

Henri Migeon died at his home in Wolcottville, December 24, 1876, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. The following is an excerpt from a tribute to his memory published in the "Courier des Etats-Unis":

He came to this country in 1829, with letters of recommendation from General Lafayette. His residence in this country was a long life of industry and probity. He was the first to introduce machinery which with his skill greatly promoted the manufacture of cloths in Massachusetts and Connecticut. He died loved and honored by all those who knew him both in business and social relations. His liberality was proverbial, and there was not a philanthropic or patriotic object to which he did not contribute generously.

Pauline Migeon, daughter of Henri and Marie Louise (Baudelot) Migeon, was born at Sedan in the department of Ardennes, March 13, 1821. She married, July 31, 1844, at Litchfield, Hiram Washington Hayden, of Waterbury. (See Hayden VIII). Mrs. Hayden died in Waterbury, April 20, 1873. The Waterbury "American" under date of April 24, pays the following tribute to her memory:

To the public she was known as a quiet and retiring person, but with a select circle of friends she was the object not simply of respect, but of admiring affection. Those who knew her best found her most attractive and charming, and felt that in her death the society of Waterbury had lost one who could ill be spared. As the funeral procession moved, by way of the iron bridge and the beautiful river road, to the sunny spot in the cemetery where her remains are henceforth to lie, every one must have felt that the peaceful

HAYDEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

April afternoon—musical only with the chirping of birds and the noise of brooks—was in perfect keeping with the life which had shone so pleasantly and kindly upon the friends who were now following her to her final rest. Such are the lives for which a busy world should never forget to be thankful.

(The Baudelot Line).

Baudelot Arms—Azure, a lion or, within ten inescutcheons argent placed in orle.—(Rietstap's "Armorial Général").

According to the record of Rietstap, the Baudelot family was of that important medieval province, Ile de France, whose capital was Paris. Of the family was Emile Baudelot, French naturalist, born at Vendresse, in the department Ardennes in 1834, died at Nancy in 1875.

I. *Jean François Baudelot* was born either at Vendresse, in the department Ardennes, or in Amont, a village nearby. He was a distinguished scientist and patriot, and was mayor of Vendresse in 1792, when he led out all the available men of his town to cut down the forest of Mazières to block the passage of the enemy. His eldest son Louis was decorated on the field of battle by Napoleon, who himself, placed the cross of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor upon him for signal bravery. His second son was the originator of the idea of utilizing the gas of furnaces as fuel, an invention in universal use; he was also an inventor of a beer cooler. Jean François Baudelot married Marianne Mozet. They were the parents of five children: 1. Rosalie, married Jean Baptiste Fossin. 2. Jean Joseph, married Louise Davesne. 3. Jean Baptiste married Marianne Sellier. 4. Jean Louis married Michel Rose. 5. Marie Louise, of whom further.

II. *Marie Louise Baudelot*, daughter of Jean François and Marianne (Mozet) Baudelot married Henri Migeon. (See Migeon Line).

(The Ames Line).

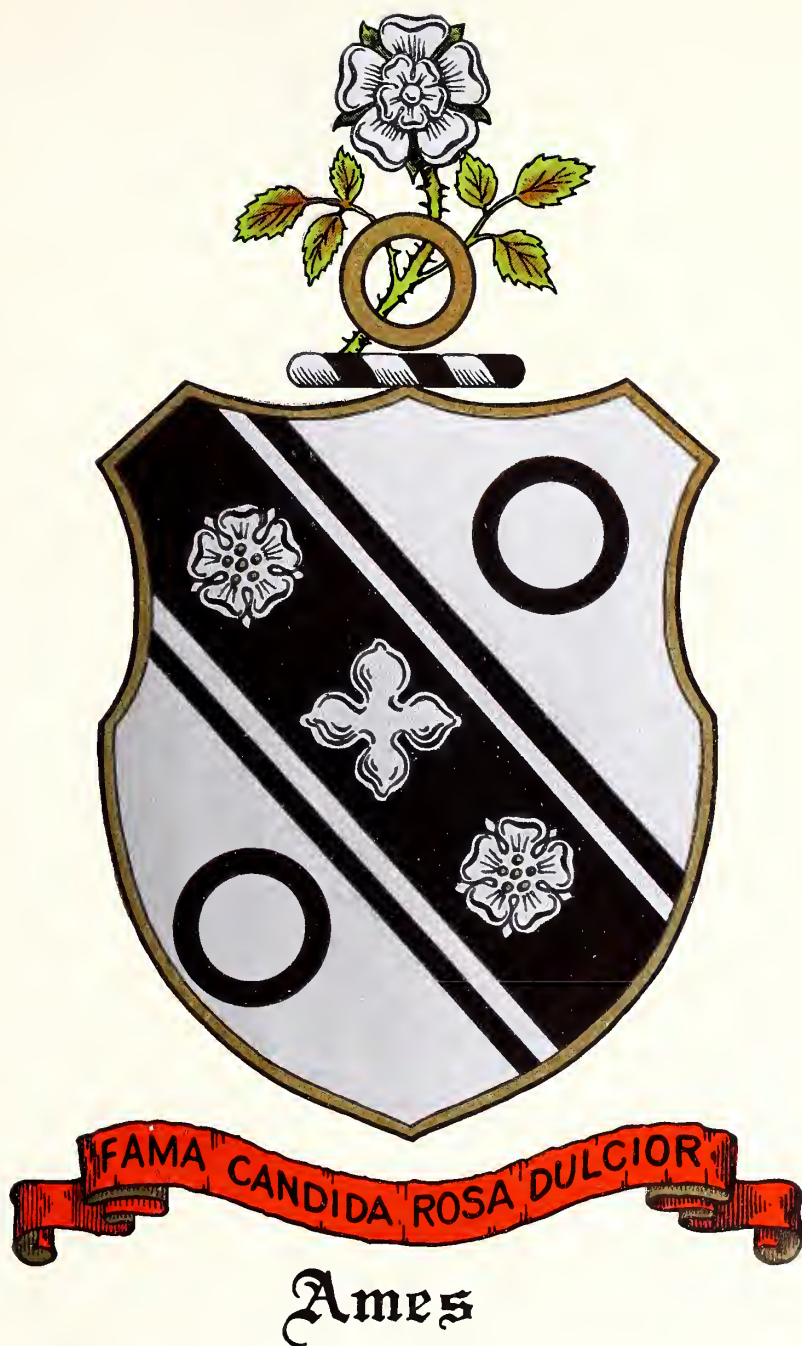
Arms—Argent, on a bend cotised between two annulets sable a quatrefoil between two roses of the field.

Crest—A rose argent slipped and leaved proper in front thereof an annulet or.

Motto—*Fama candida rosa dulcior.* (Fair fame is sweeter than the rose).

(Matthews' "American Armoury," 1903, p. 139.)

Ames, the family name, is from Amy or Amice, Amys, the possessive form and patronymic form, from the old French Aimée, beloved, a Christen name. William *fls* Amye and William *fls* Amice,



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both occur in the Hundred Rolls of County Lincoln, A. D. 1273, also Hugh *filis* Amicie appears at the same time Adam and Robert Amys are in those of County Gambridge.

(The Family in America.)

I. William Ames, son of John Ames, of Bruton Somersetshire, was born October 6, 1605. He came with his brother, John, to Plymouth colony, in 1638, John settling in Bridgewater, in 1640. William moved to Braintree, Massachusetts, where he died March 11, 1654. His wife's name was Hannah. Children: 1. Hannah, of whom further. 2. Rebecca, born October, 1642. 3. Lydia, born June 2, 1645. 4. John, born May 24, 1647, died 1726, married Sarah, daughter of John Willis. 5. Sarah, born March 1, 1651; married Thomas Hayward. 6. Deliverance, born February 6, 1654.

II. Hannah Ames, daughter of William and Hannah Ames, born in Plymouth Colony, May 12, 1641, died in Braintree, Massachusetts, July 3, 1690. She married April 6, 1660, John (2) Hayden. (See Hayden II).

(The Thayer Line).

Thayer Arms—Per pale ermine and gules, three talbots' heads erased counterchanged.
Crest—A talbot's head erased or.
Motto—*Fœcundi calices*.

(Matthews' "American Armoury," 1923, p. 330.)

Of very ancient origin, the family name Theyer or Thayer, Theare, represents an old French Thiadher, mentioned A. D. 799, later French Thierre, although a recent writer connects it with the old English Tawer, Tawyer, a dresser of leather. Ralph le Tawyere is in the Hundred Rolls of Wiltshire, A. D. 1273.

(The Family in America).

I. Richard (1) *Thayer* of Thornbury in Gloucestershire, England, arrived in Boston, Massachusetts, at about the same time as his older brother Thomas, who was granted land at Braintree, Massachusetts, February 24, 1639-1640, and was born 1596, died June 2, 1665. Richard Thayer brought several children from England with him and was admitted freeman in 1640 at Boston. He died in Braintree August 27, 1695. Nothing is known concerning his wife or wives.

Children; first three born in England; the rest in Braintree:

HAYDEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1. Richard (2), of whom further. 2. Zachariah, died July 29, 1693, probably unmarried. 3. Deborah. 4. Jael, died November 9, 1655. 5. Abigail, born 1651, died August 6, 1717, aged sixty-six. 6. Hannah. 7. Nathan or Nathaniel.

II. Richard (2) Thayer, son of Richard (1) Thayer, was born in Gloucestershire, England, and died in Braintree, Massachusetts, December 4, 1705. He married, December 24, 1651, Dorothy Pray, who died December 11, 1705.

Children, born in Braintree, Massachusetts: 1. Dorothy, born August 30, 1653. 2. Richard, born August 31, 1655; died September 11, 1729; married Rebecca Micall. 3. Nathaniel, of whom further. 4. Abigail, born February 10, 1661. 5. Joannah, born December 13, 1665. 6. Sarah, born December 13, 1667. 7. Cornelius, born September 18, 1670; married in 1694, Abigail Cope.

III. Nathaniel Thayer, son of Richard (2), and Dorothy (Pray) Thayer, born in Braintree, Massachusetts, January 1, 1658, died in Braintree, March 28, 1729. He married May 27, 1679, Hannah Heydon, who survived him.

Children, born in Braintree, Massachusetts: 1. Nathaniel, born in 1680. 2. Richard, born in 1683. 3. Hannah Whitney, born in 1685. 4. Zachariah, of whom further. 5. Ruth, born August 17, 1689. 6. Dorothy, born in 1692, married in 1718, Joseph Ludden. 7. Lydia Heydon, baptized in 1715. 8. Daniel, born in 1695, died in 1799; married June 2, 1718, Elizabeth Thompson.

IV. Zachariah Thayer, son of Nathaniel and Hannah (Heydon) Thayer, was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, March 16, 1687, and died there. He married (first) February 4, 1718, Elizabeth Curtiss, who died in 1734. He married (second) Abigail.

Children, born in Braintree, Massachusetts: By first marriage: 1. Zachariah, born December 26, 1719, died in January, 1812; married in 1738, Lydia Pray. 2. Elizabeth, born April 12, 1721. 3. Amy, born August 1, 1726. By second marriage: 4. Ruhamah, of whom further. 5. Abigail, born June 20, 1739. 6. Abel, born July 28, 1741; settled in Williamsburg, Massachusetts. 7. Joshua, born February 11, 1742; settled in Williamsburg, Massachusetts. 8. Silence, born July 11, 1744, died 1745. 9. Silence, born February 12, 1745. 10. Enoch, born February 8, 1747; settled in Williamsburg, Massachusetts.

V. Ruhamah Thayer, daughter of Zachariah and Abigail



THAYER

HAYDEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Thayer, was born in Braintree, March 4, 1735, and died in Williamsburg, Massachusetts. She, with her three brothers, Abel, Joshua, and Enoch, settled in Williamsburg, 1760-71, few having dared to settle there until after the capture of Quebec in 1759, in the French and Indian War. She married Josiah Hayden. (See Hayden V).

(The Guilford-Gilford Line).

Arms—Or, a saltire between four martlets sable, on a canton gules a pomegranate gold.

Crest—A tree raguly, coupé at the top or, flammant gules.

(Burke's "General Armory.")

The surname Guildford, or Guilford, correctly originated from Guildford, earlier Guldeford, an ancient borough in County Surrey, but perhaps sometimes confounded with Gulleford, a variation of the Anglo-Norman Gullafre.

(The Family in America).

I. Mary Gilford, a widow, was living in Hingham, Massachusetts, about 1650, where she died May 7, 1660. Her husband's name does not appear on the records.

II. John Gilford, son of Mary Gilford, came with his mother, and settled in Hingham, Massachusetts, where he died September 26, 1660. He married Susanna Norton, daughter of William Norton. She died April 8, 1690. Children, born in Hingham, Massachusetts: 1. Susanna, baptized November 2, 1651; married October 18, 1672, Thomas Jewell. 2. Paul, of whom further. 3. Priscilla, born April 22, 1660; died in July, 1660. 4. Samuel, died in the Canada Expedition in 1690.

III. Paul Gilford, son of John, and Susanna (Norton) Gilford, was baptized in Hingham, Massachusetts, August 14, 1653, and died in the Canada Expedition, in April, 1690. He served in King Philip's War, being on the roll of payments August 24, 1675. He married February 20, 1676-77, Susanna Pullen, who died April 8, 1690. Children, born in Hingham, Massachusetts. 1. Mary, born June 20, 1679; married Thomas Curtice of Scituate. 2. Elizabeth, born February 9, 1682-83. 3. Esther, appears in Selectmen's reports, 1710-11. 4. William, of whom further.

IV. William (1) Gilford, son of Paul and Susanna (Pullen) Gilford, was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, in June, 1689, and died in Leicester, Massachusetts. He was taken in childhood to

HAYDEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Scituate, Massachusetts, where he lived until about 1730, when he removed to Leicester, Massachusetts. He married in Scituate, March 7, 1710-11, Elizabeth Rite or Right. Their children were: 1. William (2) of whom further. 2. Susanna, baptized June 2, 1717. 3. Agatha, baptized November 2, 1718. 4. John, baptized April 12, 1725; married, in 1750, Susannah Whitney. 5. Elizabeth, baptized May 16, 1725.

V. *William (2) Gilford*, son of William (1) and Elizabeth (Rite, Right) Gilford, was baptized in Scituate, Massachusetts, June 2, 1717, and died in Williamsburg, Massachusetts. He was among the early settlers of Williamsburg, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, in 1750. He married (first) Jane Thayer, 1739; (second) intentions, March 4, 1759, at Leicester, Jane Parsons of Brookfield, Massachusetts, by whom he had no issue. Children, first five born in Leicester, the rest in Williamsburg: 1. Paul, born March 11, 1740; he had sons: i. Paul, ii. Simeon, iii. Rufus, iv. Silas, 2. Micah or Michael, born March 26, 1742. 3. William, born in September, 1744; had sons Ehazar and John. 4. Noah, born May 23, 1747. 5. Timothy, born September 10, 1749; married Betsey Hayden. 6. Simeon, of whom further. 7. Hephzibah, born in 1753; married Paul Clapp.

VI. *Simeon Guilford* (as this generation spelled the name), son of William and Jane (Thayer) Gilford, was born in Williamsburg, Massachusetts, in November, 1751, and died in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in 1844. He volunteered in March, 1776, in the Massachusetts Army. He enlisted in the Continental line, May 23, 1777; was with men from Captain Oliver Lyman's and Captain Joseph Cooke's companies, the return being sworn to April 8, 1779: who joined Captain Jonathan Allen's Company, Colonel Rufus Putnam's Regiment to serve three years in the Continental Army. Reported to have originally enlisted May 23, 1777; and his pay accounts for service December 23, 1777, to December 31, 1779. He was in Captain Nathan Goodale's Company, in Colonel Putnam's Regiment at Albany, New York, February 9, 1778; also in Captain Whipple's Company of Putnam's Regiment. Pay roll for service July 1, to December 13, 1780; and was in Noah Goodman's list engaged April 18, 1781, aged twenty-eight years; stature, five feet, eight inches, complexion light, hair light, occupation, farmer. In Captain Abel Holden's (later Captain Wottle's) Company, Lieut. Col.



Guilford

HAYDEN AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Calvin Smith's (6th) Regiment, wages allowed from April 18 to December 31, 1781, eight months, thirteen days, and in Captain Mason Wottle's company, wages allowed January-December, 1782, for twelve months. He was discharged December, 1783, as ensign and was once clerk to General Washington. He was in Williamsburg, Massachusetts, in 1790, with his wife and daughter. Simeon Guilford married, Ruhamah Hayden, of Williamsburg, Massachusetts, daughter of Corporal Josiah Hayden and Ruhamah (Thayer) Hayden. (See Hayden V).

Children born in Williamsburg, Massachusetts: 1. Esther, born June 22, 1789, died February 9, 1835; married Theophilus Packard. 2. Joshua, born February 19, 1791; married (first) Mary Hodge; (second) Elizabeth Smith. 3. Electa, born March 19, 1794; married Willard Gay. 4. Ruhamah, of whom further. 5. Simeon, born May 10, 1801; was in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, in 1824. He died there February 16, 1895; married in May, 1830, Catherine Doll.

VII. *Ruhamah Guilford*, daughter of Simeon and Ruhamah (Hayden) Guilford, was born in Williamsburg, October 31, 1798, and died October 20, 1840. She married Joseph Shepard Hayden. (See Hayden VII).

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The American Historical Society, Inc.



ST. PETER IN CHAINS—By Van Dyck

(Courtesy of Father W. D. Pike)

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ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH

(Courtesy of Father W. D. Pike)



AMERICANA

July, 1928



An Aristocratic Small Town

By CHARLES A. COOK, EVANSTON, ILLINOIS



ARDSTOWN, Kentucky, is the aristocrat of United States small towns. Besides having been the home of many men who have taken a foremost part in the history of our country, it is the seat of a number of interesting, not to say unique, things.

The average person will probably recall that France had a king by the name of Louis Philippe sometime during the first half of the nineteenth century. To the person a trifle more familiar with history, it is a known fact that after being in exile for many years, this young Duke of Orleans, Louis, returned to his native land and was made king.

It was while the great Napoleon was ruling France that Louis found it necessary to travel—necessary because all aristocrats were doomed to die should they be caught in France. His travels took him to Cuba, and in Cuba he remained for a time. There was also on the southern isle at this time a young priest, Benedict Joseph Flaget, who, incidentally, was also a Frenchman. And here it was that these two youthful Frenchmen, an exiled noble and a lonesome, hardworking priest, met. A close friendship sprang up between them.

This all, of course, was before the first steamboat had ever made the first trip up the Mississippi. Naturally, then, the only way to come from New Orleans northward would be on a horse. Later on, after Louis had left Cuba, he went to the Louisiana city and visited other places in the south. When his travels led him northward again, he made it a point to come through Bardstown.

Here was one of the outstanding Catholic communities west of the mountains in these early twenties. The oldest church in the west was there; a large school for women, Nazareth; a college for men, St. Joseph's; and many laymen in the church. He became interested in the place and

AN ARISTOCRATIC SMALL TOWN

his interest was more than a passing one, delaying his trip for a time and stopping at the Moses Black Tavern. By all means he must call on the bishop. And the bishop, it seems, was very anxious to receive this royal visitor who was passing through town.

Surprised, to be sure, but glad indeed was Louis when he discovered that the bishop was not an aged old churchman but his friend whom he had left several years before on the island of Cuba. Benedict Joseph Flaget was now Bishop of Bardstown and his diocese embraced all of Kentucky and more.

Most of the people of this country who had seen Louis, appeared to care nothing about a poor French nobleman who could not live in his own country for fear of being killed. But the bishop remembered the days spent with him on Cuba and he did all he could to help the unfortunate Louis. Louis left Bardstown soon and continued on his journey. Years passed. Bishop Flaget worked hard and his church and diocese grew.

Over in France, Charles X did not seem to suit the people as their king. This became more evident when they unseated him and banished him from the country, after the manner of French people and kings that did not suit their fancy. Whereupon Louis Philippe picked up the regal sceptre, sat down on the royal throne, and the people proclaimed him king.

But success did not cause the new king to lose his religion, nor to forget the young priest who had become a bishop and was struggling to spread wide the faith throughout the new country in the west. He had been in need of friends back in those days when he was just another Frenchman who had been exiled from home, and the bishop had befriended him then.

A great bell was cast in one of the finest workshops of Belgium by order of the King of France. Upon its completion it was sent to the bishop across the ocean, to be placed in the tower of the new church which had just been built. Just because of love and friendship, he wrote, he wanted to send this little token. Other gifts followed from the King and Queen of France—rich vestments, golden candle-sticks, a golden tabernacle encribed with the royal crest, and many splendid ornaments. For need it be mentioned now that the king had regained the fabulous wealth he had possessed before his exile.

From his own galleries, Louis selected several of the best paintings, besides securing others of great value. These, too, he begged the bishop to accept. Then came other paintings from Pope Leo XII and Francis I, King of Naples. It was said that these were given after Louis had told



(Courtesy of Father W. D. Pike)

INTERIOR OF ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH

AN ARISTOCRATIC SMALL TOWN

of this wonderful little place on the other side of the mountains over across the ocean.

And soon the walls of the church were adorned with nine works of master artists. "The Crucifixion," by Van Bree hung above the altar. Members of the church today mention with pride that bids running well over a hundred thousand dollars have been made for this canvas alone. "The Crowning of the Blessed Virgin," a beautifully expressive painting by Murillo, "The Winged St. Mark," and "St. John the Baptist," also "St. Peter in Chains," by Van Dyck, the "Descent of the Holy Ghost," and "The Annunciation," by Van Dyck, the "Flaying of St. Bartholomew," by Rubens, and "St. Aloysius Teaching the Youths," by an unknown artist, were hung between the windows on the sides.

And here the group of beautiful canvasses, a recognized great collection, still hangs, while their value has doubled and trebled several times until now they are worth over a million dollars. But that they cannot be bought is well enough known by many connoisseurs of art.

The people of Bardstown wonder, even now, just how it all happened. The story seems, still, almost to be untrue and it has been doubted by some. But then, there is the bell in the steeple, tolling off every hour and half-hour throughout the day and night; and there are the paintings hanging on the walls, now priceless—still remindful of the friendship that existed long ago between an exiled duke of France and a poor priest in Cuba—which continued to exist after the exiled duke was King of France and the poor priest was Bishop of Bardstown.

To further verify the truth of the gifts, or rather of their source, a look into the Congressional records of that day and time, over a hundred years ago, will show that a representative from Kentucky prayed that St. Joseph's Cathedral be exempt from paying duty on certain paintings and a bell, which had been received from France—the gifts of a king.



Phases of Early Oklahoma History*

BY JOSEPH B. THOBURN, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA



THE Beginning of an Indian Territory West of the Mississippi—When the Louisiana country was taken over by the United States, in 1804, all that part lying north of the 33d parallel of latitude, including what is now Oklahoma, was designated as the District of Louisiana and organized as a part of Indiana Territory. The following year, the District of Louisiana was organized as Louisiana Territory with administrative offices at St. Louis. Seven years later, 1812, this territory became Missouri Territory. In 1819, Arkansas Territory was organized south of 36° 30' and included all of Oklahoma, except the Panhandle. In the same year, a treaty was made with Spain establishing the Red River, as far west as the hundredth meridian, as the boundary between Arkansas Territory and the Spanish claims in the Southwest; thus the southern and western boundaries of the present State of Oklahoma were determined.¹

In assuming the administrative control of the Louisiana Purchase, the United States attempted to recognize the rights of the Indians who lived here and who claimed large portions of the country as their respective tribal hunting grounds. Many of these Indian land claims overlapped one another, causing constant trouble and frequent warfare among the tribes. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase, the Osage Indians claimed all of Oklahoma north of the Canadian and all south of that river as far east as the Kiamichi. The claims of the Quapaws south of the Arkansas and the Canadian, extended westward from the southern part of the present State of Arkansas, where they had their permanent villages. In the southeastern part of Oklahoma lived the Caddoes. In the southwestern part of the State, in the vicinity of the Wichita Mountains near the Red River, lived the Wichita Indians. Over the entire western part of Oklahoma roved the Comanches and Kiowas. The Osages were always at war with all of these tribes, except the Quapaws, with whom they were related by ties of a common descent and language, but even these they treated with contempt.

*Mr. Thoburn is the author (assisted by Muriel H. Wright) of "Oklahoma—A History of the State and Its People" soon to appear from the press of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., by whose permission this article is printed from advance sheets.—EDITOR.

¹Treaty with Spain—Debates and Proceedings in the Seventh Congress of the United States, 2d Session, pp. 23-24.

PHASES OF EARLY OKLAHOMA HISTORY

The tide of emigration that began crossing the Alleghany Mountains after the American Revolution, swept into the hunting grounds of the Indians who occupied the region between those mountains and the Mississippi River. As the white settlements increased, game grew scarce, so that, as early as 1785, small bands of Delawares, Shawnees, Cherokees, and Choctaws² began moving west of the Mississippi to live.

In a special, confidential message addressed to Congress, January 18, 1803, President Jefferson suggested the expediency of the removal of certain Indian tribes to the country beyond the Mississippi.³ Less than fifteen months later, an act of Congress, approved March 26, 1804, provided for the division of the recently purchased Louisiana into two territories and appropriated \$15,000,000⁴ for the beginning of the negotiations for such removals, though there were no immediate results.

The Western Cherokees—At this time, the Cherokee people were divided into two well defined groups, commonly known as the Upper Cherokees and the Lower Cherokees, respectively.⁵ The people of the Upper Cherokee division were mostly settled on the Hiwassee and Little Tennessee rivers, in southeastern Tennessee and southwestern North Carolina. They had accepted their governmental annuities quite gener-

²Bands of Choctaws entered upon long journeys west of the Mississippi from time to time to hunt buffaloes. Their appearance on the hunting grounds of the wilder tribes of the trans-Mississippi country, led to armed conflicts with the Comanches, Kiowas, Osages, and Wichitas, who watched the incursions of the Choctaws with jealous eyes. Pushmataha (q. v.) spoke of chasing the Comanches and the Wichitas and of being chased by them in turn during some of his hunting expeditions to the West. Upon one occasion, early in the nineteenth century (about twenty-five years before the main migration of the Choctaws from Mississippi in 1832-33), a band of Choctaws was returning from the buffalo country, laden with the spoils of the chase—"jerked" meat, robes, and tallow—when, to their astonishment they were attacked by a band of Caddoes. Being better armed than their assailants, the Choctaws soon obtained the advantage and began to press them when the Caddoes retreated to their village, which was then attacked and destroyed. The scene of this battle is still pointed out at Caddo Hill, situated about two miles from the town of Caddo, in the northern part of Bryan County. The story of this battle has been handed down entirely by tradition among the Choctaws.

³U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. XVIII, p. 256.

⁴Ibid., Vol. II, p. 289.

⁵The division of the Cherokee tribe into two groups was a permanent one of long standing. Before these came to be known as Upper and Lower Cherokees, they were often called the Overhill and Underhill groups. Originally, there were three of these sub-divisions, namely, the Elati, or Lower, the Middle, and the Atali, or Mountain, and each had its own dialect. The Lower Cherokees were located along the Savannah River, in South Carolina and Georgia. The Middle Cherokees were mostly located in the valley of the Tuskasegee River, in western North Carolina. The Mountain, or Upper Cherokees, occupied the extreme western part of North Carolina, East Tennessee, and adjacent portion of Georgia and Alabama. The Atali, or Mountain, dialect came to be exclusively used in the native literature of the tribe, while the dialect of the Middle Cherokees is still used by the eastern division of the tribe, in North Carolina. The distinctions between these groups largely disappeared as the result of the removal to the West.

⁶James Mooney's "Myths of the Cherokees," 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, pp. 101-02.

PHASES OF EARLY OKLAHOMA HISTORY

ally in the form of agricultural implements, spinning wheels and looms and were chiefly engaged in farming and stock raising. The Lower Cherokee people, on the other hand, included the hostile and irreconcilable elements of the tribe and those which still clung to the more primitive ways of living. Most of these lived in northern Georgia and northeastern Alabama.⁶ There were disputes and misunderstandings between the people of the two divisions as to equitable distribution of annuities and it was even proposed that the Cherokee people should be divided into two tribes, with a permanent boundary line between. Delegations were about to visit Washington for the purpose of asking President Jefferson to adjust these differences, in the summer of 1808, when the Government Indian authorities, realizing the opportune occasion, instructed the tribal agent, Colonel Return J. Meigs, to submit to the Lower Cherokees a proposition to cede their share of the tribal domain for a tract west of the Mississippi of sufficient area to enable them to continue to live as hunters of wild game. This proposition having been approved by the President, an appropriation was made by Congress to defray the expenses of a delegation to be sent beyond the Mississippi for the purpose of visiting and inspecting the lands on the Arkansas and White rivers, in the present State of Arkansas. This visit was made in the summer of 1809 and so favorable were the reports brought back by the members of the delegation that a large number of Cherokee families signified their willingness to remove at once. No funds being available for the purpose of aiding such removals, many individuals and families, the total number of such emigrant Cherokees in the West being estimated at upward of 2,000 in 1817. These emigrant members of the tribe were thenceforth known as the Arkansas, or Western Cherokees.

The Cherokees who had emigrated to the West soon found themselves in trouble. The Osage Indians claimed all of the lands north of the Arkansas River, where most of the Cherokees had settled. The United States refused to confirm them in possession of these lands for the reason that no cession of lands from the Cherokee domain in the East had been made in exchange therefor. On the other hand, the main body of the Cherokee people, whose assent was necessary in order that such a cession of tribal lands should be valid and binding, utterly refused to even consider the proposed cession. It was not until July 8, 1817, that a treaty was signed by representatives of the whole tribe, ceding certain lands in Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama, in return for which a reserva-

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 102.



COL. DANIEL N. MCINTOSH
Creek Chief and Brigade Commander in the Confederate Army



ELIAS BOUDINOT, CHEROKEE INDIAN LEADER

PHASES OF EARLY OKLAHOMA HISTORY

tion was established for the Western Cherokees, between the Arkansas and White rivers, in the present State of Arkansas.⁷

Osage-Cherokee War—When the Western Cherokees had settled in their new home, they were looked on as intruders and were jealously regarded by the Osages⁸ who had claimed the northern part of Arkansas as a portion of their hunting grounds. It was not long before the latter were carrying on depredations of stealing horses and seizing an occasional captive among the Cherokees, who retaliated when they found the Osages determined to provoke trouble, not only acting on the defensive within the limits of the reservation which had been confirmed to them by the Government, but also invading the country of the Osages at times. Thus began a period of petty warfare between the two tribes that continued a number of years.

Many attempts were made to put an end to the trouble between the Osages and the Cherokees during this period. Major William L. Lovely,⁹ agent for the Western Cherokees, persuaded the Osage chiefs to meet him in July, 1816, at the mouth of the Verdigris River in an attempt to bring about peace. Here it was agreed that the Osages would give up the land north of the Arkansas, between that river and a line drawn eastward from the Falls of the Verdigris to the eastern boundary of the Osage country,¹⁰ then in Arkansas, to the United States which, in turn, according to Major Lovely's promises, would pay the Cherokees for the losses

⁷This treaty was concluded at the Cherokee Agency, July 8, 1817, within the Cherokee Nation, east, between Major-General Andrew Jackson; Joseph McMinn, Governor of Tennessee; General David Meriwether, as commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States, and the duly authorized representatives of the Cherokee Nation, east of the Mississippi River, and of the Cherokees of the Arkansas River. John D. Chisholm and James Rogers were the duly authorized deputies of the latter. The treaty provided that emigrants who had improved their lands were to be reimbursed for such improvements. The poorer Indians who had no improvements were to be given a rifle and ammunition and the choice of either a brass kettle or a beaver trap. They were also to be furnished with flatboats and provisions for the westward journey. Kappler's "Laws and Treaties" (Indian Affairs), Vol. II, pp. 140-44.

⁸The Osages had relinquished their lands in what is now the northern part of Arkansas by a treaty concluded at Fort Clark (Fort Osage) on November 10, 1808. This country was Government property at the time of the settlement of the Western Cherokees. Ibid., pp. 95-99.

⁹Major William Lovely was an officer in the Virginia Line of the Continental Army, during the War for American Independence. He had borne an honorable part in the campaign which resulted in the surrender of the British forces commanded by General Burgoyne, at Saratoga. After the close of the Revolution, he moved from Virginia to Tennessee, where he became a friend of the Cherokees. With some of them, he moved from Tennessee to Arkansas, where he settled, first as a trader and, subsequently, became the tribal agent of the Western Cherokees, a position which he still held at the time of his death, several years later.

¹⁰This tract was called "Lovely's Purchase." The western part was established as Lovely County by the State of Arkansas, on October 13, 1827. When the western boundary line of Arkansas was changed by Congress in 1828, Lovely County was abolished.

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they had suffered at the hands of the Osages. However, as this treaty was not ratified by the government, peace was not secured.

In 1817, the Cherokee chiefs complained to General William Clark, who was superintendent of Indian affairs for the country west of the Mississippi, that the Osages were continuing their depredations of horse and cattle stealing and they intended to protect themselves even though they had promised the United States that they would not attack the Osages.¹¹ On the other hand, throughout the whole period of the war there was complaint on the part of the Osages that their people who had been taken captive were not returned by the Cherokees according to promise, thus they continued their attacks against the Cherokees in retaliation.

During 1817, a bloody conflict occurred between the two tribes at Claremore Mound, near the present site of Sageeyah, in Rogers County. Chief Clarmont's village was located about half a mile southwest of this hill. The Osages had recently waylaid and killed a small band of Cherokees, whose fellow tribesmen, in a spirit of revenge, gathered together a large force, including eleven Americans, and came up the Arkansas River to punish the Osages. Forgetting they laid claims to civilization, the Cherokees¹² fell upon the decrepit old Osage men and the women and children left at the village by the warriors, who had gone on an expedition, and killed about ninety, taking the rest as prisoners to Arkansas. During the scene of outrage and bloodshed the Americans who accompanied the attacking party "acted a conspicuous and shameful part."¹³

The results of the Battle of Claremore Mound called for interference on the part of the Government authorities. During October of 1818, a council in which the leading men of both the Western Cherokees and the Osages participated was convened at St. Louis upon the urgent insistence of General Clark. This was not the end of the trouble between the two tribes, however, and Governor James Miller,¹⁴ of Arkansas, took the

¹¹Grant Foreman, "Three Forks of the Arkansas," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. I, p. 41.

¹²The Osages were armed only with bows and arrows and smooth-bore muskets. The Cherokees, on the other hand, were not only armed with rifles but were also skilled in the use of the same. The advantage as to position was wholly on the side of the Osages, who had retreated to the limestone hill known as Claremore Mound, but the Cherokees, in addition to being better armed, were also animated by a spirit of revenge. So accurate was their marksmanship and so impetuous were their charges that they gained a foothold on top of the hill and completely overcame the Osages.

¹³Thomas Nuttall, "Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory," pp. 135-36. Also Edwin James, "An Expedition to the Rocky Mountains," pp. 269-70.

¹⁴James Miller was born at Peterboro, N. H., in 1776. He was engaged in the practice of law before he entered the United States Army in 1808, being commissioned as major. In 1810 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and in 1812 to the

PHASES OF EARLY OKLAHOMA HISTORY

initiative in the effort to a second peace council at Fort Smith, in September, 1820,¹⁵ which was unsuccessful.

In the late spring of 1821, Chief Clarmont sent a messenger to Chief Webber¹⁶ of the Cherokees, asking for peace and saying that he did not wish to injure the white people since there were too many among them for the two nations to be at war. However, he added, if the Cherokees saw fit to carry on the war, he did not beg for peace, but, on the other hand, he could immediately send fifteen hundred warriors into the Cherokee country and continue to fight with vigor.¹⁷ In June, the murder of Joseph Revard, the French-Osage manager of Colonel Chouteau's establishment by a band of Cherokees who had attacked Revard, even though he had greeted them as friends,¹⁸ greatly incensed the Osages, who continued the war, making it unsafe for all who lived in this country.

About the middle of November, an invading band of 400 Cherokees passed through the country on the way toward the Osage villages. Again most of the Osage warriors were away on a raiding expedition against some Indians of the plains; a few warriors who remained at the village vainly tried to hold off the overwhelmingly superior force of Cherokees until the women and children could escape, but were powerless to do so. Those of the Osages who managed to escape were pursued and killed, about a hundred victims—old men, women and children—were thought to have perished; in addition this band of Osages lost all their horses and other possessions.¹⁹

The Government authorities, both civil and military, now exerted themselves to the utmost in the endeavor to bring about a peace agreement between the two tribes. Captain Nathaniel Pryor, who lived among the Osages and had great influence with them, finally persuaded the lead-

rank of colonel for gallantry at Brownston. At the Battle of Lundy's Lane, July 25, 1814, when General Scott asked him to take the British battery, Colonel Miller replied: "I'll try, sir." For his successful charge made at this time, he was presented with a gold medal and promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. He was made Governor of Arkansas Territory in March, 1819. He resigned this position in 1825, and became collector at the port of Salem. He died in 1851.

¹⁵Edwin James, "An Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, Etc.," p. 271.

¹⁶Walter Webber was a trader as well as a chief of the Western Cherokees. He lived on the north side of the Arkansas River, opposite the present site of Dardanell, Arkansas. Nuttall wrote that he "lives in ease and affluence, possessing a decently furnished and well provided house, several negro slaves, a large, well cleared, and well fenced farm; and both himself and his nephew read, write, and speak English." Thomas Nuttall, "Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory," p. 129. Some years later Webber settled at the Falls of the Arkansas which became known as Webber's Falls. This was a thriving trading center from the time of the settlement of the Western Cherokees, in 1828.

¹⁷Journal of the Union Mission, entry of May 17, 1821.

¹⁸Ibid., entries of June 24-26, 1821.

¹⁹Ibid., entry of December 3, 1821.

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ers that it was to the best interest of all to stop the war. Mr. Philbrook, tribal subagent of the Osages on the Arkansas, proceeded to the Cherokee country, in Arkansas, with a peace proposal from the chiefs and head men of the Osages. He was gone from December until April, during which time there was much anxiety among the Osage people, many of whose relatives had been carried into captivity. With further counsel on the part of Major Bradford, the commandant at Fort Smith, and Governor Miller, of Arkansas, the Western Cherokees and the Osages signed a treaty of peace on August 9, 1822, at Fort Smith,²⁰ though there never was a brotherly feeling between the two tribes.

First Land Purchases in Oklahoma—The first land purchased by the Government in Oklahoma was secured from the Quapaws by a treaty signed at St. Louis, August 24, 1818. General William Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs for the region west of the Mississippi, and Auguste Chouteau acted as commissioners for the United States. All the land in Oklahoma that is bounded on the north by the Arkansas and Canadian rivers and on the south by the Red River was relinquished by the Quapaws at this time.²¹

On September 25, 1818, the Osages, also, signed a treaty at St. Louis, in which they gave up lands that included that part of Oklahoma which lies north of the Arkansas River and south of a line drawn from the Falls of the Verdigris northeast to a point about where the Illinois River crosses the Arkansas boundary. On June 2, 1825, another treaty was signed by the Osages with General Clark as commissioner for the Government. At this time the Osages relinquished all the rest of their claims to lands that are now included in Oklahoma.²²

First Land Cessions Made to Other Indian Tribes—The purchase of Oklahoma lands by the Government from the Osages and Quapaws made it possible to assign reservations of generous proportions to other Indian tribes living east of the Mississippi River. The first cession out of this land was made by the United States to the Choctaws of Mississippi, under the terms of a treaty signed at Doak's Stand on the Natchez Trace in Mississippi, October 20, 1820.²³ This treaty was signed by one hundred

²⁰Ibid., entry of August 13, 1821. Also, Edwin James, "An Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, Etc.," p. 271. Throughout the war instances are given where Osage women upon being taken captive by the Cherokees, adopted the customs and married into that tribe. When they were later about to be sent back to their former kinsmen, they were stricken with grief at leaving their adopted nation.

²¹Treaty with the Quapaw, Kappler's "Laws and Treaties" (Indian Affairs), Vol. II, pp. 160-61.

²²Treaty with the Osage, Ibid., pp. 217-18.

²³Treaty with the Choctaw, Ibid., p. 192.



GOVERNOR MONTFORT STOKES

Agent for the Cherokees, only Veteran of the American Revolution
to be Buried in the Soil of Oklahoma, 1760-1842



JOHN ROSS

Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, 1828-66

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chiefs and head men of the Choctaw Nation, besides the three noted chiefs Pushmataha, Mosholatubbee, and Apuckshennubbee; the Government commission consisted of General Andrew Jackson and General Thomas Hinds.

General Jackson opened the council, preliminary to making the treaty, by stating the desires of the Government, with reference to its policy of removing the Indians to the country west of the Mississippi, and the benefits which would be gained by the Choctaws by entering into such an agreement with its representatives. Pushmataha, who was chosen as the spokesman of the Choctaws, succeeded in driving a bargain with General Jackson, decidedly to the advantage of the Choctaws.²⁴ Under the terms of the treaty they were assigned all that part of Oklahoma lying between the Canadian and Red rivers, in which region²⁵ those

²⁴General Jackson enlarged upon the vastness and fertility and the wonderful resources of the new land which the President wished the Choctaws to accept in exchange for a "little slip" of their country in Mississippi. In conclusion he asked what the Choctaws had to say in reply to the offer. Pushmataha, who had served with Jackson in the war with the Creek Indians, arose to reply. He told his people that the President had selected two of the greatest war chiefs to represent him in this council with the Choctaws. He then said that the proposition submitted by the commissioners was worthy of serious consideration and a respectful reply, and he therefore moved that the council adjourn until the middle of the following day. That night the Choctaw leaders gathered for consultation concerning the proposition which had been submitted to them. When the council with the commissioners was reconvened at noon the next day, Pushmataha was again the spokesman for the Choctaws. In his address to the commissioners, while adroitly disclaiming the possession of ability or wisdom, he delivered a masterly reply to the proposition which had been submitted to the Choctaws and delicately yet definitely hinting that the fine speech of General Jackson was not altogether free from misrepresentation. The general, who was always impulsive, controlled his temper, but insisted that Pushmataha should explain his words or he (Jackson) would quit the council. This, Pushmataha then proceeded to do. He demonstrated that the "little slip" of the Choctaw lands in Mississippi which the commissioners wished to trade for was in reality a large tract and was more valuable than the proposed reservation in the West which they wished the Choctaws to accept in exchange. He not only showed that he had accurate, personal knowledge of the proposed new reservation, because he had hunted over most of it, but he also proved that General Jackson was ignorant of the geography of that region. When Jackson produced a map, Pushmataha examined it carefully and then proceeded to explain wherein the map was wrong, namely, the Red River did not head as far west as the Canadian. He also asked the commissioners if they proposed to sell with the new reservation the white people who were already living within its limits. After such a display of knowledge and ability, the commissioners on the part of the Government were willing to consider such terms as the Indians might have to submit in addition to what was being offered by the Government. Pushmataha briefly and explicitly presented these as follows: "1st. That the United States furnish each of those who chose to go to the new country a good rifle, bullet mould, camp-kettle, one blanket and powder and lead to last one year. Also corn for one year. 2d. Out of the land to be swapped, fifty-four sections of a mile square shall be surveyed and sold to the best bidder by the United States, for the purpose of raising a fund to support Choctaw schools. 3d. The United States to pay for the military services of all the Choctaw warriors during the campaign at Pensacola. 4th. Payment to all having good houses and residing on the ceded territory." Cushman, "A History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians," pp. 121-29.

²⁵The bounds of this reservation were described as follows: "Beginning on the Arkansas River where the lower Boundary of the Cherokees strikes the same; thence up the Arkansas to the Canadian Fork, and up the same to its source; thence due south

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members of the tribe who so desired might settle. Few Choctaws came to live in Oklahoma until the migration of the whole tribe more than ten years later, however. Since they were cognizant of the benefits received as a result of Pushmataha's diplomacy and far-sighted policy in treating with the Government commissioners in 1820, the Choctaws named one of their three tribal districts in his honor, and, in more recent times, an Oklahoma county, which was formed from a part of the domain of the Choctaw Nation, west, was also christened in his honor.

In December, 1824, a delegation of Choctaws²⁶ visited Washington for the purpose of making another treaty. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun carried on the negotiations on behalf of the Government. It was concluded and signed January 20, 1825. In accordance with its stipulations the Choctaws retroceded and relinquished all claims to that part of the new reservation lying east of a line beginning one hundred paces east of Fort Smith and running due south to the Red River. Provisions previously made for the education of the Choctaw youth were practically doubled by this treaty.

In a communication to the Senate in 1825, President James Monroe recommended that provision be made for reserving a tract of sufficient size, west of Missouri and Arkansas, where various Indian tribes living east of the Mississippi might be colonized.²⁷ Accordingly, with this end in view, the Government continued to negotiate treaties with the Indians for their permanent removal.

On February 12, 1825, the Creeks entered into a treaty with the United States, at Indian Springs, Georgia, by the terms of which a large

to the Red River; thence down Red River three miles below the mouth of Little River, which empties itself in the Red River on the north side; thence by a direct line to the beginning." It thus appears that the new Choctaw reservation, as first described by the metes and bounds, included a considerable portion of southwestern Arkansas.

²⁶Pushmataha was a member of the delegation of Choctaws who went to Washington to negotiate this treaty. Shortly after his arrival he visited General Lafayette, who was then making his farewell visit to this country. Pushmataha was taken suddenly ill and his death followed within twenty-four hours. He was sixty years old at the time of his death. Nothing is known of his parentage. He distinguished himself as a warrior, when less than twenty years old, while a band of his people were engaged in war with the Osages west of the Mississippi. Eventually he reached the position of a chieftain of the first rank through sheer force of character and ability. According to his own statements, he had seen much of the country west of the Mississippi, as a hunter as well as a warrior. His influence and example, more than that of any other man, had held the Choctaws true to their friendship with the United States when Tecumseh tried to tempt them into an alliance with Great Britain, and he rendered valiant and valuable service in the war which followed, becoming popularly known as "The Indian General." Before he died he asked that his body should be buried with military honors and 2,000 people marched in the funeral cortege which followed his remains to the Congressional Cemetery, at Washington, where a monument was afterward erected over his grave.

²⁷"Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America," Vol. VII, p. 312.

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tract of Creek lands in Georgia were ceded to the United States for an area of country of equal size between the Arkansas and Canadian rivers.²⁸ This treaty was signed by William McIntosh,²⁹ Chief of the Lower Creeks and his friends, but was utterly repudiated by the Upper Creeks. The following year, a delegation headed by Opothleyahola and John Stidham went to Washington, and, after deliberating in council with James Barbour, Secretary of War, succeeded in making a new treaty with the Government, January 24, 1826, that abrogated the treaty of Indian Springs. Under the terms of the new treaty, the Creeks sold all their lands in Georgia for a stipulated sum and those Creeks who wished to move west were given permission to settle between the Arkansas and Canadian rivers. Most of the members of the tribe belonging to the McIntosh party came to Oklahoma a few months afterward.

With the organization of the Territory of Arkansas, in 1819, the increasing number of white settlers pressed the Government for the removal of the Arkansas Cherokees still farther west, even though their land had been confirmed to that part of the tribe by the treaty of 1817. As a result of a council held between their chiefs and Secretary of War Barbour, a treaty was signed, May 6, 1828, which provided that the

²⁸Kappler's "Laws and Treaties" (Indian Affairs), Vol. II, pp. 214-15.

²⁹William McIntosh was born at Coweta, Georgia, in 1775. His father was William McIntosh, a Scotchman, who was a British officer and was also engaged in trading among the Indians. His mother was a woman of the Creek tribe. By his talent and address he became recognized as one of the leading chiefs of the Creek Nation. During the War of 1812 his influence was effectively used in behalf of the former. He recruited a strong force of Lower Creeks which cooperated with the American forces in the campaigns against the Upper Creeks, who sided with the British, and he distinguished himself in the battles of Atasi and Horseshoe Bend. He was accused of venality in his willingness to sign away the Creek lands in Georgia in exchange for a new reservation in the Indian Territory, despite drastic tribal law to the contrary. When the chiefs of the Upper Creeks refused to sign the treaty at Indian Springs, Opothleyahola, addressing the commissioners, said: "We told you we had no land to sell. The chiefs have no right to treat. General McIntosh knows our laws. We have no lands to sell. I shall go home." In spite of this implied threat, the commissioners assured McIntosh that the Creek Nation would be sufficiently represented if he and his immediate followers signed the treaty, and they also promised him that he would be protected if he did so. On his own part, he justified his action with an argument that was logical and statesmanlike. He said: "The white man is growing. He wants our lands; he will buy them now. By and by he will take them and the little band of our people, poor and despised, will be left to wander without homes and be beaten like dogs. We will go to a new home and learn like the white man, to till the earth, grow cattle and depend on these for food and life. This knowledge makes the white man like the leaves; the want of it makes the red man few and weak. Let us learn to make books as the white man does and we shall grow again and become a great nation." McIntosh had been assured by the Government commissioners that he would be protected from any violent consequences if he would sign the treaty. When he realized that his life was in danger, he went to Milledgeville, where he hoped to be safe from attack. A few days later (April 29, 1825), the house in which he was staying was surrounded by a hundred Creek warriors of the faction opposed to removal. The white men were ordered to leave, the house was then set on fire, and McIntosh was shot down when he attempted to leave the building.

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Cherokees should relinquish their holdings in Arkansas and receive a new reservation of seven million acres, located west of Arkansas and north of the Arkansas River. In addition, the United States guaranteed the tribe "a perpetual outlet, west, and a free and unmolested use of all the country lying west of the western boundary of the above-described limits . . ." It was further agreed that all those members of the Cherokee tribe yet living east of the Mississippi, who might wish to move west, should be granted the right to move to the new country.

This treaty likewise defined the present boundary of Arkansas.³⁰ The Cherokees agreed to move west of a line drawn from the southwestern corner of Missouri³¹ to the point where the eastern boundary of the Choctaw country struck the Arkansas River. The eastern boundary of the Choctaw country had been defined in the treaty with that tribe in 1825, as "a line beginning on the Arkansas, one hundred paces east of Fort Smith, and running thence due south to Red River."

With the cession of land to the Choctaws, Creeks and Cherokees confirmed by treaty, the country that had been purchased from the Quapaws and the Osages remained Indian lands and the preliminary steps for moving all the civilized tribes who lived east of the Mississippi had been made by the Government.

First American Trading Expeditions Across Oklahoma—Until Captain Zebulon M. Pike's published report of his expedition to the headwaters of the Arkansas and the Rio Grande, in 1806-07, few actual facts concerning Mexico were known, except vague reports of the unbounded wealth of the Mexican gold mines. Therefore the account of Pike's tour was read with great interest by the Americans, and proved an incentive to a number of trading expeditions across the plains to New Mexico, the first steps in an enterprise which in time attained vast proportions over the famous Santa Fé Trail. A part of these early expeditions have their place in Oklahoma history, since they crossed the State and were accompanied by some of the traders from the Forks of the Arkansas.

The first American trading expedition to Mexico was undertaken in 1812, by Baird, Chambers, and McKnight, of St. Louis, and followed Pike's route across what is now Kansas and Colorado. When they reached Santa Fé, the Mexican officials seized them for entering the country without passports and held them prisoners for nine years.¹ Like-

³⁰Kappler's "Laws and Treaties" (Indian Affairs), p. 288.

³¹The southwestern corner of Missouri was at the point of intersection of a meridian line drawn through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas River and the parallel of 36° 30'. Gittinger, "Formation of the State of Oklahoma," p. 2.

¹Josiah Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies," Vol. I, p. 19.



GRASS-THATCHED HUT OR LODGE OF THE WICHITA INDIANS, CADDO COUNTY, OKLAHOMA



WAGON-TRAIN AT CALDWELL, KANSAS, READY TO START DOWN THE CHISHOLM TRAIL TO DARLINGTON AND FORT RENO

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wise a second expedition undertaken by Colonel Auguste P. Chouteau and Jules De Mun of St. Louis, in 1815, also proved unsuccessful, as they, too, were imprisoned for a time and their goods confiscated.² However, in 1821, two of Baird's party escaped—one of whom was Peter Baum³—and made their way to the headwaters of the Canadian, finally arriving at the mouth of the Verdigris in a canoe. Upon hearing their glowing accounts of Santa Fé, Colonel Hugh Glenn and Captain Nathaniel Pryor, along with other parties who lived in the vicinity of the Forks of the Arkansas, determined to undertake an expedition to that settlement.⁴

First Expedition of Thomas James—Peter Baum and his companion at last reached St. Louis, where they gave John McKnight,⁵ a trader of that city, news concerning his brother, Robert, who was yet in New Mexico. Wishing to go in search of his brother, John McKnight joined an American trading expedition⁶ to Santa Fé, which set out in May, 1821, under the command of General Thomas James.⁷ Since many people of that time thought the Canadian, the North Canadian, and the Cimarron navigable streams, James and his men descended the Mississippi and continued up the Arkansas in the hope of ascending the Cimarron, with their goods loaded in a keel-boat, thinking they could thus travel to the vicinity of Taos, New Mexico.

When James arrived at Little Rock, he procured a license to trade with all the Indian tribes on the Arkansas and its tributaries, from Secre-

²Missouri Historical Society Publication, Thomas James' "Three Years Among the Mexicans and Indians," Appendix, p. 258.

³Ibid., pp. 95-106. Also Appendix, pp. 292-93.

⁴Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies," Vol. I, p. 20.

⁵John McKnight was one of the firm of McKnight & Brady, of St. Louis, who built up the largest mercantile business in that city. James' "Three Years Among the Mexicans and Indians," footnote sketch, pp. 94-95.

⁶The party consisted of General Thomas James, John McKnight, John G. James, David Kirker, William Shearer, Alexander Howard, Benjamin Potter, John Ivy, and François Maesaw, a Spaniard. Ibid., p. 98.

⁷Thomas James was born in Maryland in 1782. His family moved West in 1803, and finally located at Florissant, Missouri, in 1807. He accompanied the party of the Missouri Fur Company which contracted with Governor Lewis to conduct the Mandan chief, Shehaka, to his home on the Upper Missouri, in 1809. Upon his return in 1813, he freighted goods in a keel-boat, from Pittsburgh to St. Louis, making large profits in the business. In 1815, he entered partnership with McKnight & Brady, of St. Louis, and opened a small store in Harrisonville, Illinois. In 1818, he bought his goods for cash in Baltimore, but on account of delay in their delivery faced bankruptcy in 1819-20. From 1821-24, he was engaged in his expeditions to the Southwest, including Oklahoma. After his return, he engaged in the milling business in Monroe County, Illinois. In 1825, he was elected general in the Illinois militia, and to the Legislature of that State. He served in the Black Hawk War as a major. The story of his experiences among the Mexicans and Indians was written from his dictation by Judge Nathaniel Niles, of Belleville, Illinois, in the early 'forties. However, the book was suppressed on account of its open accusations of certain prominent citizens of St. Louis, General James being a man of bitter prejudices; it was edited and republished by the Missouri Historical Society in 1916. General James died at Monroe City, Illinois, in 1847.

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tary Charles Crittenden, of Arkansas Territory. Continuing up the Arkansas he stopped at Fort Smith, where he was entertained for a few days by Major Bradford. He traveled on up the river, passing the Grand and the Verdigris and arriving at the Cimarron. Some miles farther west along the Cimarron, low water, along with sand bars and brushy banks, gave James a different idea of the course that lay before him to New Mexico, so he decided to cache his heavy goods, such as flour, whiskey, lead, and other hardware, to abandon his keel-boat, and travel overland with horses to Taos. Since he was now in the country of the Osages, he remained a short time to trade and procure horses from these Indians. Here he was visited by Captain Pryor and some Osages, with whom he returned to the Osage village on the Verdigris. While at the village, he met Colonel Hugh Glenn and his party of twenty men on their way to Mexico; he suggested that the two parties travel together to Santa Fé, a proposal that did not meet with Colonel Glenn's approval.

Loading his horses with the lighter goods of his cargo, James and his companions proceeded along the Cimarron and one of its branches, west to the "Shining Mountains," a low range of gypsum hills, now called the "Glass Mountains," located in Major County.⁸ Within a few days, they met some warlike Comanches to whom James was forced to give about three thousand dollars worth of goods, in order to gain their good-will, since the Indians thought they were spies of the Osages, from the fact that their horses were equipped with Osage saddles and bridles. Upon receiving the gifts, one of the Comanche chiefs proved very friendly, and left a Mexican Indian with James and his men, who would act as an interpreter and a guide for the rest of the way. Near the western border of Major County the party struck out for the North Fork of the Canadian, entering Santa Fé on the 1st day of December, 1821, after many days travel through western Oklahoma,⁹ the Texas Panhandle, and New Mexico.

The Glenn and Fowler Expedition—In the meantime Colonel Hugh Glenn, Jacob Fowler,¹⁰ and others from the region of the Grand and the

⁸James and his men were amazed at the vast amount of salt found in this region, breaking off large pieces from the banks of the river with their tomahawks. He remarked, "Here, and in the Salt River (Cimarron) was enough of this valuable mineral to supply the world for an indefinite period." James' "Three Years Among the Mexicans and Indians," p. 112.

⁹In crossing the country between the Cimarron and the North Canadian, the party suffered for want of water. James said, "McKnight and I went forward to find water and killed a buffalo. We drank large draughts of the blood of this animal, which I recollect tasted like milk." Ibid., p. 117.

¹⁰Major Jacob Fowler was born in New York in 1765. As a young man he settled in Kentucky, fully equipped as a surveyor. He married a French woman of great

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Verdigris rivers, had continued on their expedition¹¹ to New Mexico, ascending the Verdigris to the mouth of Caney Creek, in Rogers County. Following this creek across Washington County, to its upper sources, they took a due west course through the northern part of Osage County, reaching the Arkansas River near where it crosses the northern border of Oklahoma. The rest of their route to Santa Fé led them through Kansas and Colorado.

On June 1, 1822, James' party and that of Glenn and Fowler set out together from Santa Fé for the return trip to St. Louis. Within two weeks, a misunderstanding having arisen between them, the two parties separated to pursue different routes through Kansas.¹² Such was the ill feeling that, a few days later, when James saw a company of men wearing hats at some distance down the Arkansas River, he remarked in his memoirs, "Supposing it to be Glenn's company, I passed on without hailing them," and that in a country where there were only Indians and wild game! Afterward James learned that this had been the party under the leadership of Captain William Becknell bound for New Mexico.

Second Expedition of Thomas James—In the fall of 1822, General Thomas James set out upon a second expedition for trading with the Comanches, in Oklahoma, John McKnight, Robert McKnight, and twenty other men accompanying him. James had promised the Comanches that he would return to trade with them; at the same time he also hoped to recover damages for the losses he had sustained at their hands the year before. He and his men ascended the Canadian River early in the spring of 1823,¹³ transporting their goods in a keel-boat. At the mouth of the North Canadian, they turned into the channel of that stream, continuing to a falls, probably Keokuk Falls, in what is now Pottawat-

beauty and accomplishment, who often accompanied him on his surveying expeditions and also helped him in his business affairs at Covington. His journal of the Glenn expedition to New Mexico, entitled "memorandum of the voige by land from fort Smith to the Rocky mountains," is a curious and interesting contribution to the historical literature of the Southwest, concerning early American trading expeditions, of which there are few original records.

¹¹Coues, "Journal of Jacob Fowler."

¹²Fowler wrote, "Friday, 21st June, 1822—We seen James and partey this day a great distance to our Right makeing down the (Arkansas) River." Ibid., p. 161. James spoke of Glenn's departure, saying, "Glenn now pushed on in a trot and soon went out of my sight where he remained from that day to this." James' "Three Years Among the Mexicans and Indians," p. 174.

¹³John McKnight, James, and a few of the men drove the horses, belonging to the party, overland through the present counties of Muskogee and McIntosh. Here they found elk, deer, buffalo, wild turkey, and bear plentiful. Twenty black bears were killed within a few days, all having been found in hollow trees, where they had slept through the winter. James especially mentions the "very fertile and beautiful country, which in a few years will teem with a dense population. The prairies are interspersed with valuable woodland, and will make as fine a farming country as any in the Union." Ibid., pp. 193-94.

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omie County. Further progress with the keel-boat being hindered, the heaviest hardware was cached, and the rest loaded into three pirogues and on the horses which were driven up the course of the river, along its banks.

Somewhere on the North Canadian, between the present sites of El Reno and Oklahoma City, James began a stockade trading post.¹⁴ In the meantime, John McKnight set out to find the Comanches that he might induce them to come in to trade, but he never returned. James mourned deeply for the loss of his friend who, he afterward learned, had been killed by the Indians.

As James "wished to get into the heart of the Comanche country," an opportunity for proceeding farther up the North Canadian soon presented itself with a rise in the river. After reloading the pirogues and the horses, the party traveled a hundred miles farther up the river where a more substantial fort was completed, in what is now Blaine County, Oklahoma. The fort consisted of a log trading house surrounded by a stockade and defended by a swivel gun which was mounted in one corner of the inclosure.

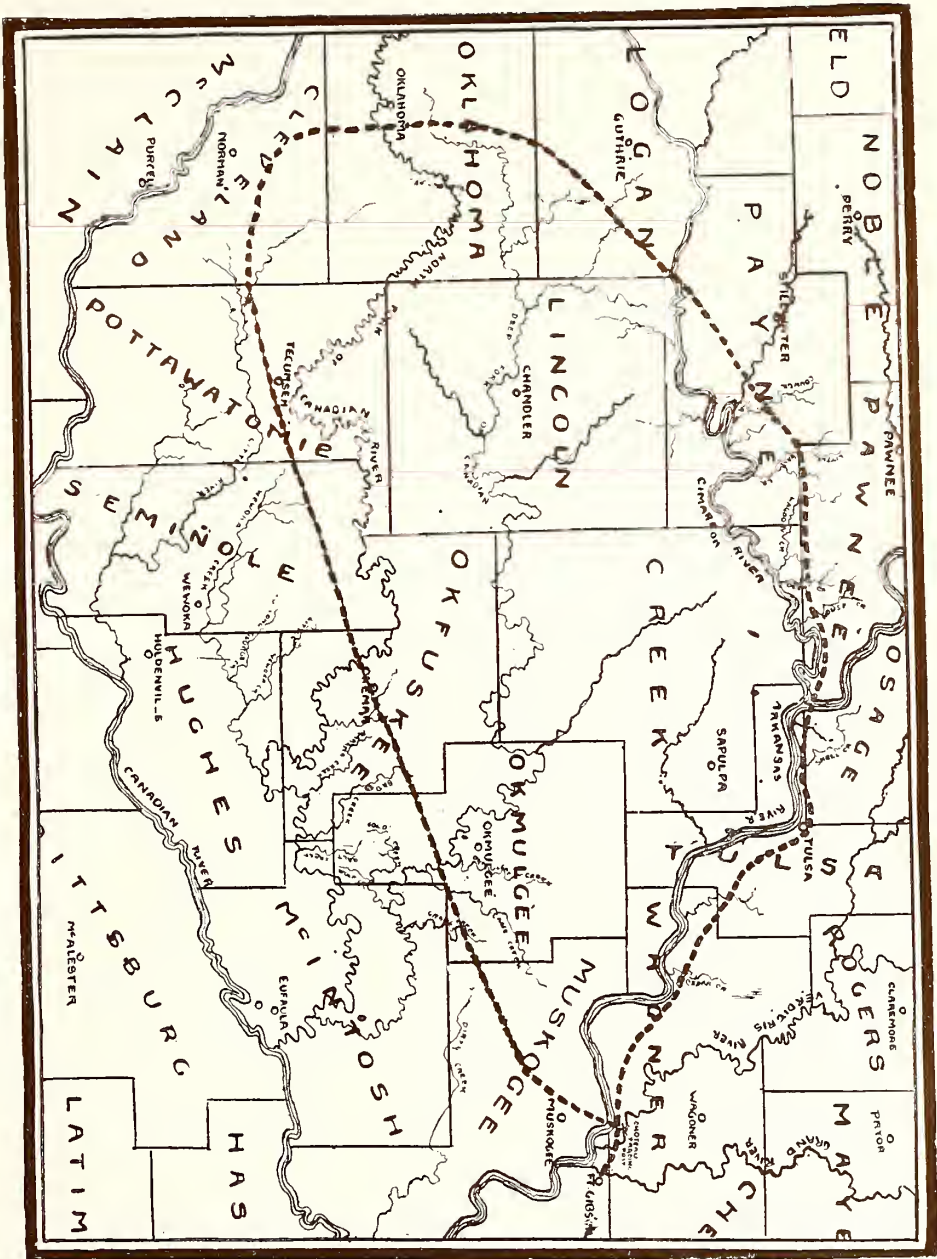
At this point a profitable trade was carried on with the Indians. The men traded their horses and buffalo robes; the women, also, brought in buffalo robes and beaver skins. Though the strips of cloth, knives, tobacco looking glasses, and other small articles of the traders seemed paltry compared to the furs and robes they secured in exchange, yet they had brought these articles to the plains at the risk of their lives, while the Indians procured what was valuable to them.¹⁵

Within a few weeks, hearing that the Osages were approaching, the Comanches began to move camp in order to prepare to defend themselves in case of an attack. As they¹⁶ left they expressed themselves as wanting to trade with the Americans, since they did not like the Spaniards, but nearly a dozen years passed before the United States made

¹⁴Gregg called this place "Spring Valley." He stated that this place was about eighty miles from Camp Holmes, which would locate it in the immediate vicinity of Oklahoma City.—"Commerce of the Prairies," Vol. II, p. 23.

¹⁵James wrote, "They (the Indians) claimed twelve articles for a horse. I made four yards of strouding wool cloth at \$5.50 per yard and two yards of calico at 62½ cents count three, and a knife, flint, tobacco, looking-glass, and other small articles made up the complement." In trading for skins, he said, "One plug of tobacco, a knife, and a few strings of beads, in all worth little more than a dime, bought one of these valuable skins or robes, worth at least five dollars in any of the States."—"Three Years Among the Mexicans and Indians," pp. 202-17.

¹⁶The Comanches complained that their enemies, the Osages, bought ammunition and guns from the Americans; they thought it unfair, since they did not have this chance, to protect themselves against the Osages, who were thus better armed. *Ibid.*, p. 225.



MAP SHOWING ROUTE FOLLOWED BY THE IRVING PARTY ON ITS TOUR OF
PLAINTS IN THE AUTUMN OF 1832

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efforts to establish any sort of relations with these Indians of the Plains in western Oklahoma.

James and his men at last took leave of the Comanche country, loaded the skins and furs in pirogues to begin their return down the North Canadian. The three hundred and twenty-five horses and mules were driven overland to meet the pirogues at the mouth of the river, but misfortune overtook them, for the greater part were lost either in stampedes or by disease, the rest being rendered worthless by the hard trip and the bites of myriads of horse-flies.

Being eager to return to his home in the North, James left all his goods and most of his remaining horses in the hands of a former friend of John McKnight, who lived at the mouth of the Illinois River. Since James did not return to this country to attend to his business, he lost all his profits and was deeply in debt from his second trading expedition. However, the account of his expedition to the plains remains among the few written records of the first trading ventures between the Americans and the Comanches of Oklahoma.

The Santa Fé Trail—The expedition of Captain William Becknell, whose party had been sighted by General Thomas James returning from his trading venture to New Mexico, was an important one in the history of Oklahoma. Captain Becknell set out for Santa Fé in May, 1822,¹⁷ from Boone's Lick neighborhood, Missouri, with a party of twenty-one men and three wagons. Wishing to avoid the circuitous course of the Arkansas River as he traveled west, he crossed that river at the Caches,¹⁸ continuing west of south to the Cimarron River,¹⁹ afterward crossing what is now the Panhandle of Oklahoma. His expedition was a memorable one as his wagons were the first used in the trade between Missouri

¹⁷Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies," Vol. I, p. 21. James, "Three Years Among the Mexicans and Indians," footnotes, pp. 96-175.

¹⁸The Caches were located on the north side of the Arkansas River, a few miles west of the point where the hundredth meridian crossed the river, in the present State of Kansas. Baird and Chambers, on their second trading expedition to Santa Fé, were forced to winter here in 1822. Having lost most of their pack animals during the severe weather, they cached or buried nearly all their heavy merchandize in the vicinity, hence the name "Caches." Gregg, Vol. I, p. 67. Traders to Santa Fé usually crossed the Arkansas at the sites of the present towns of Ingalls and Cimarron, Kansas; these were known as the Upper and Lower crossings, respectively. The Lower Crossing was about twenty miles above the Caches. The two roads converged near the present site of Ulysses, Grant County, Kansas, and from thence continued toward the Cimarron River. Gregg, Vol. I, p. 311. Coues, "Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike," Vol. II, footnote, p. 439.

¹⁹Before reaching the Cimarron River, the party nearly perished from thirst. Some of the men, having been fortunate enough to secure water from the paunch of a buffalo they had killed, managed to make their way to the river. Dipping up a supply of water in canteens, they hurried back to their dying companions, who had been reduced to sucking the blood of their dogs and horses. Gregg, Vol. I, pp. 23-24.

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and Santa Fé, and marked the beginning of that part of the Santa Fé Trail which traversed Oklahoma.

The Santa Fé Trail²⁰ was officially marked by the United States Government, in 1825, by a series of raised mounds²¹ as far west as the Arkansas River, to a point just below Great Bend. The trail then followed the course of the Arkansas to the Caches, where it diverged over several different routes, the shortest one being approximately that of Captain Becknell. This route led west of south to the valley of the Cimarron, and from thence southwest across the corner of Colorado into Oklahoma. It passed through Cimarron County, following the divide between the Cimarron River and the Beaver or Corrupaugh, and leaving the State near the valley of the last mentioned stream. The eastern terminus of the Santa Fé Trail was originally at Fort Osage, on the south bank of the Missouri River; about thirty miles below the mouth of the Kansas River; it was soon changed to Westport, which is now a part of Kansas City. The western terminus of the Trail was at Taos, but from the first all trading caravans went on to Santa Fé.

This highway became an important factor in the development of the West and Southwest. Over it were transported manufactured goods and supplies for the trading posts of the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains, as well as to the Mexican settlements in the valleys of the Pecos and the Rio Grande. On the return trip, bales of wool, bars of silver, furs, robes, and hides were hauled to the Missouri River. The large freight wagons, known as Conestoga wagons, were built at Pittsburgh especially for the overland traffic. They were usually drawn by eight oxen or mules. The traders generally traveled in companies of considerable size for the sake of mutual protection, military escorts being seldom furnished by the Government prior to the Mexican War. The menace from the marauding charges of Indians of the plains tribes was ever present, as were the possibilities of attack by bands of renegade white men. Several battles were fought between the Indians and the freighters and traders along the Santa Fé Trail in Oklahoma.

The traces of the Santa Fé Trail in Cimarron County have scarcely been disturbed by the plow, as they have in the more humid regions to the east. Except for an occasional line fence of barbed wire, there are few

²⁰The Congressional act proposing the survey of a trading road between Missouri and New Mexico was secured through the efforts of Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri. A commission composed of Benjamin H. Reeves, George C. Sibley, and Thomas Mather, was appointed by President John Quincy Adams, in 1825, to supervise the survey of the proposed road and, also, to make treaties with the Indians through whose hunting grounds the road might pass.

²¹Gregg, Vol. I, p. 44.

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obstacles to prevent its being traveled as it was in early days. Even these fences are generally provided with gates near the points where they intersect the old Trail. Through Cimarron County its course is usually on high land, though generally in sight of the river valley. Exceptions to this are the points where the lower ground was approached because of springs or water holes where stock could be watered and where camps were pitched. The higher ground was followed because it offered much more freedom from possibility of surprise by hostile Indians.

At the Cold Springs camping ground, midway between the points where the Trail intersects the boundary lines of Oklahoma, and where there was always an abundant water supply, the creek bottom is bounded on one side by a ledge of sandstone upon which are carved the names of freighters, traders, soldiers, hunters, ranchmen, and pioneers, many of them accompanied by dates, home addresses, fraternal emblems, stock brands, and other tokens of individual distinction.

Many graves are scattered along the line of the Trail, generally unmarked save by the stones which were piled upon them at the time of interment, for the purpose of preventing the wolves from digging into them.²²

Though the risks attending the trading ventures over the Santa Fé Trail were great, yet the profits were so alluring that by 1860, upwards of 62,000 mules and oxen, 3,000 wagons, and 7,000 men were engaged in the trade with New Mexico.²³

First Missions in Oklahoma—The zealous efforts of the Christian missionaries in the 17th and the 18th centuries, among the Indians of the New England colonies were practically suspended during the time of the American Revolution. As the new Nation began to recover from the effects of the War, the work of evangelizing the Indians in this country was begun with renewed vigor. Of a number of mission societies formed in America, beginning with the year 1787, the New York, the Northern, and the Western missionary societies sent missionaries to the Indians of New York State and of the country north of the Ohio River. These three societies were at length combined into one called the United Foreign Missionary Society, the organization being effected at New York City, in 1817, by representatives of the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches. This missionary society was the first to attempt Christian

²²Ibid., p. 27.

²³George S. Bryan, "Pioneers of the West," published by "The Mentor," February 16, 1920. Vol. VIII, No. I, p. 9.

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work among any of the native tribes within the present bounds of Oklahoma.

Two years after the organization of the United Foreign Missionary Society, plans were formulated to plant a mission among the Indians of the Arkansas region. Accordingly, on May 5, 1819, the Society sent Rev. Epaphras Chapman and Mr. Job Vinal as its representatives to select a site for the proposed station.¹ The Society's original intention had been to locate a mission among the Western Cherokees, but finding that the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (organized in 1810) had planned to occupy that field, Messrs. Chapman and Vinal pushed on up the Arkansas River to the Osage country, in the vicinity of the Three Forks, where they visited the Osages. Here, through the influence of Captain Nathaniel Pryor and of some of the mixed blood French-Osage employees in the service of the fur traders, a site was selected for the mission station, on the west bank of the Grand River, about seven miles southeast of the present town of Chouteau, in Mayes County. This station was called Union, and was the first mission established within the borders of Oklahoma.

The following spring, April 20, 1820, the Union Mission family,² including the missionaries, their wives and their children, and assistants, numbering twenty-one persons in all, set out from New York City for the Osage country. Travelling by way of Philadelphia to Pittsburgh,

¹Rev. Epaphras Chapman was from East Haddam, Connecticut. He died June 7, 1825, of typhus fever, and was buried near the site of Union Mission. Mr. Job Vinal was a layman, who accompanied Rev. Epaphras Chapman on his prospecting trip to the Arkansas River country, in 1819. Both were very ill at Fort Smith, Thomas Nuttall being a fellow-patient. Nuttall, in his "Journal," p. 213, says: "In consequence of sickness and extreme debility, which deprived me of the pleasure of my usual excursions, I remained at the garrison until the 16th of October. A nervous fever had now forever separated me from the agreeable company of Dr. Russell (post surgeon at Fort Smith) and, amongst my associates in affliction were numbered two missionaries who had intended to proceed to the Osages. One of them (Mr. Viner [Vinal]), after the attacks of a lingering fever, paid the debt of nature."

²The members of the Union Mission consisted of the following: Rev. William F. Vaill, wife and four children, North Guilford, Connecticut; Rev. Epaphras Chapman and wife, East Haddam, Connecticut; Dr. Marcus Palmer, Greenwich, Connecticut; Stephen Fuller, East Haddam, Connecticut; Abraham Redfield, Orange County, New York; Alexander Woodruff, Newark, New Jersey; John M. Spaulding, Colchester, Connecticut; George and William Requa, Winchester, New York; Miss Clarissa Johnston, Colchester, New York; Miss Susan Lines, Redding, Connecticut; Miss Mary Foster, New York City; Miss Dollie E. White, Danbury, Connecticut; Miss Eliza Cleaver, Litchfield, Connecticut; Miss Phoebe Beach, Newburgh, New York.—"Arkansas Gazette," July 8, 1820 (copied from the "New York Advertiser"). Note: Dollie E. White should read Dollie E. Hoyt.

In addition to the foregoing, there were seven hired men, one of whom (Jacob Gatch) died a day or two before reaching Little Rock, Arkansas. Miss Hoyt also died a day or two before the party arrived at Little Rock (probably of malaria), and a long stop was made at that place awaiting a general recovery of the rest. The journey from Pittsburgh had been made by means of two keel boats.



OLD COMMISSARY BUILDING, ERECTED 1839, FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS



A PIONEER SOD HOUSE IN DEWEY COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

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Pennsylvania,³ they continued the rest of the journey by boat down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and up the Arkansas. During ten months of travel, especially wearisome in ascending the Arkansas, on account of the low stage of the river and the lack of boats, nearly every one of the party suffered from attacks of fever; two of the young women assistants (Miss Lines and Miss Hoyt) died and were buried on the banks of the Arkansas. After suffering every deprivation and discomfort, the Mission family arrived at Union on the Grand River, Sunday, February 18, 1821.⁴

They immediately began their missionary labors among the Indians of the Osage villages near at hand. In addition, the building of the mission was begun, a prodigious task, for this meant securing timber from the forest, burning brick, erecting the necessary shelter, breaking the sod, planting and cultivating the first crops,⁵ besides purchasing and caring for a herd of horses and cattle. All the stock fed upon the open range, often wandering miles away, where they were liable to the depredations of the Indians.

Upon the completion of the log school house at Union, the first school was opened in Oklahoma on September 1, 1821. Rev. Epaphras Chapman remained in active charge of the Mission until his death in 1825. From that time, Rev. William F. Vaill,⁶ who was associated with Mr. Chapman in the management of Union, remained in charge until 1834.

In 1823, an out-station or agricultural settlement, called Hopefield, was begun four miles from Union,⁷ under the charge of William Mont-

³Contributions of money and goods were liberally donated for the support of the Mission, by those interested in the work. The total of something over \$13,000, included \$10,000 from the New York Board and the United States Government, \$700 in cash and \$1,200 in goods at Philadelphia, \$100 from a merchant of Pittsburgh, besides \$1,200 in goods from other citizens of that city, and \$500 in cash from the citizens of Cincinnati. —Journal of the Union Mission.

⁴"Union Lord's day, February 18th, about ten o'clock this morning reached the long looked for station after a journey of nearly ten months attended by many delays and disappointments." Ibid., entry of February 18, 1821.

⁵"Scarce any of the comforts of civilization, or even of the necessities of life, could be obtained amongst them (the Osages). Somewhat extensive farming operations were, therefore, indispensable. After excessive labor and privations, about 140 acres of land had been subdued by the plough, the produce of which, in 1825, was 900 bushels of wheat, and 1,600 of corn."—Joseph Tracy, "History of the American Board, Etc.," p. 171.

⁶William F. Vaill was born at Hadlyme, Conn., June 7, 1783. He graduated from Yale College in 1806. Being appointed as a missionary of the United Mission, from North Guilford, Conn., leaving his station April 14, 1820, and arriving at Union, February 18, 1821. He was absent from Union, visiting the States, March, 1826-April, 1827. Mrs. Vaill was Miss Asenath Selden, of Hadlyme, Conn. Mr. and Mrs. Vaill were released from their service as missionaries, September 30, 1834.

⁷The second mission for the Osages, called the Harmony Mission, was established by the United Foreign Mission Society, in 1821, its location being on the Marias des Cygnes River, in Missouri. In 1824, Boudinot Mission was opened for the Osages by the same society, on the Neosho River, in southeastern Kansas, one hundred miles north of Union.

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gomery⁸ and William C. Requa⁹ and their wives. A number of Osage families soon settled near Hopefield and made their first attempts at farming under the supervision of the mission workers. Late in the summer of their second year there, these Indians loaded their melons and corn in rude canoes and went down to Cantonment Gibson, recently established, where they found a ready market for their produce. This was an event in their lives, for they now began to realize the practical benefits of what the missionaries were attempting to do for them, their encouragement leading other Indian families to join the community.¹⁰

The war between the Osages and the Cherokees, which was being carried on at the time of the establishment of Union,¹¹ coupled with the fact that the Osages were absent from their villages more than half the year, on hunting and war expeditions in the West, seriously handicapped the efforts of the missionaries among them; yet the attempts at Union were not entirely barren of results because of the zeal, self-sacrifice, and indefatigable labor of the mission workers.¹² It was not due to any unfriendly feeling on the part of the Osages toward the missionaries that they did not manifest more interest in the Mission, but rather on account of the disturbed condition of the tribe.¹³ The Osages had been one of the

⁸William B. Montgomery was born at Danville, Pennsylvania. He left New York, March 7, 1821, arriving at Harmony Mission, August 8. He was transferred to Union Mission in September, 1830, and died at Hopefield, August 17, 1834. Mrs. Montgomery was Miss Harriet Woolley, of New York City, who came to Harmony in the same party with Mr. Montgomery. They were married, in October, 1827. She died at Union Mission, September 5, 1834.

⁹William C. Requa was born at Mount Pleasant, New York, in 1796. He left New York City, April 20, 1820, arriving at Union, February 18, 1821. He was transferred to Hopefield in 1823; visited the States from June to December, 1834, and from May to December, 1836. His first wife was Susan Comstock, of Wilton, Connecticut, who arrived at Harmony, August 8, 1821, and married, on October 30, 1822. She died June 5, 1833. His second wife was Jane Montgomery, of Danville, Pennsylvania, who arrived at Hopefield on December 20, 1834, and died October 30, 1835. Mr. Requa was released from the mission service, May 22, 1837.

¹⁰"This settlement was nearly ruined by the floods in 1826, when the settlers were reduced to extreme suffering for want of food; but in the spring of 1827 they resumed their labors with alacrity, and with good prospects of success." This same flood, in 1826, washed away the fences, ruined the corn crop, and destroyed property to the amount of \$2,000 at Union Mission.—Joseph Tracy, "History of the American Board, Etc.," p. 171.

¹¹In 1826, the Osages at Hopefield were in constant terror for fear of war with the Cherokees; many times they fled to Union and rushed into the houses, seeking safety. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

¹²"Missionary Herald," Vol. 29, December, 1833, pp. 455-56.

¹³Claremore, the first chief of the Osages, though not unfriendly, gave little encouragement to the Mission. On the other hand, Tally, the second chief, was always interested, leaving his son, Woh-sis-tu, with the missionaries to be educated. The entry of the Journal of the Union Mission, for Monday, May 13, 1821, states: "The subject was again introduced this morning, when Tally, after some minutes of deep thought, inquired 'How long do you wish to have him tarry?' We replied till he becomes a man and learns what we know. He then said take him, *he is your son*. I will not take him from you." Woh-sis-tu was given the English name of Philip Milledoler, in honor of Rev. Philip Milledoler, corresponding secretary for the first board of officers of the United Foreign Missionary Society.



GEN. HENRY LEAVENWORTH, UNITED STATES ARMY

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first Indian tribes, west of the Mississippi, to experience the effects of the white settlements in Missouri in the latter half of the 18th century; as the years passed, continued white immigration and the Indian immigration from the East, pushed the Osages against the unfriendly Indian tribes of the Plains. Thus, literally surrounded by enemies, they were restless and perturbed, life for them becoming a mere matter of self-preservation and of living as they could.

After 1825, at which time the Osages relinquished all their lands in Missouri and in what is now Oklahoma to the United States,¹⁴ there was constant talk of their removal to the Osage lands within the present boundaries of Kansas. Under the terms of the treaty with the Western Cherokees, in 1828, both Union and Hopefield missions were found to be far from the Osage country and within the limits of the territory granted the Cherokees. These circumstances brought about serious discouragement in the affairs at Union Mission. In 1830, Hopefield was moved thirty miles north to a new site in the southeastern part of present Craig County, near the mouth of Cabin Creek.¹⁵ In 1832, the school at Union was closed, owing to the fact that only 154 Indian children had been received during the twelve years since its establishment.¹⁶ When the last of the Osage tribe had departed for Kansas, in 1836, Union Mission was discontinued altogether,¹⁷ upon recommendations of the American Board

¹⁴Treaty with the Osages, Kappler's "Laws and Treaties" (Indian Affairs), Vol. II, pp. 160-61.

¹⁵Joseph Tracy, "History of the American Board, Etc.," p. 206. Hopefield Mission in its second location was visited by Washington Irving and Charles J. Latrobe when they were en route to Fort Gibson in 1832.

¹⁶Of the 154 children received, 54 were Creeks, 29 were Cherokees, and 71 were Osages. This number included those children who lived at Union during several school terms. "Missionary Herald," Vol. XXIX, December, 1833, pp. 465-66.

¹⁷A short time before its final abandonment, buildings at Union housed a printing establishment for books and tracts in the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, and Osage languages, being the temporary location of the printing establishment which was later set up at the Park Hill Mission. The site of Union Mission is known and identified, but the last vestiges of its buildings have almost disappeared. Upon a wooded summit, near the site of the Mission, there are several graves. At one of these is a headstone, neatly chiselled from native stone, upon which appears the following inscription:

In
Memory of
EPAPHRAS CHAPMAN
Who Died 7 June, 1825
Aged 32
First Missionary to the
Osages
—
Say among the heathen
the Lord reigneth

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of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, under the administration of which both Union and Hopefield had been operated since 1826, when the American Board had consolidated with and taken over the work of the United Missionary Society among the Indians.¹⁸

Missions Among the Western Cherokees—When Tahlonteskee, chief of the Western Cherokees, was visiting his old friends in the East, in 1818, he met an official of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions and asked that a mission be established among his people living in Arkansas Territory.¹⁹ Two years later, Rev. Cephas Washburn²⁰ and Rev. Alfred Finney,²¹ representatives of the American Board, arrived in the country of the Western Cherokees in response to this invitation, and were cordially received by the tribal council. A site for the mission was selected near the Cherokee Agency at the mouth of Illinois Creek, in what is now Pope County, Arkansas, the mission being named in honor of Rev. Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College and one of the organizers of the American Board.

The first school at Dwight Mission was opened on January 1, 1822,²² and continued to flourish until the Western Cherokees moved to their new reservation, in Oklahoma, under the terms of the treaty of 1828. In 1829, the entire missionary establishment was moved to a new site, on Sallisaw Creek, about twelve miles above its confluence with the Arkansas River, within the present limits of Sequoyah County. Here Dwight Mis-

¹⁸Joseph Tracy, "History of the American Board, Etc.," pp. 137-42.

¹⁹James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," Chap. II, Historical Sketch of the Cherokee, p. 136.

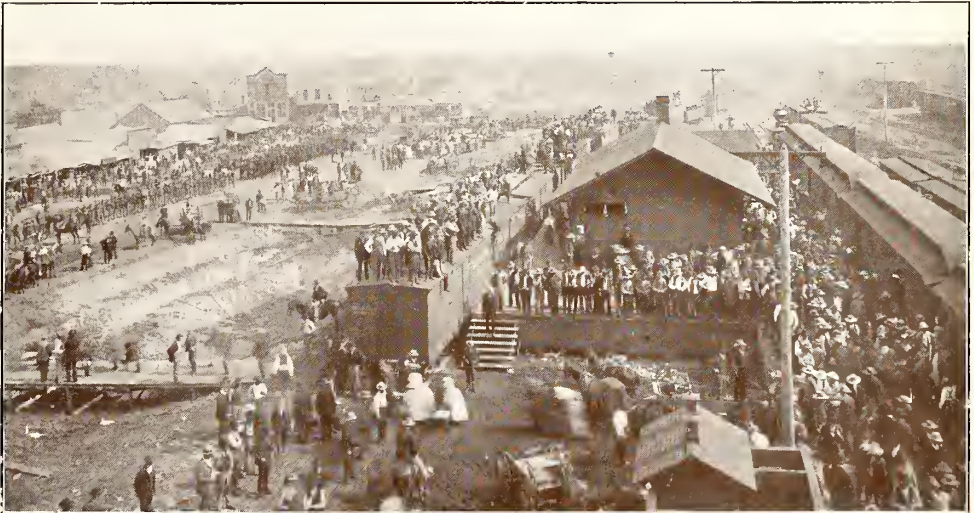
²⁰Rev. Cephas Washburn was born at Randolph, Vermont, July 25, 1793. The year after his graduation from the University of Vermont, in 1817, he was ordained as a minister of the gospel at Braintree, Vermont. In the autumn of 1818, he was appointed as a missionary, leaving Randolph, October 7, 1819, and arriving at the Eliot Mission among the Cherokees of Georgia, where he remained a year. Just before departing for his missionary labors, Mr. Washburn was married to Miss Abigail Woodward, of his native home, on October 6, 1818. In July, 1820, he visited the Arkansas Cherokees, when he selected the site of Dwight Mission. Returning to the States, he led the Dwight Mission family to the new station, arriving May 10, 1821. Mr. Washburn labored at the Dwight Mission in Arkansas, continuing his service during and after its removal to the new site in Oklahoma. With the exception of his visit to the States in 1835, he remained at Dwight until released from the service, in 1841, at his own request. He made his home in Arkansas thereafter, his death occurring at Little Rock, March 17, 1860. Some of his descendants still live in Oklahoma.

²¹Rev. Alfred Finney was born at Harvard, Massachusetts, in 1790. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1815, subsequently entering the ministry. In 1819, he was appointed as a missionary to the Cherokees in Georgia. He married Susanna Washburn, sister of Rev. Cephas Washburn, with whom he labored in the establishment and operation of Dwight Mission. His death occurred June 13, 1829. Mrs. Finney died in January, 1833.

²²The assistant missionaries, Jacob Hitchcock and James Orr, had remained at Dwight the first winter after the site of the Mission had been selected. When the Mission family arrived on May 10, 1821, they found two log houses, with stone chimneys, nearly completed; 3 acres of land planted, 12 acres ready for the plough, and 6 acres



LAST REMAINING BUILDING OF FORT COFFEE



SCENE AT OKLAHOMA CITY, JULY 4, 1889

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sion, or New Dwight, as it was sometimes called, was rebuilt, at this time consisting of a number of hewn log houses surrounding about an acre of ground, in an oval shape, beautifully shaded with a grove of locust trees.²³

The school at Dwight, like the most of those connected with the larger missions to the Indians in early days, was conducted as a boarding school on the manual labor principle. In nearly all the schools, the Lancastrian system of teaching was adopted, with much time being spent on the religious aspect and on the study of the Bible.²⁴ A glimpse into the life of the school has been interestingly told by Mrs. Cassandra Sawyer Lockwood²⁵ in her letters, "descriptive of her journey to the Cherokee Nation in 1833-34 and of her experiences and observations at Dwight Mission in 1834-35," in one of which she wrote:

During the summer, the bell (which is the size of a common wash bowl) rings at half past six o'clock in the morning, when all the different families surround the domestic altar for prayers, when all are seen bending their steps, with much decorum, to the dining hall, where each one takes his accustomed seat with as little confusion as possible. Six tables are so arranged as to accommodate all the family. These are covered with cotton sheeting & knives & forks are placed in order around them, while the cups & saucers & earthen plates for the adults & tin dippers & pewter plates for the children are placed together at the head of the tables. At the first table sit Rev. Mr. Washburn & wife with their five children and Cherokee boys. At the second table, Mr. Orr, farmer, with his wife & one child, Mr. Gray, mechanic, & the white men who are hired to labor on the farm & any strangers who may happen to be present.

more cleared of trees. At the end of June, 22 acres had been planted, and the whole farm was well fenced within a short time. Mr. Hitchcock served as steward of Dwight Mission for forty years, his work as such terminating only as the result of the outbreak of the Civil War, which caused the abandonment of the Mission. Mr. Orr labored faithfully as the farmer and superintendent of secular affairs at Dwight until 1841, when he was honorably released. He joined the Mission again in 1846 and continued with some interruptions until 1861.

²³Letters written by Mrs. Cassandra Sawyer Lockwood, Ms. in the Oklahoma Historical Society, pp. 18-19.

²⁴In a well written letter a little Cherokee girl of nine years, who was being schooled at one of the missions, wrote naively of the discipline at the Mission. She stated that when a child became angry, he had to stand in the middle of the floor before the other children and repeat the 29th verse of the 14th chapter of Proverbs; when he or she told a lie, Proverbs 22:12 and Revelations 21:8 were required; when the Sabbath was broken, the 4th Commandment must be repeated. She went on to say, "When our parents bring us sweet potatoes and bean bread, if any of the children take it from us without leave, they have to repeat the 8th Commandment and I Corinthians, 6th chapter, 10th verse."—"Missionary Herald," Vol. XXV, September, 1829, p. 286.

²⁵Mrs. Cassandra Sawyer Lockwood was the wife of Rev. Jesse Lockwood, of North Salem, New York. He graduated from the Divinity School of Yale College in 1833, after which he sought and secured an appointment from the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, as a missionary to the Western Cherokees. Shortly before his departure he was married to Miss Cassandra Sawyer, of Gloucester, Massachusetts. They arrived at Dwight Mission, January 25, 1834. Mr. Lockwood died there July 11 following, at the age of thirty-two years.

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At the third table, Mr. Asa Hitchcock, teacher, wife & five children, Miss Esther Smith, teacher & Cherokee boys. At the fourth table, Mr. Jacob Hitchcock, steward, wife & five children, Miss Thrall, teacher of the missionaries' children exclusively, three orphan children of Rev. Mr. Finney & Cherokee boys. At the fifth table, Mrs. Joslyn, teacher, with her infant, Miss Stetson, teacher, Maria,²⁶ an Osage captive 18 years old, & Cherokee girls. At the sixth table, Rev. Mr. Lockwood & myself with Cherokee girls. . . .

In 1833 & 1834 so severe a drought was experienced at this station that only three bushels of potatoes were raised from thirty bushels that were planted. A garden of an acre and a half was filled with a variety of seeds & every possible way of watering it artificially was practiced, but all in vain, not a single root was fit for cooking. Consequently, our meals afforded but little change. The breakfast invariably consisted of coffee, with a little milk & occasionally sugar or molasses, hominy & corn bread, with meat, which was always stewed. Benches surround the table as substitutes for chairs. All being seated, a signal is given, when a blessing is implored & the food is eaten with great stillness. Before rising from the table, a portion of Scripture is read, accompanied with some practical observations, & then all kneel while prayer is offered to our Father in Heaven, who is no respecter of persons. After prayers, all go to their respective employments. The boys, under the care of the superintendent, go to the fields. The girls, except those who remain in the kitchen, return with Miss Stetson to her house, where she instructs them in reading & spelling &c., & in various kinds of needlework, both plain & ornamental. The ladies of the mission alternate in the duty of remaining in the dining hall & kitchen to instruct the girls in the various branches of domestic affairs. At nine o'clock the bell calls the children from labor to prepare for school. At twelve o'clock they are dismissed from study &

²⁶Maria, as a very small child, had been captured by the Cherokee chief, Blackcoat, in one of the battles between his people and the Osages, in 1818, after which he took her home and adopted her as his child. Not long afterward, through deceit, a white man obtained possession of the little girl and attempted to escape with her and sell her into slavery. While he was descending the Mississippi, bound for Louisiana, two Creole French boatmen recovered the little girl, after a hot chase. Her captor escaped. The little girl was then taken to Governor Miller, of Arkansas Territory, into whose care she was committed. Later, Rev. Finney took her to Dwight Mission, where she grew up and became especially endeared to those who knew her, serving as a teacher at Dwight for a number of years. Maria James, as she was called, married William Pettit, a Cherokee, who died in 1852, and was buried at Fairfield Mission. Mrs. Pettit afterward rented her farm and returned to Dwight, that she might educate her children, remaining until the outbreak of the Civil War. She and her family, with a number of other Cherokees, were refugees in the Choctaw country during a part of the time that the conflict was raging, staying in the vicinity of Goodland. In 1884, Mrs. Pettit returned to her people in the Osage country, from whom she had been separated for sixty-five years. Most of her grandchildren are residents of Osage County today. The superintendent of the Dwight Indian Training School, in writing a few years ago (1918) of her character: "Everyone speaks of the good works of Mrs. Pettit and there is no question in my mind that, had no other work been done by this old school than to educate Maria James, it is well worth all it cost."

For the story of Maria James, see Rev. Cephas Washburn's letter in Emmet Starr's "Cherokees West," pp. 71-75.



CAMP OF THE "BOOMERS" OF PAYNE'S OKLAHOMA COLONY, ON THE BORDER NEAR
CALDWELL, KANSAS, IN THE SUMMER OF 1884



VIEW OF THE SITE OF OKLAHOMA CITY, AS IT APPEARED THE MORNING OF APRIL, 22, 1889

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allowed to amuse themselves till dinner. The boys play in one grove & the girls in another. They are never permitted to play together. At half past twelve the dinner is ready, when each one takes his seat as in the morning. This meal consists simply of some kind of meat, generally pork, sometimes beef & occasionally venison, cold corn bread & cold water. The water was indeed a luxury, being of excellent quality. Two or three times a year, a suet or rice pudding was afforded, which was, of course, a great rarity. Once our breakfast table was furnished with a dish of doughnuts sufficient to allow one to each individual. It was amusing to see the children receive & preserve their doughnuts as the children of the East would some foreign luxury.

Two other missions were established at an early day among the Western Cherokees, by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. One of these was the Mulberry Mission opened as a branch station to Dwight, in 1828, and located on Mulberry Creek, in Pope County, Arkansas. Mulberry was transferred to within the bounds of Oklahoma, in 1829, about fifteen miles north of Dwight. From this time it was known as Fairfield, Dr. Marcus Palmer²⁷ and his wife being in charge for a number of years. The second one of these missions was established in 1830, and was known as the Mission at the Forks of the Illinois, with Rev. Samuel Newton²⁸ and wife in charge.

²⁷Marcus Palmer, M. D., of White Plains, New York, was born at Greenwich, Connecticut, April 24, 1795. He joined the Union Mission family upon their departure for the Osage country, April 20, 1820, arriving at Union, February 18, 1821. He subsequently was stationed at the Harmony Mission, in Missouri, being transferred to the work among the Western Cherokees. He took charge of the founding and of the operation of the Fairfield Mission, in November, 1829, being ordained in 1830. He visited the States in 1839. His first wife was Miss Clarissa Johnson, of Colchester, Connecticut, who came with the first Mission family to Union, in 1821. She died at Granville, Ohio, September 8, 1835. Dr. Palmer's second wife was Miss Jerusha Johnson, of Colchester, Connecticut, who had arrived at Fairfield in 1833.

²⁸Samuel Newton was born at Woodbridge, Connecticut, January 1, 1792. He was appointed assistant missionary to the Harmony Mission by the United Foreign Missionary Society, departing February 19, 1821, and arriving at Harmony, August 8. He was transferred to the Dwight Mission in February, 1828, and subsequently took charge of the Mission at the Forks of the Illinois, February 2, 1830. He was honorably released from the service on October 9, 1838. His first wife was Mrs. Mary McCarthy Seely, of Rockaway, New Jersey, who arrived at Harmony in the same party with Mr. Newton. She died at the Forks of the Illinois Mission, March 30, 1835. Mr. Newton's second wife was Mrs. Sophia Palmer Joslyn, of Thetford, Vermont, who had formerly been connected with mission work among the Choctaws.



Gangplanks To Cape Cod*

BY ELROY S. THOMPSON, BROCKTON, MASSACHUSETTS



CAPE Cod has a history before the landing of the Pilgrims, and it is probable that some of the passengers on the "Mayflower" knew something of it. In passing, it might be said that the Indians inhabiting Cape Cod also knew something of the white men and entertained certain opinions or prejudices concerning them. More than eighteen years before the "Mayflower" rounded Race Point, Bartholomew Gosnold, a mariner from the west of England, sailed into the same waters with a crew of thirty-two men, and found themselves "embayed with a mighty headland," which at first appeared "like an island by reason of the large sound that lay between it and the main." The honor of naming this peninsula Cape Cod is given to Gosnold because, it is said, "Within a league of the land, he came to anchor, in fifteen fathoms" and he and his crew dropped lines overboard and took from the wealth of the sea a great quantity of cod-fish, furnishing the circumstances which gave rise to the name.

"A low, sandy shore, but withal dangerous, in the latitude of 42 degrees, the shore bold and the sand very deep," is the way in which the locality was described by Gosnold. This is not a bad description, in a few words, of the southeastern extremity of Massachusetts, now an island, but, until the Cape Cod Canal was put through, a peninsula sixty-five miles in length, irregular in form, its width varying from five to twenty miles, constituting the county of Barnstable.

The Cape Cod Canal makes a very well defined boundary to show "where the cape begins." This is the answer to the more or less absurd claims made by several towns which call themselves "The Gateway to the Cape." As a matter of fact, Cape Cod has two gateways or gangplanks, a better term, these two being the bridges across the canal, one at Bourne, near the north end of the canal; the other at Sagamore, near the south end. To call these bridges gangplanks is not far-fetched, as both of them are drawbridges.

Bartholomew Gosnold also left us a description of the inhabitants of

*This is the second article from advance sheets of the "History of Plymouth, Norfolk, and Barnstable Counties, Massachusetts," by Elroy S. Thompson (press of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc.), to appear by permission in "Americana."—EDITOR.

GANGPLANKS TO CAPE COD

Cape Cod whom he encountered in his explorations. He said: "They all had pipes and tobacco of which they were very fond." The story is told that Gosnold was visited by one of the natives who had a plate of copper upon his breast, twelve inches by six. Others had pendants of the same metal suspended from their ears. One young native with ear ornaments of this sort approached, with his bow and arrow in hand, and, in a friendly manner, offered to be of such service to the new arrivals as he might. This same attitude was shown by the Indians at Plymouth but there came a time when the logic of events seemed to indicate that it would be all white or all red, and the Indian wars and massacres and the long tale of atrocities constitute a bloody chapter in American history.

Gosnold sailed about in his bark and sent his boat to explore the various arms of the sea. Eventually the bark came to anchor in one of the finest sounds he had ever seen, to which he gave the name of Gosnold's Hope. This is what was later called Buzzards Bay. One of the large islands in the vicinity he named in honor of Queen Elizabeth. It is recorded of him that it was on this island, on a small islet in a little fresh water pond that he erected a fort and took up his abode. This was the island now called Cuttyhunk, on which, in recent years, magnates of the Standard Oil Company have had a clubhouse and where the late William Wood, president of the American Woolen Company, erected a few years ago, a stone castle, flanked with concrete walks and drives. It was the show place of the very attractive island but totally incongruous and out of keeping with its every other appearance.

There is today on the little island, in the little lake on Cuttyhunk, a monument of field stones, erected in honor of Bartholomew Gosnold, where the cellar of his storehouse was still to be seen a hundred years ago. While this storehouse was being erected by members of his crew, Gosnold crossed the bay in his vessel and explored two rivers, one that which passed through the towns of Wareham and Rochester; the other that on the shore of which stands New Bedford, famous as the whaling city of half a century ago.

Gosnold gave a glowing account of Cuttyhunk in those days, as an island with "the rank vegetation of a virgin soil; noble forests, wild fruits and flowers—the eglantine, the thorn and the honeysuckle—the wild pea, the tansy, the young sassafras—strawberries, raspberries, grape vines,—all in profusion."

Amid these pleasant surroundings Gosnold attempted to make an English settlement which, had it succeeded, would have been the first

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colony of New Plymouth. Josselyn says it was "begun in 1602, near Narragansett Bay." It appears that Gosnold and his crew erected a storehouse with the intention of having some of the men remain, plant fields and establish a colony, while the others returned to England, with Gilbert, second in command, for further supplies and more colonists. Five days were spent in wrangling who should stay and who return, as supplies were getting low and there was a grave difference of opinion about dividing the store. All returned to England, told wonderful stories of their discoveries and the promised land, and succeeded in selling the idea of establishing a colony, but not in the latitude of forty-two degrees. So, when Gosnold embarked on his next expedition to America, he sailed past New England and his storehouse and landed in Virginia. On that expedition he ranked as counsellor. He died in 1607. He had sailed away from Cuttyhunk June 18, 1602, taking with him furs bought of the Indians, roots of sassafras which the Indians had dug for him as a gift, in return for the gifts of a straw hat and two knives which Gosnold had presented to one of the Indian chiefs, when the latter and fifty of his braves visited the explorer.

Bancroft declared that Cape Cod was the "first spot in New England ever trod by Englishmen" and the assertion seems to be borne out by well-established facts, but Cuttyhunk would have been the place of the first English colonization had it not been for the fear that there was not enough food to provision the storehouse against the time which would elapse before additional food could be obtained from England.

Following the explorations of Gosnold in 1602, the New England coast was visited by English, French and other vessels. Several of them touched Nova Scotia. At about the same time that French explorers entered the Annapolis River in the spring of 1604 and the Penobscot and Kennebec rivers later the same year, taking possession of the territory in the name of the king of France, a party left Great Britain, touching a few places in Maine. They ascended the Kennebec River and erected a cross, as the symbol of the Christian religion. They also seized five natives and carried them back to Great Britain. Three of the captives were taken into the family of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, then Governor of Plymouth, England, an intimate friend of Sir Walter Raleigh. These Indians gave information which led to their subsequent return and fired the two adventurers to plan projects for gain.

An Aboriginal Yarn About Marthas Vineyard—A fishing vessel engaged in cod-fishing in the vicinity of Marthas Vineyard about the

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same time, and the Indians in that vicinity became curious and approached in their canoes. One Indian, Epenow, accepted an invitation to board the vessel and was not allowed to leave. The vessel sailed away and Epenow was "shown about in London as a sight."

Epenow was also given to telling wonderful tales concerning the country from which he was taken, to a certain extent bearing out the stories told Sir Ferdinand Gorges by the earlier Indians. One of Epenow's yarns was concerning an island on which was a mine of inexhaustible gold. This was sufficient to convince Gorges that a ship should be fitted out to find the whereabouts of this delectable island. The ship sailed in June, 1614, with Epenow on board as pilot and interpreter.

Eventually the vessel arrived off the shore of Capewock, as Marthas Vineyard was then called, and again the Indians showed their curiosity, possibly their friendliness, by approaching with their canoes. This gave Epenow an opportunity to broadcast his message concerning his impressions of things abroad and call attention to the Englishmen he had induced to accompany him home. He also explained why he wore long trousers which Captain Harley had had him don before he arose to make his speech. Whether he informed his red brethren that it was to enable members of the crew to lay hands upon him and hold him securely, in case he attempted to escape, or made some other explanation, the English crew were unable to say. Epenow had the advantage of them in that situation because they, not he, had become a "sight" and while he could understand a little of the English language, they could not understand any of his.

Epenow had his speech all prepared for him and it was to the effect that the English would like to trade for furs and entertain the Indians on ship board. Whether Epenow was a faithful interpreter or spoke extemporaneously is a matter of conjecture, but the Indians pretended to be much impressed with the opportunity to trade and, according to Epenow, they would return the next morning with a liberal consignment of furs, possibly some samples of the gold from the mine, but they were disappointed to see him wearing white man's garb and didn't care to come aboard unless he was properly dressed to receive his old friends. Formal party dress in those days, as in these, was more a matter of taking off than putting on. So Epenow was allowed to remove his trousers, paint his exterior and whatever else he could do from his vanity case to make him look natural. Then he was allowed to walk out on the bowsprit, show himself unfettered and talk as one Indian to another.

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The canoes filled with Indians circled closer and Captain Harley ordered Epenow to promise them liberal treatment if they would come on board with their furs. Epenow hailed them, twenty canoes formed a half circle and into this half circle the returning Indian dove, while the Indians covered his getaway by a shower of arrows directed at the on-lookers on the deck. Captain Harley was clearly outwitted and his reputation definitely made known to an unknown number of warriors. He returned to England without his cargo and without Epenow.

This was the same year that Captain John Smith quitted the colony of Virginia, on a whaling voyage which took him past the coast of Cape Cod. He made a map of the country which he presented to King Charles. It was called by him New England. What is now called New England was at that time supposed to be an island.

When Captain John Smith embarked for London, he left his own ship under command of Captain Thomas Hunt. The latter spent some time in fishing, enticing on board the vessel some Indians from Nauset, now known as Eastham on Cape Cod. Then he sailed for Spain, docked at Malaga and sold his Indian captives as slaves for twenty pounds per man.

These outrages were perpetrated years before the "Mayflower" sailed into Cape Cod Harbor. It is not to be wondered at that the natives were suspicious of the pale faces, although there are plenty of well authenticated stories to show that they were well disposed toward each new party of arrivals until each in turn gave them abundant cause for hatred.

Captain Thomas Dermer, one of Captain John Smith's captains, came to these coasts in command of a vessel fitted out by Sir Ferdinand Gorges in February, 1619, to fish off the New England coast. On that ship was Tisquantum, or Squanto, brought here as guide. He was one of the natives whom Captain Thomas Hunt had taken away from Nauset, or Eastham, in 1614. According to the "Life of Gorges," when Tisquantum arrived at his native village he found every member of his tribe had died from a scourge which had reduced the number of Indians in this vicinity to a small remnant. Concerning this incident, Captain Dermer reported: "When I arrived at my native savage's native country, finding all dead, I travell almost a day's journey westward to a place called Namasket, where finding inhabitants, I despatched a messenger a day's journey west to Pokanoket, which bordereth on the sea, whence came to see me two kings attended with a guard of fifty armed men, who being well

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satisfied with what my savage and I discoursed among them, and being desirous of novelty, gave me consent in whatsoever I demanded."

Captain Dermer rescued two Frenchmen who had fallen into the hands of the Indians when they were shipwrecked a few years previously. They had been held as slaves. There had been a third captive but he had married and shortly afterward died and had been buried with his child. In Goodwin's "Pilgrim Republic," page 78, it is related: "The Pilgrims discovered the grave of this man. On opening it they found a bow between two mats, a painted board shaped like a trident, bowls, trays, dishes, etc., and two bundles which proved to be the bones of a man with fine yellow hair and a child. This caused much interest, as it showed them that white people had been there before them." One of the Frenchmen was found at Namasket, now the town of Middleboro; the other at Massachusetts Bay.

While in this vicinity the natives became suspicious of Captain Dermer and at least on one occasion would have killed him if Tisquantum had not saved his life.

The "Life of Gorges" also records that Captain Dermer sailed through the whole passage between Long Island and the main land, and was the first to demonstrate the insular position of Long Island. He touched at Capewock where he was recognized by Epenow as one of the men in the employ of Gorges. He went ashore on the island which Epenow had said contained a mine of inexhaustible gold and was attacked by the Indians, who shot fourteen arrows into him. One story is that Captain Dermer died from his wounds and that all others of his boat's crew were killed in the affray. Another story is that he escaped, sailed for Virginia with the two Frenchmen, leaving Tisquanto at "Tawahqua-took," now the town of Brewster.

At this time there were at least three Indians in this vicinity who knew something about the English from personal experiences, and a few English words. They were Epenow and Tisquanto, who will henceforth be referred to as Squanto, the name by which he was known to the Pilgrims, and Samoset. It was the latter who, one day in March, following the landing of the Pilgrims, strode down the First Street in Plymouth, later called Leyden Street, apparently not the least afraid of Captain Miles Standish and his army and the frowning guns which had been mounted on the fort at the top of the hill. Samoset came all alone, as a modern hotel greeter, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce or chairman of the reception committee of the Kiwanis. He surprised the inhabitants of

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Plymouth by calling out in broken English, "Welcome, Englishmen." He was the first resident of Patuxet, as Plymouth was called by the Indians, who had called upon them. He was a Sagamore who had come from Monhiggon, Maine, where he had learned something of the English tongue from captains of the fishing vessels who had touched at Maine. He became a frequent caller, and on his third visit was accompanied by Squanto. These Indians informed the Pilgrims of the extraordinary plague which, some four years before, had wiped out most of the Indian population in those parts. Squanto and Samoset arranged an interview with Massasoit, the most powerful of the Indian sachems.

The story of the meeting between Massasoit and the Pilgrims, which was conducted with considerable formality, how the treaty was made and faithfully kept as long as Massasoit lived, and other incidents in the early days concerning the Pilgrims and the Indians has already been told in the volume concerning Plymouth County. There are, however, historical incidents concerning the part the Indians played in the early life of the Pilgrims on Cape Cod soil which have not been related and which belong more especially to what is now Barnstable County.

Indians Became Incensed Against the English—History records that the few days following the signing of the Compact and the election of John Carver as governor, the Pilgrims spent in repairing the ship's boat and in making explorations near the shore. They came upon a quantity of corn in baskets, buried by the Indians, and helped themselves. They also opened graves, taking away some of the most attractive trinkets, buried with the embalmed bodies. About ten bushels of corn were obtained, a bag of beans and a bottle of oil. They also entered the dwellings of the Indians, and took away whatever they thought they could use, including some venison which the Indians had secreted in a hollow tree.

It was, therefore, not at all surprising that about 5 o'clock in the morning of December 8, according to Bradford's "History," "on a sudden he heard a great and strange cry. One of our company, being abroad, came running in, and cried: 'Indians, Indians,' and at once their arrows were flying amongst us, and our men hastily seized their arms. The cry of our enemies were dreadful."

One lusty Indian, and no whit less valiant, who was thought to be the captain, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot of us, and there let fly his arrows. He stood three shots of the musket. At length one took, as he said, full aim at him, when he gave an extraordinary cry, and away they all went.

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Immediately after this "First Encounter" they took to the boat again, coasted along in search of a port which Robert Coppin, their pilot, assured them he had seen. It was rough weather, their masts broke in the gale and they were nearly cast away, but passed the Gurnet, at the mouth of Plymouth Harbor and eventually came safely to anchor under the lee of a small island. There they remained until morning when they landed, the master's mate of the "Mayflower," Clark, being first to land. It was called after him, Clark's Island. He was the man who, the next day, preached the first sermon on that island. According to Bradford, "This being the last day of the week, December 9, they dry their stuff, fix their pieces, rest themselves, return thanks to God, and the next day, December 10, they keep the Christian Sabbath."

The Pilgrims, in their cruising about the Cape Cod shore, saw two abandoned forts, one near Pamet River, and the other south of Wellfleet River. They had evidently been abandoned during the plague, as the dead had been interred inside as well as outside the stockade. The Pilgrims thought the forts palisaded cemeteries until they became better acquainted with the habits and customs of the Indians.

Aside from the arrival of the Pilgrims in Provincetown Harbor and their explorations along the shore, the history of Cape Cod, if we are to exclude the anecdotes of antiquity, begins March 17, 1621, when information came to the Pilgrims, through Samoset, a friendly Indian, that the Nauset Indians, southeast of Plymouth, were much incensed against the English. The Indians referred to inhabited that part of the Cape now called Eastham, which originally embraced Chatham. The antipathy on the part of the Indians was occasioned by Captain Hunt, who had been left in charge of Captain John Smith's fleet when Captain Smith returned to England, having carried away twenty-seven Indians, seven of them from Nauset, and sold them as slaves. Samoset informed the Pilgrims that the Indians, whom the party from the "Mayflower" had had a battle with, were Nausets. About five months before the "Mayflower" arrived at Cape Cod, these Indians, remembering the treachery of Hunt and his crew, had slain three Englishmen.

Red Skins Returned Good for Evil—Another Indian, this time the great Sachem of the Wampanoags, Massasoit, became known to the Pilgrims for his friendliness in July, 1621, and remained a friend of the Pilgrims as long as he lived. He early made a treaty with the English colonists and this treaty was faithfully kept until his death. The incident referred to in July, 1621, was the disappearance of John Billington, a

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boy of the Pilgrim band, who had wandered away in the Plymouth woods and became lost. Massasoit, when his attention was called to the fact, caused inquiry to be made and reported that the boy was at Nauset. He had come to an Indian plantation in Sandwich, as it is now called, been fed by the Indians there and, by them, taken to Nauset.

In spite of the fact that the wanderer was in the hands of the same Indians who had the encounter with the party from the "Mayflower" the previous December, who had ransacked the Indian graves, opened their storehouses of grain, taken away whatever they wished, he was unharmed, and they waited in patience the arrival of the shallop from Plymouth sent to take him home. Massasoit sent with the Pilgrims on their errand to Nauset two of his braves, Tisquantum and Tockamahon, to act as guides and interpreters. Tisquantum has usually been written Squanto. On their way they anchored for the night in what is now Barnstable Harbor, then called Cummaquid, and while anchored there, were left in shallow water by the ebbing tide.

Early in the morning they were approached by Indians who beckoned to them to come ashore and partake of the hospitality of their sachem, Iyanough. Six of the boat's number went with the messengers, but four of the Indians were confined on board as hostages. It is related that Iyanough received the Pilgrim party hospitably and was "a man very personable, gentle, courteous and fair conditioned—about twenty-six years of age—indeed not a savage, save in his attire. His entertainment was answerable to his parts, and his cheer plentiful and various."

A messenger was sent by this sachem to Nauset and, in response, Aspinet, the Nauset sachem, appeared with the boy and one hundred of his tribesmen. A knife was presented to Aspinet and another knife to one of the Indians who had entertained the boy, treated him kindly, brought him back on his shoulders, after decorating him with ornaments, Aspinet establishing a firm friendship with the English neighbors.

It seems a great pity that the forbearance of the Indians, under the provocation that they had had from the Englishmen, even from those of the "Mayflower" party, to say nothing of the perfidy and treachery visited upon them by Captain Hunt and other earlier navigators, should have finally been replaced by enmity and its long trail of suffering and atrocities, which form a part of history involving the early settlers and the Indians.

In this connection, it is related by Frederick Freeman in his "History of Cape Cod," "There was present on this occasion an Indian woman who

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was more than one hundred years of age. She had come from Nauset on purpose to see the English, as she had never seen an Englishman before; but, seeing them, she wept with great and sore lamentation. The English, inquiring the cause, found that she was the mother of three of the men stolen away by Captain Hunt, and that the remembrance of her loss had overpowered her."

Before returning to Plymouth with the boy Billington, Iyanough showed the party every courtesy and gave a party in their honor, at which all his people joined, with dancing, singing and merrymaking. The final act was that of the sachem taking a bracelet from his own neck and placing it upon the neck of the leader of the Pilgrim party, thus denoting his friendliness and best wishes for a safe return and prosperity.

The Indians upon the Cape were not considered a part of the Wampanoags under Massasoit, although it appears that they were more or less overawed by his genius and power. Before the landing of the Pilgrims, the territory, afterwards called the Old Colony, was occupied by the Wampanoags, or Pawkunnawkuts, generally written Pokanokets. According to Gookin, "The Wampanoags were a great people heretofore. Their chief sachem held dominion over divers other petty sagamores or sachems, as upon the island of Nantucket and Nope, or Marthas Vineyard, Nauset, Manomayick, Saukatucket, Nobsquasset, Mattakees, and others, not excepting some of the Nipmucks. This people was a potent nation in former times, and could raise about 3,000 fighting men. Great numbers of them were swept away by an unusual pestilence, which prevailed in the years 1612 and 1613."

It is related that September 13, 1621, nine sachems, as well as Massasoit and many petty sachems under him subscribed an instrument of submission to King James. In the "Relation" by Mourt, he says: "Yes, Massasoit has owned the King of England to be his master, both he and many kings under him, as of Pamet, Nawset, Cummaquid, Namasket, with divers who dwell about the bays of Patuxet and Massachusetts."

The Nauset Indians, occupying the territory about the present towns of Eastham and Chatham, had outlying territory and one of their principal seats was within the present limits of Orleans. They occupied a prominent position and were greatly feared by the other Indians. It is said that there were two Sachemdoms or cantons of the Cape Indians, one extending from Plymouth to Sandwich, taking in Mashpee, Barnstable and Falmouth; the other extending from Mattachiest to Cape Cod Harbor. The Nausets were in this latter division. Mattachiest was the

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northwest part of Yarmouth and Barnstable Harbor. The Mashpee has long been the principal body of Indians residing in Old Colony and is at present the one town on Cape Cod known as an Indian town. The Indians in Dukes County, taking in the Elizabeth Islands as well as Marthas Vineyard, were separate tribes. The Mattachiest Indians were under Iyanough who so royally treated the party from Plymouth who went into his domain in search of the missing John Billington.

In connection with the Cape Cod Indians it is well to remember that, while it is supposed they were in some way under the general direction of the Wampanoags and the sachem Massasoit, in the time when Massasoit's son, Metacomet, alias King Philip, engaged other Indians in King Philip's War, in 1675, he was unable to induce them to join him.

According to some historians, the Indians were given to gambling, especially fond of two games, one called Puim, the other Hub-bub. "They are so bewitched with these two games, that they lose, sometimes, all they have; beaver, moose-skins, kettles, wamponpeage, miwhackies, hatchets and knives, is all confiscated by these two games."

As we proceed with the history of Barnstable County it will be shown how many times the item appears, in records of early town-meetings, of the requirement that male inhabitants destroy a certain number of blackbirds each year. It is reasonable to infer that by blackbirds the vote may have been intended to include crows, of which there were great flocks. One reason for such a large number may lie in the explanation given by Hutchinson who says: "The Indians had a tradition that a crow brought the first grain of corn, Indian corn; and although this bird often robbed their fields, not one Indian in a hundred would kill them."

Like the "Mayflower," the ship "Fortune," which arrived in November, 1621, touched at Cape Cod before reaching Plymouth Harbor. The first news of the coming of the "Fortune" reached the Pilgrims by Indian runners from Cape Cod, who fancied that the new arrival was for no good purpose, possibly the taking away of the Plymouth colonists as Captain Hunt had on previous years taken away Indians from Patuxet and Nauset. This should be set down as an especially friendly act on the part of the Indians. Indeed, their fear was shared by the Pilgrims who at first thought the ship might be a French vessel. The governor ordered guns fired to warn all the inhabitants and plans were made for defense, until it was learned that the ship "Fortune" had thirty-five new settlers on board and provisions which were sadly needed.

Codfish the Totem of Massachusetts—The number plates on more

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than half a million motor cars in Massachusetts in 1928 bore the picture of a codfish and once again, on land and sea, the codfish has come into its own, typical of the industry which literally kept Massachusetts alive in early colonial days. The "sacred codfish" and "codfish aristocracy" may be words to arouse smiles of contempt and ribald laughter on the part of those as dumb as the codfish itself, but the codfish has a right to hold its place as the totem of Massachusetts. In these days of the fetish of cod liver oil for children and poultry, it should be remembered that for a century and a half New England, not to limit the statement to the Old Bay State, drew its living from the sea. The fisheries were necessary to the settlers in the beginning for physical life, and it was because the people of New England were masters of the sea that the Revolutionary War was won.

With reference to that time in the history of our country, no less a faithful historian than Dr. Edward Everett Hale stated on pages 287, 288, 289 and 290 of the "Story of Massachusetts:"

Strictly speaking, the independence of the nation was won upon the sea rather than upon the land. This truth should be impressed in the "Story of Massachusetts," because in such success, Massachusetts had so much to do. Probably in every year of the war, Massachusetts had more men at sea against the enemy than Washington had on land in the whole Continental Army. It seems quite clear that, as the war went on, the nation had more men at sea against the enemy, than the total force of soldiers in the Continental Army and the militia.

The navy of the State itself amounted to more than forty vessels, between the beginning and the end, though there was no period when nearly so large a force was in commission. Some of the vessels which make up this number were only purchased by the State, or perhaps chartered for a single voyage.

The tendency of the writers of our history has been to describe in detail the victories and the reverses on the land, but the history of the naval warfare has been and is buried in old log books or in the journals of young men who are joining in this wide system of adventure. If the readers will recollect what has been said, that on an average, two prizes a day were taken for more than six years, and if it is remembered that the State of Massachusetts sent out fully three quarters of the seamen engaged in such adventure, he will understand how much, of what is essential to history, is so hidden away in such records. Some extracts from such papers will give an idea of the way in which such young men won the victories of the seas.

The State of Massachusetts, sooner or later, seems to have commissioned six hundred privateers. I think the number was much larger.

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Of the naval commanders of that day John Forster Williams was the most popular captain. He had fought some battles with matchless intrepidity, and until the year 1814 was highly honored in Boston as one of the heroes of the Revolution. The battle he fought in the "Protector," in which he took the "Admiral Duff," was one of the well-contested naval actions of the war, and when he brought his prize into port he was received with all the honors which the little town could give him.

It should be remembered that the number of seamen engaged in the privateer fleet in the Massachusetts State cruisers and in those of the nation amounted in every year to forty or fifty thousand men. This is an enormous proportion of the people of a State which had not more than four hundred thousand inhabitants. If it is also remembered that on the average one or two prizes were brought in every day into one or another of the seaports of the State, it will be easy to see how constant and how intense was the excitement arising from the conditions of the war. In a single voyage of Abraham Whipple, he disguised his ship as a merchantman and made her one of a fleet which an English squadron was convoying from the West Indies to England.

Every night, as soon as it was dark, he captured one of his unsuspecting neighbors. In this way he took ten prizes successively in ten nights, and his prize crews brought eight of them into port successfully. These eight sold for more than a million dollars.

The embattled farmers who "fired the shot heard round the world" at Lexington and at Concord Bridge, were only two weeks in advance of Cape Cod seamen and others of the same calling in this vicinity who manned a vessel, fitted out by the people of New Bedford and Dartmouth and went in pursuit of a prize which had been taken in Buzzards Bay by the British sloop of war "Falcon." The "Margaretta," a king's sloop and two other vessels were seized by the people of Machias, in the Province of Maine. The armament was placed on another vessel, by the Massachusetts government, under the command of the first naval officer in the American Navy, O'Brien.

When, in September, Washington issued commissions giving power to cut off the supply vessels of the English, it was all the authority the seamen of Massachusetts, and notably Cape Cod, needed. The "Lynch," the "Franklin," the "Lee," the "Washington" the "Harrison" and the "Warren" were at once commissioned by the Massachusetts government. The "Lynch" was named in honor of Thomas Lynch of South Carolina, the youngest signer of the Declaration of Independence, who was lost at sea in 1779.

Massachusetts issued privateers' commissions and there were numerous men from Cape Cod who helped make up the fearless crews. This

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was then considered a perfectly legitimate method of warfare, and it was surely no worse than the employment of gas in the World War or the acts of the "Alabama" commissioned in the Civil War. Again Dr. Hale tells in his book, already referred to, some interesting facts. He says:

In those days no such questions of conscience were asked. All other commerce was endangered by the English cruisers. It was hard for a coaster even to run along the shore without being snapped up by one of their watchful commanders. Here were, therefore, all the men who would have been engaged in the whale fishery or the cod fishery or in commerce with the West Indies, with Europe or the rest of the world, ready to go out as privateersmen under any popular commander. Under John Adams' pressure, Congress created a navy before the Declaration of Independence. As the war went on, the new State of Massachusetts maintained its own navy, building or buying its ships. It should be remembered that at this time the building of ships for sale abroad was a very important industry. No finer vessels were built in the world. The names given to these vessels showed the spirit of the time. The "Margaretta," after her capture, became the "Liberty." The "Andrew Doria" recalled the name of the "Venetian Doge." There was the "Oliver"; there was the "Cromwell"; there were the "Oliver Cromwell" and the "Protector." The reader will come to some passages from the log of the "Tyrannicide." All these names were used, that kings might remember "that there was a crick in their necks also."

The method of fitting out a privateer was this: some man of enterprise or reputation obtained from the Government a commission which gave him a right to arm his vessel, the "Cromwell" or the "Sally," as a privateer, and ship a crew. The crew once shipped were under his command, as they would have been in a vessel of the State. But it was generally supposed that the discipline of a privateer was not so severe as that of the national or State vessels. The crew enlisted under an agreement that the profits of the adventure were to be divided among them. Each man had what is called his "lay," varying according to the importance of the service he rendered. To this arrangement they were all accustomed. For all fishing vessels and all whalers went out under a similar communistic arrangement.

The privateer fleet of Massachusetts increased in strength until the end of the Revolutionary War. At the end of the war, the town of Salem alone had fifty-nine privateers in commission, carrying four thousand men. This was a force larger in numbers than the United States had afloat at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898. There were many privateers owned in this vicinity. In fact privateering had become the business of those who had no longer the fisheries or the regular commerce of olden times to rely upon.

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To delve, for a few minutes into early history as relating to the sea, there are some interesting dates to familiarize oneself with. The coast of Massachusetts and Cape Cod in particular was visited by Leif in the year 1000 or 1002. In 1497 Cabot passed along the shore. John Cabot and his son, Sebastian, were Venetian navigators in the service of England. They discovered the North American continent, an event second only to Columbus' discovery in importance. In 1500-01 Cortereal visited the coast and enslaved some Indians. In 1602 Gosnold made a settlement at Cuttyhunk. In 1620 the Pilgrims arrived at Cape Cod. In 1630 the Massachusetts Colony brought its charter to Massachusetts. In 1631 the "Blessing of the Bay" was launched on July 4. It was the first ship and the great shipbuilding industry had begun.

Reference has been made to the fact that the United States had less men afloat at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 than the town of Salem at the end of the Revolutionary War. Those who were afloat, however, gave equally good account of themselves.

Terrific Speed from Ocean to Ocean—Although American history dates back a few years, historically speaking, water transportation has proceeded along the lines of all the important changes since logs became dug-outs, and propulsion has progressed from oars to sail, from sails to steam-driven paddle-wheels and stern propellers. If we wish to include the sagas of the Vikings as authentic history of these shores we can include in our list galleys and Dragon boats of the Norsemen, with their high prows; as well as caravels, shallops, pinnaces, barques, pinckes, busses, ketches, scows, schooners, ships of the line, packets, frigates, whalers, clippers, or what have you?

In time iron displaced wood in shipbuilding and steel-clad warships replaced the ironclads of Civil War days. The building of steel vessels did not arrive at considerable importance in this vicinity until the construction of battleships at Fore River, Quincy, a quarter of a century ago, but an East Bridgewater man, the late Honorable Benjamin W. Harris, for many years judge of the Plymouth County Probate Court, was known as the father of the steel navy, for reasons explained elsewhere in this history.

The steam frigate, with sails and wooden masts and little or no armor fought the battles in the Civil War, not forgetting the low, flat, armored vessel, with a revolving turret, designed by John Ericsson and named the "Monitor." Her two guns saved the Union frigates of wood from the "Merrimac," and her armored deck withstood the rain of shells from the iron-clad "Merrimac."

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When the Spanish War occurred in 1898, the United States battleships were large steelclad vessels, with sides of armor plates, with collections of turrets that were revolving turntables, heavily armored, and resting on circular steel bases through which shells and ammunition were hoisted. The masts of metal carried guns. Great engines drove this heavy fighting machine more than twenty knots an hour. One of the gigantic floating batteries of this type was the battleship "Maine," which was blown up in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, February 15, 1898. The explosion killed or gave fatal wounds to two hundred and sixty officers and men. Others constituted the Asiatic fleet, under command of Commodore George Dewey which sailed into the harbor of Manila, in the Philippine Islands, the first of May, 1898, and took complete possession of Manila Bay. Others composed the North Atlantic Fleet, commanded by Rear Admiral Sampson, and the flying squadron under Commander Schley, which, at the battle of Santiago, July 3, 1898, virtually ended the war by destroying Admiral Cervera's Spanish Fleet and "wiped an entire empire off the map in twenty minutes."

There were Plymouth, Norfolk, and Barnstable County men with Dewey at Manila, on the battleship "Maine," with Sampson and Schley, but it was with another first class battleship, the "Oregon," which, March 1, 1898, was in dock at Bremerton, in the State of Washington, that people in the vicinity of the three counties had a peculiar interest. Before the blowing up of the "Maine," before President McKinley demanded that Spain should "at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters," the Navy Department began to concentrate the fleet ships. Those in distant waters were ordered to stations in the North and South Atlantic, and it was necessary for the "Oregon" to make a run around Cape Horn to obey orders.

The "Oregon" was under command of Captain Charles E. Clark, whose home was in North Easton, one of the boundary towns of Brockton. Under orders sent March 1, he had proceeded to San Francisco and taken on ammunition. He reached there March 9 and on March 12 was ordered to go to Callao in Peru.

Sailing from San Francisco March 19, the battleship made an average speed of 10.7 knots an hour through the Pacific, arriving at Callao April 4. The "Marietta" had been sent from Panama to purchase coal, in readiness for the arrival of the "Oregon" by the time she reached the Peruvian seaport. Eleven hundred tons were transferred to the "Oregon"

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in record time, and April 7, Captain Clark was on his way to the Strait of Magellan. He telegraphed the Navy Department: "On account of navigation of Magellan Strait and reported movements Spanish torpedo-vessel near Montevideo, I should recommend 'Marietta' to accompany this vessel. If required, I could touch Talcahuano, Chile, for orders six days after my sailing."

This message was received by Hon. John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy, a Plymouth County man whose home was in Hingham. He answered: "Proceed at once to Montevideo or Rio Janeiro. The Spanish torpedo-boat 'Temerario' is in Montevideo. 'Marietta' has been ordered to proceed to Sandy Point, Patagonia, to arrange for coal. How many tons of coal will you require? The 'Marietta' and 'Oregon' to proceed together. Keep secret your destination. Keep secret this message."

Just before dark April 16, according to the report of Captain Clark, "the anchors were let go on a rocky shelf fringed by islets and reefs in thirty-eight and fifty-two fathoms of water, and they fortunately held through some of the most violent gusts I have ever experienced." A tremendous gale was blowing, the heavy rain made it impossible to see the giant, overhanging cliffs or the narrow winding channel of the Strait, but the battleship worked her way and reached Sandy Point the evening of April 17, having made an average speed of 11.75 knots an hour.

"Wiping an Empire off the Map in Twenty Minutes"—When Captain Clark reached Key West May 26, 1898, Admiral Cervera was somewhere in the southeastern Carribean, and Admiral Sampson was seeking him, giving orders to Commander Schley: "You should establish a blockade at Cienfuegos with the least possible delay." With Sampson watching the north coast of Cuba and Schley on the southern shore, almost opposite Havana, Admiral Cervera steered for Santiago, on the southeastern coast of Cuba. This was the situation of the North Atlantic Fleet when Captain Clark arrived at Key West. Sampson headed for Santiago May 29. Naval Constructor Hobson received his permission to carry out a plan which he had by sinking the collier "Merrimac," to block the channel and bottle up Cervera's fleet, and this was attempted June 3. It was a dangerous undertaking and volunteers were asked for. While the plan seemed possible of execution, it must be accomplished under a withering fire from the Spanish fleet, as soon as the "Merrimac" should reach the place where it was proposed to sink her, and it was extremely unlikely that those who accomplished the task would ever return. Immediately volunteers were asked for, every man on every ship in Admiral Sampson's fleet volunteered.

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The few men required were selected, the "Merrimac" was sunk, so that Cervera's fleet, when it was later forced to attempt to make a run for the open sea had to pass around the wreck with caution and at a terrible loss in time, contributing to the success on the part of the American fleet when the attempt to escape from the trap was frustrated. Hobson and his men were taken prisoners.

The attempt to escape was made July 3, 1898. The Spanish fleet was destroyed. A few minutes after the "Maria Teresa," the first to come out, passed the sunken "Merrimac," Admiral Cervera's ships were on fire and sinking, and the Spanish sailors on them were dying. The American sailors, in the exultation of victory, started to cheer. Captain John Woodward Philip, of the battleship "Texas," halted the expressions of joy on the lips of his men with the words: "Don't cheer, boys, the poor devils are dying."

Fortunes Made by Early Mariners—When a ship sailed from Boston there was very likely in command of her a mariner from Plymouth, Norfolk, or Barnstable County, as all of the coast towns and many at a considerable distance from the coast, contained the homes of shipmasters qualified to sail any vessel which ploughed the seven seas. Many of them were owned in Plymouth, Kingston, Duxbury, Marshfield, Hingham, Scituate, the towns on the Cape and elsewhere. Some of them hailed from one of these towns, although the historical records credit them as sailing from Boston. From 1674 to 1714 New Englanders launched 1,332 ships. Lord Bellomont, the royal governor, said: "I believe there are more good vessels belonging to the town of Boston than to all Scotland and Ireland." The Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies built most of the ships for the colonies and carried the bulk of the commerce from Chesapeake Bay to England and from the southern parts of Europe. In 1676, Edward Randolph wrote concerning the ship owners of Massachusetts: "It is the great care of the merchants to keep their ships in constant employ, which makes them trye all ports to force a trade, whereby they abound with all sorts of commodities, and Boston may be esteemed the mart town of the West Indies."

The early seamen were an able lot, taking naturally to the life afloat. Many of them shipped at an age when they would now be in the junior high schools and by the time they reached thirty, or a little past the age when many young men of today are graduating from college and wondering what they are to do for a living, were retiring to snug homes, their fortunes made, and with a wealth of experience and knowledge

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obtained from knocking about seldom paralleled, even in the complex life of the present day.

There was never any lack of initiative on the part of the early residents of Eastern Massachusetts who thought in terms of ships and foreign markets. Frederic Tudor looked at his father's ice pond in Saugus and thought what it would mean to the people of the West Indies to have a little cracked ice in their toddy. He decided to send a cargo and was ridiculed for his plan, as the wise men of his neighborhood said the ice would melt and swamp any vessel which attempted to transport it. Furthermore the people in the West Indies might view it with curiosity but it would be of no avail to attempt to educate them to use it for refrigeration purposes. Tudor packed ice in white pine sawdust and sent one hundred and thirty tons to Martinique in a brig, to see who was right.

He learned that some of the things which had been told him were true but he stored the ice until the people were willing to pay the price for it. He was forced to borrow \$280,000 to carry on his plans and then the people in this vicinity were convinced that what they entertained as a possibility was true, namely that Frederic Tudor was crazy. The war of 1812 came and passed and Tudor secured from the British Government a monopoly of the ice trade with Jamaica. He also obtained exclusive rights to Cuba and supplied the markets in Charleston, Savannah and New Orleans. It was some of Tudor's ice that was first carried to the East Indies in the ship "Tuscany." Many a New Englander has enjoyed a planter's punch in recent years in the West Indies or a green swizzle in Trinidad who would have been astonished to know that the first ice used to cool similar drinks in those places, by whatever name they were ordered in the earliest years of the nineteenth century, came from the early abode of the Pilgrims and Puritans.

More ice was demanded by the Anglo-Indian residents of Calcutta after the cargo had been landed safely. The ice trade circled the world and in fourteen years Tudor had paid his debts, was making a fortune and felt disposed to write in his diary: "Drink, Spaniard, and be cool, that I who have suffered so much in the cause may be able to go home and keep myself warm."

Ice was by no means the only commodity shipped as a venture from the Massachusetts seaboard. Supercargoes were sent in merchant ships to manage the sales and superintend all the commercial concerns in the interest of merchant adventurers who took as many chances, perhaps, as those early merchant adventurers who financed the Pilgrims in their venture wherever the "Mayflower" might land them.

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One of the early supercargoes was Samuel Shaw who, following the Revolution, in which he held the rank of major and was on the staff of General Knox, went out and returned in the "Empress of China." Colonel Robert Gould Shaw was his nephew. Upon his arrival in China for the first time, Samuel Shaw was taken for an Englishman and had some difficulty in explaining to the Chinese authorities that he and his companions were Americans, "a free, independent and sovereign nation, not connected with Great Britain." He kept a diary in which he wrote: "They styled us the 'new people,' and when by the map we conveyed to them the idea of the extent of our country, with its present and increasing population, they were highly pleased at the prospect of so considerable a market for the productions of their own empire." It had been the custom to sell China cargoes immediately upon their arrival, at public auction. The Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1824, laid a tax of one percent *ad valorem* on all merchandise sold in this way, and the effect was to transfer the China business to New York. In 1857 there were forty-one arrivals from China in New York, half of them being ships owned in Massachusetts. The tax was repealed in 1852 but the remedy had come too late.

"Surprise" was Launched in 1850—Previous to 1832 ships had been built on "the cod's head and mackerel tail" plan, but when there came a call for faster ships of larger dimensions and there was a real reason for speed, builders gave their vessels a water line that was concave instead of convex at the bow and stern, and the clipper ships were launched. These were especially brought into play in the rush for the goldfields of California in 1849 and later years. Massachusetts ship-builders were unparalleled in their ability to provide ships of size and speed to meet any emergency. The first New England clipper ship was launched in 1850 from the East Boston yard of Samuel Hall. It was the "Surprise" of 126 tons.

When the "Surprise" was launched the men who had worked on the beautiful craft were invited to bring their wives, mothers and sweethearts to see the ship glide into the water and partake of a dinner which Mr. Hall had provided for the occasion. The new clipper was launched, fully rigged and with her three skysail yards crossed. A more beautiful ship never plunged into the bay and it was a great event in New England ship-building annals. On her maiden voyage to California the "Surprise" reached San Francisco from Boston in ninety-six days, breaking all records. The following year the "Surprise" won twenty thousand dollars in a race to San Francisco against the "Sea Witch" for her backers.

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She continued on to China, loaded tea for London, and earned for her owners \$50,000 over her entire cost and the expense of the voyage.

The stories which came from California thrilled the young and middle-aged men of this vicinity who lost no time in embarking on the clipper ships, singing, as they sailed for the "Golden Gate":

Oh, California,
That's the land for me!
I'm going to Sacramento
With my washbowl on my knee.

Many were the men on the seaboard of Massachusetts who engaged in building the clipper ships and they put pride and skill into their work. Many other men sailed in the clipper ships as captains or crew, and many constituted a third class who took passage for California to try their luck in the goldfields. The shipyards hummed with industry and the ocean became a race course over which the ships sailed with every bit of canvas set. They were under command of marvelous captains, many of them from Cape Cod, who dared to carry royals and studding sails when more conservative mariners had two reefs in their topsails. There were traditions how these skippers drove around Cape Horn to San Francisco with rackings on the topsail halyards and locks on the chainsheets, so that no timid seamen, frightened at the captain's seeming rashness, should tamper with the gear. The Cape Cod shipmasters were masterly navigators, and around the Horn and across to China and Australia the time was cut in halves.

The greatest of all clipper shipbuilders was Donald McKay. He launched at his yards in East Boston in 1850, the pioneer of the fifteen hundred-ton class, the "Stag-hound" of 1,534 tons, whose record of thirteen days for a sailing-ship from Boston Light to the Equator was never broken. McKay built an even larger clipper, encouraged by the success of the first. The second was the "Flying Cloud," said to have been the fastest sailing ship on long voyages that has ever flown the American flag. On her first voyage she made the run from New York to San Francisco in eighty-nine days.

There were eleven voyages in less than one hundred days made from Atlantic ports to San Francisco by ships constructed in Massachusetts and of this number seven were made by ships built by Donald McKay. The material used was the finest oak and southern pine, copper fastened and sheathed with yellow metal. Mahogany and rose wood furnished the stanchions, rails and cabins. Some of the captains had a share in the

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ships which they drove through the seas off Cape Horn at top speed. Some of them received three thousand dollars for the voyage to San Francisco with a bonus of two thousand dollars additional if they arrived within one hundred days.

While the pay for the captain was regarded as almost a fortune in those days, if he won the bonus, wages paid seamen averaged from eight to twelve dollars a month on the California voyages. Cape Cod boys were inclined, although bred to seafaring life, to cast their lot with the gold hunters upon their arrival in California. Frequently their places were taken by foreigners of a poor type and shanghaiing was a common practice. Discipline was harsh and food was poor and it was small wonder that the men were enticed to the streams of California where fortune was said to be found in every pan of gravel.

In one month in 1850 sixteen ships sailed into the harbor of San Francisco from Massachusetts ports.

A few of the "Forty-niners" from Southeastern Massachusetts returned from the California goldfields with wealth, but most of them returned, if they returned at all, with less than they had when they started. More made money by selling supplies than by digging or panning gold. Hundreds remained in California after the gold rush was a matter of history, indulging in excitement and adventure in the new country.

Nautical Training Ship—An attempt was made in 1927 by Governor Alvan T. Fuller to have the U. S. S. "Nantucket," the Massachusetts Nautical Training ship, given up as an economy measure, but the reaction on the part of the newspapers and the people was such that the bill in the General Court was defeated, and the "Nantucket" still proudly rides the waves. One might as well try to tear down the "sacred codfish" in the State House or get rid of the New England conscience by means of a surgical operation.

The "Nantucket" is a barkentine-rigged steamer of 1,261 tons register, with iron hull, 244 feet over all, thirty-two feet beam and draws fifteen feet of water. Her equipment includes a wireless telegraph outfit, submarine signal apparatus, a steam capstan, steam steering gear, complete electrical outfit and the latest appliances for the art of navigation. She has been the instrument for a cadet school which has made her internationally famous. The Governor recommended that she be turned back to the navy and that the cadet school be abolished. The contention of Governor Fuller was that the Massachusetts Nautical School was "an elaborate service for the few at the expense of the many, inconsistent with the urgent needs of the commonwealth in other directions."

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The opposition on the part of the Governor focused attention on the Massachusetts Nautical School and immediately the "Nantucket" had its defenders rise up plentifully. It had never before had so many old friends rise in its behalf and many new ones arose who had never before given any attention to the ship, or perhaps ever knew of its existence.

The nautical school was founded pursuant to an act passed by Congress in 1874, authorizing the establishment of public marine schools. By the provisions of this act the Governor of Massachusetts applied to the charts, books and instruments of navigation, to train citizens of Massachusetts to become mariners, under instruction of naval officers. In 1892 the U. S. S. "Enterprise" was assigned by the Navy Department for use as a school, but she was not suitable in some ways and was recalled and replaced by the U. S. S. "Ranger." This was rechristened the "Nantucket," when a new ship was built and the name "Ranger" given to it. The new name was selected in recognition of the fact that the first nautical training school in America was established in Nantucket in 1829, by Admiral Isaac Coffin. It was not deemed wise nor appropriate to call it the "Coffin."

The school had been in operation five years when the Spanish War broke out and one hundred graduates entered the Naval Reserve and gave a good account of themselves. During the World War, in 1917 and 1918, about 300 graduates served as officers in the Navy, Naval Reserve Force and the Marine Corps. Their commissions ran from ensign to commander. Another one hundred and fifty graduates served in the merchant marine as officers, twenty-five of them in command of vessels. There is a bronze tablet on the "Nantucket" in honor of eleven men who lost their lives.

There is a course of study requiring two years and during that time the boys are under as rigid discipline as those who attend the Annapolis Naval or the Military Academy at West Point. Within a month or two of graduation ninety per cent of the boys have started as third officers in the merchant service. The lowest pay received by a third officer is \$150 a month. According to one of the instructors: "We seldom have any difficulty in placing one of our graduates. One steamship line will take all we can send it. There is not a port in the world in which a man showing a diploma from the 'Nantucket' cannot find a berth. There are many Harvard graduates who do not get \$150 a month. The same is true of graduates from the Normal schools and State Agricultural College."

According to Captain Armistead Rush, commander of the "Nan-

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tucket" since 1919: "The school adds as much to the maritime prestige of the State as any other single influence. Ninety per cent of its graduates are actively engaged in all branches of shipping. More trained officers are supplied to our merchant vessels and more executives in the 'shore personnel' of our various shipping companies from this school than from any other individual source in the United States. The purpose of the school is to train citizens of Massachusetts for a lucrative profession. This school is remarkably successful in accomplishing its purpose." The statement by Commander Rush is taken from an interview published in the Boston "Transcript," January 22, 1927.

The commissioners of the Massachusetts Nautical School: Admiral Francis T. Bowles, chairman; William E. McKay, Clarence E. Perkins, and William H. Dimick. The latter is secretary. It costs approximately \$1,529 to put a boy through the school. His earning power six months after graduation averages \$2,451. The per capita cost to the citizens of Massachusetts, it was brought out when the bill before the General Court for its abolition came up for consideration, was \$0.0165. According to the official report, the ship accommodates 116 students. The Federal Government grants a subsidy of \$25,000 to the State to help pay operating expenses. The cost to the State is less than \$70,000.

During the thirty-five years the school has offered an opportunity for Massachusetts boys who wished to follow the traditions of the Old Bay State by becoming officers and marine executives, it has enrolled 2,465 students. The number of graduates is 1,231. During the past twelve years more than ninety per cent of its graduates have entered maritime services afloat or ashore. More than seventy of them are master mariners in charge of ships, more than fifty are first officers, seventy-five are second officers, sixty-nine third officers, fifty-one chief engineers, one hundred and forty-six first, second or third engineers in ships scattered all over the world. One graduate is vice-president of the Shipping Board. The commander of the "Leviathan," the largest steamer in the world, is another.

The Boston "Globe" asked pointedly in an editorial about the time the governor's bill was coming up for action: "Our State does not feel it is indulging in favoritism when it educates teachers, farmers, mechanics. This school was established by our Legislature, years ago, to meet a void in our school system—to enable boys to receive a first-class nautical training for marine positions. Does Massachusetts today wish to cut off the last link that binds her sons to the sea, enabling them to take their place in the marine world, to help guide American commerce today and tomorrow?"

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"Jolly Roger" Often in the Offing—There is another side to the business of seamanship off the Massachusetts coast which contains romance sufficient to feed the spirit of adventure in the make-up of readers of novels and of truth stranger than fiction. The stories of Epenow, Squanto and Samoset have been referred to. The visits of the Norsemen who had the blood of Vikings in their veins are related somewhat in the chapters relating to Plymouth County and something has already been written concerning those who trod the decks under the "Jolly Roger."

As if it were not enough that the colonists had the Indians to contend with, the New England winters, which were more severe then than now, and the problems of wresting a living from the rock-ribbed, thin and stubborn soil, with few proper implements to make the task pleasant or otherwise than the hardest physical labor, there were pirates who infested the coast and laid in wait for any opportunity to slaughter the simple agriculturists, smash their houses and meeting-houses in their frantic anxiety to accumulate gold.

Undoubtedly the principal reason that the Pilgrims were not wiped out of existence by the Indians was the fact that the great sickness which had visited these shores before the sailing of the "Mayflower" had reduced them to comparatively small numbers and interfered sadly with their fighting morale. Massasoit may have been actuated by the kindest motives in making friends with the Pilgrims. On the other hand he might have determined it wise to include them with their firearms and military strength with his other allies for a time experimentally, in the belief that white faces worse than the Pilgrims might be coming next. There had been vessels touching the shore of Massachusetts for fifteen years or so and most of those who had landed had been bad actors. The Pilgrims may have appeared to Massasoit as "something else again" and worth trying out as friends, inasmuch as he had it in his power to wipe them out at any time should his disposition and war policy change. By the time the strenuous Philip perched upon the throne of the Wampanoags, it was too late, as Philip found out, through his early entrance into the "happy hunting ground."

The reason the Plymouth Colony was not wiped out by pirates was, perhaps, because there was so little wealth contained in the colony that pirating was more profitable on the Spanish Main, and destroying and sacking Old Panama was the favorite outdoor sport of these cutthroats, with cutlasses in their teeth, gleaming eyes and terrifying mustachios, who constituted "big business" in their day.

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The pirates were, however, a menace and Captain William Kidd, Sir Henry Morgan and especially Edward Teach, more familiarly called "Blackbeard" were undesirable neighbors. While they did not actually call upon the Plymouth colonists, they were frequently in the offing, and the feeling that there is a pirate ship about is always a creepy feeling and not disposed to tranquillity. Whether Mary Read and Ann Bonny, the two women pirates whose stories add to the romance of the days of the buccaneers, took part in any of the acts of piracy off the coast of Massachusetts is not actually known, as these emancipated flappers of their day were not even known as such to their companions in cutthroat circles until nearly the end of their undesirable careers. The life of Ann Bonny, the daughter of a man of considerable wealth, who had been brought up to shine in English society, how she ran away with a young sailor and later became enamored by the dashing young adventurer John Rackam, makes a good story but has, so far as we know, no connection with this historical record. The same is probably true of Mary Read, who at one time conducted the Three Horse Shoes tea room and naturally took the next step into giving nothing at all in exchange for the gold she took.

Captain Thomas Joanes or Jones, for whom the Jones River, flowing from Silver Lake, through Kingston, in Kingston Bay, has been named, has been mentioned by several historians as a most undesirable person, and his record seems to fall far short of that left by most of the passengers on the "Mayflower." Captain Jones, however, remained in Plymouth and Provincetown harbors, with the "Mayflower" and crew, from November until April, during which time the Pilgrims had the use of the "Mayflower" as a shelter and the use of the "Mayflower's" shallop to do their exploring. They were also assisted by the crew of the "Mayflower" in whatever undertakings they set their hands to do.

According to the records, Captain Jones had sailed the Eastern seas in the corsair "Lion," had been a prisoner in London for misconduct, according to the English law of that day; master of the cattle ship "Falcon" on a voyage to Virginia, and after bringing the Pilgrims or Separatists from Leyden in Holland to Plymouth Colony, became a buccaneer. In this capacity he commanded the little ship "Discovery" off the coast of New England and Virginia. He captured a Spanish frigate in the West Indies, sailed it into the port of Jamestown, was arrested and shared a pirate's fate.

Possibly he might have had intentions of turning the "Mayflower" into a pirate ship, under the "Jolly Roger" but have decided he would

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have a most undesirable crew for such a mission, if he attempted to change his passengers into pirates. It is said the "Mayflower" carried several guns, the heavier ones mounted on the spar-deck amidships, the lighter astern and on the rail, with a gun of longer range and a larger calibre upon the forecastle, the guns numbering eight or more in all. All merchant ships of the time carried guns to defend themselves from buccaneers, and many innocent appearing ships turned piratical crafts after the shore restrictions were removed and the skippers began to feel the freedom and absolute monarchical government which begins after there is about so much water beneath the keel and the shore line is a memory.

Whether Captain Jones would have attacked the Plymouth colonists whom he had landed at Plymouth, if they had possessed sufficient wealth to make it worth his while, while he was a buccaneer off the coast, is a matter of opinion. Had he done so, it would have been in line with the performances of others who are to be rated as heroes or villains, according to preference. Take for instance those historical characters whose exploits interest the youth who studies early Colonial history, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake. They were pirates and rascals to the Spaniards. The wealth of the Spanish West Indies and the Spanish Main furnished magnificent adventures and rich plunder, so why bother with the poor colonists at Plymouth and Virginia?

At the present time excavations were being made at Old Panama and riches unearthed which were buried when Morgan destroyed the city, carrying away everything in the way of treasure which did not escape his notice. For such acts as this he was knighted by King Charles II of England and made governor of Jamaica. This same king had "heard of the harbouring of pyrates and ordered such persons brought to justice," but this evidently meant such pirates as robbed English instead of Spanish, and a swaggering buccaneer chief with plenty of doubloons to squander in the English towns was always welcome, since his ill-gotten wealth was obtained from Spanish galleons. Colonial merchants received goods brought in by the buccaneers, smuggled under eyes of officers who took a share of the loot. Some of the merchants were partners in these buccaneering ventures, to say nothing of making large profits by receiving the goods obtained by force and murder.

Two or three years after the Pilgrims arrived at Provincetown, fishermen and traders were being plundered in New England waters by Dixie Bull. It was estimated at the beginning of the eighteenth century that there were fifteen hundred pirates on the Atlantic coast, and with

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very feeble resistance offered them. "Letters of marque" were issued to trading vessels, authorizing them to capture enemy ships, should they encounter any on their voyages. Armed with such a license, a ship became a privateer. It was privately owned, not attached to the navy in any sense, and the "letter of marque" covered a multitude of sins and made respectable nearly any crime which a shipmaster and crew might choose to commit on the high seas. They were heavily armed. Morgan carried on his voyage to Panama twenty-two large guns and six small cannon of brass, and as vicious a crew as ever sunk a ship or cut a throat.

Captain Kidd, Blackbeard and Others—Captain William Kidd was an experienced privateersman. He was recommended by Colonel Robert Livingston and others of the gentry of New York as "a bold and honest man to suppress the prevailing piracies in the American seas." The English government turned loose this hijacker among the bootleggers of those days and Captain Kidd, in August, 1691, honestly turned over to the king his tenth share of a prize ship which he took into New York. The governor got a fifteenth share, being an official nearer at hand. Just what Colonel Livingston and his coterie of unscrupulous merchants and hypocritical royal officers received does not appear in the records, but they were evidently well pleased with Captain Kidd's "honesty" since Colonel Livingston secured for him command of the English ship "Adventure," in 1695. Captain Kidd sailed on a cruise to Madeira, Madagascar, and the Red Sea, captured a number of ships, and brought one of them, the "Quedah Merchant," four hundred tons, to the West Indies. Lord Belomont, the royal governor at New York, waited until he appeared at his headquarters on Gardiner's Island, near New York, offered him a safe conduct to come ashore, and so far as Captain Kidd knew, was ready to accept a share in the loot as had been his custom. But Captain Kidd was arrested, sent to England for trial as a pirate and there executed.

There were stories that he had hidden treasure at various places along the Atlantic Coast and, after three hundred years, these stories are still believed and it was not long ago that a company was formed and good money paid in to finance excavating in a spot where some tradition said pirates' gold had been buried.

Blackbeard, the most notorious and blood-thirsty pirate who ever raided the Atlantic Coast, had one of his rendezvous at Charlotte Amelia, Virgin Islands, now owned by the United States and used as a naval base. The writer visited Blackbeard's Castle in 1924 and took "afternoon tea" with some nurses at the United States Naval Hospital on the porch of the

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castle. Is is a beautiful location and the neighbors there are much more desirable since Blackbeard got his just deserts at the hand of Lieutenant Maynard of Virginia.

Blackbeard was so called from his long black beard, which he wore plaited in two braids. He was a swash-buckler supreme. Dressed in silk and velvet with great silver-buckled shoes, Edward Teach—for such was his name—was wont to carry a dirk and cutlass, a brace of pistols in his belt, six additional pistols in a sling about his neck and chest, large earrings suspended from the lobes of his ears. Thus equipped he was in every way dressed to sing a song in a comic opera or to command other murderers of the sea. The latter was his trade, after serving apprenticeship as a privateersman against the French in the West Indies. As a pirate, his first ship was the "Queen Anne's Revenge," carrying forty guns. In this he raided the Atlantic Coast and became the terror of the deep, looking the part, bristling with arms.

Blackbeard's castle on Government Hill, St. Thomas, was built by Carl Bagbert in 1674. When Teach lived there, he is said to have had fourteen wives, and among his social diversions was to take his crew to his comrades in the hold of the ship, half suffocate them by burning brimstone matches, blow out all the candles and blaze away with his many pistols, right and left, at random, relighting the candles to see what results had been obtained.

Blackbeard and his heavily armed ship and crew arrived off Charleston, South Carolina, one day in 1718, and a boat was sent ashore with a message from the pirate captain to Governor Johnson. The message contained a list of drugs and the notification that unless they were immediately sent out in his boat he would present to the city the heads of several citizens of that city whom he had captured and taken from a ship on its way to England. One of the men was a prominent Charleston merchant named Samuel Wragg. The drugs were sent and Captain Teach, after robbing the captives of their possessions, sent them ashore with thanks for the supply of medicines. He then sailed away, flying the black flag.

Governor Johnson hastened fitting out the sloops "Henry" and "Sea Nymph," each with eight guns and a crew of seventy men in pursuit of the pirate. Instead they captured Steve Bonnet and his big vessel the "Royal James." Captain Bonnet was another cutthroat and good-rid-dance, but Colonel Rhett, in charge of the expedition from Charleston, was greatly surprised to find he had not Blackbeard in his clutches. Bonnet made his escape and hid on Sullivan's Island, but was recaptured and

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again taken to Charleston. The expedition continued its search for Blackbeard but was again surprised when it captured Richard Worley's crew on the "Eagle." Worley, another buccaneer, had been killed in the fighting. The "Eagle" was a ship that had been carrying indentured servants from England to Virginia, and had been captured by Worley. When the hatches were lifted thirty-six women were found in the hold.

The Charleston expedition did not overtake Blackbeard, but two small ships from Virginia, the frigates "Lime" and "Pearl," had a desperate encounter with him, under command of Lieutenant Maynard. The latter gave the desperate pirate his death blow but not until Teach had received twenty sword cuts and many pistol wounds.

The pirates made the Bahama Islands the base of their marauding expeditions and the scene of their debaucheries, to a large extent. In 1718, when Captain Woodes Rogers, R. N., the rescuer of Alexander Selkirk from Juan Fernandez, was appointed governor, piracy was suppressed, by his vigorous scouring of the seas. He caused no fewer than eight of the chief offenders to be hanged in one day.

There are places in Plymouth County, also on Cape Cod and on the Massachusetts islands where, tradition says, the pirates buried their treasures. Not many years ago a company was formed for the purpose of making excavations, following the directions which someone claimed had been discovered among the valuable papers of a person long since gone to his reward. Considerable stock was sold to those willing to try anything once but no digging was ever done and the buried treasure remains as before.

In the spring of 1718, the "Widah," a pirate ship carrying twenty-three guns and manned by one hundred and thirty men, was forced ashore and the whole crew, except one Englishman and an Indian, were drowned. This piratical craft, captained by Samuel Bellamy, took seven vessels in the vicinity of Cape Cod and transferred seven of the pirates to one of the prize ships. The pirates celebrated their victory by getting drunk and, while they slept, the captain of the captured vessel ran her ashore on the back of the cape and the seven pirates were secured. Six of them, upon trial before a special court of admiralty, were found guilty and executed in Boston, November 15.

Some of the ships which have gone down into Davy Jones' locker off the sandy shores of Cape Cod have carried with them pirates and plunder. The story of such a ship and such a crew is included in "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society," as follows:

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No shipwreck is more remarkable than that of the noted pirate Bellamy, mentioned by Governor Hutchinson, in his history. In the year 1717, his ship, with his whole fleet, were cast on the shore of what is now Wellfleet, being led near the shore by the captain of a scow, which was made a prize the day before, who had the promise of the scow as a present, if he would pilot the fleet in Cape Cod harbor; the captain, suspecting the pirate would not keep his promise, and that, instead of clearing his ship, as was his pretense, his intention might be to plunder the inhabitants of Provincetown.

The night being dark, a lantern was hung in the shrouds of the scow, the captain of which, instead of piloting where he was ordered, approached so near the land that the pirates' large ship, which followed him, struck on the outer bar; the scow, being less laden, struck much nearer the shore. The fleet was put in confusion; a violent storm arose; and the whole fleet was shipwrecked on the shore. It is said that all in the large ship perished in the waters except two. Many of the smaller vessels got safe on shore. Those that were executed, were the pirates put on board a prize schooner before the storm, as it is said. After the storm, more than a hundred dead bodies lay along the shore. At times, to this day, there are King William and Queen Mary's coppers picked up, and pieces of silver, called cob-money. The violence of the seas moves the sands upon the outer bar; so that at times the iron caboose of the ship, at low ebbs, has been seen.—Vol. III, p. 120, "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society."

For many years after this shipwreck, a man, of a very singular and frightful aspect, used, every spring and autumn, to be seen traveling on the Cape, who was supposed to have been one of Bellamy's crew. The presumption is that he went to some place where money had been secreted by the pirates to get such a supply as his exigencies required. When he died, many pieces of gold were found in a girdle, which he constantly wore. Aged people relate that this man frequently spent the night in private houses, and that, whenever the Bible or any religious book was read, or any family devotions performed, he invariably left the room. This is not improbable. It is also stated that, during the night, it would seem as if he had in his chamber a legion from the lower world; for such conversation was often overheard which was boisterous, profane, blasphemous, and quarrelsome in the extreme. This is the representation. The probability is, that his sleep was disturbed by a recollection of the murderous scenes in which he had been engaged, and that he, involuntarily, vented such exclamations as, with the aid of an imagination, awake to wonders from the invisible regions, gave rise, in those days, to the current opinion that his bed chamber was the resort of infernals.—Alden's "Collection of Epitaphs," Vol. IV.

As Thoreau, Dwight and Webster Saw It—There have been many books written about Cape Cod, some of them quite out of date from the

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standpoint of many readers, but one written by Henry Thoreau will never lose its charm and beauty, any more than the Cape Cod of which he wrote. Thoreau did not whisk from Wareham over gleaming black roads in an effort to see how swiftly he could burn up the road and how soon he could reach Provincetown and think he had seen Cape Cod when he arrived at the "sandy fist." There is no intended criticism of those who make the trip in that way. It is one way, and a very modern and pleasant one, of getting pleasure on Cape Cod. But it was not Thoreau's way and it is no way for any person to really see Cape Cod. They must do as Thoreau did—walk, look and think.

When Thoreau took his Cape Cod trip the roads were sandy and the railroad stopped at Sandwich. From Sandwich to Orleans Thoreau traveled by stage, through Barnstable, Yarmouth, Dennis and Brewster. Concerning his conveyance, he wrote: the coach "was an exceedingly narrow one, but as there was a slight spherical excess over two on a seat, the driver waited till nine passengers had got in, without taking the measure of any of them, and then shut the door, after two or three ineffectual slams, as if the fault were all in the hinges or the latch—while we timed our inspirations and expirations so as to assist him." What ever became of the coach which carried Henry Thoreau from Sandwich to Orleans? It should be preserved, if still in existence, just as appropriately as the Lafayette coach which Henry Ford retains as a pensioner at the Wayside Inn.

Evidently Thoreau was glad, upon reaching Orleans, to walk. That means of locomotion at least had one redeeming quality, there was room enough to breathe when one traveled on his own power. He enjoyed his walk towards Eastham, as he wrote: "Every landscape which is dreary enough has a certain beauty to my eyes, and in this instance its permanent qualities were enhanced by the weather. Everything told of the sea, even when we did not see its waste or hear its roar. For birds there were gulls, and for carts in the fields, boats turned bottom upwards against the houses, and sometimes the rib of a whale was woven into the fence by the roadside. The trees were, if possible, rarer than the houses, excepting apple trees, of which there were a few small orchards in the hollows."

The route taken by Thoreau from Eastham was across to the Atlantic coast and northward. In the fields of Eastham and Wellfleet and on Nauset Plain it was all naked sand but it all had a compelling beauty to this man who thought as he saw as he walked. After walking through Truro, where the Pilgrims first trod, he crossed to the bay side of the

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Cape "to spend the noon on the shrubby sand-hill in Provincetown, called Mount Ararat, which rises one hundred feet above the ocean."

Thoreau saw "naked Nature—inhumanly sincere, wasting no thought on man." He examined the kelp and whittled it with his jack-knife "that I might become more intimately acquainted with it, see how it cut, and if it were hollow all the way through. . . . When we consider in what meadows it grew, and how it was raked, and if what kind of hay weather got in or out, we may well be curious about it." He came to the conclusion: "The seashore is a sort of neutral ground, a most advantageous place from which to contemplate the world. It is even a trivial place. The waves forever rolling to the land are too far-traveled and untamable to be familiar. Creeping along the endless beach amid the sun-squall and the foam, it occurs to us that we too are the product of sea-slime. . . . The stranger and the inhabitant view the shore with different eyes. The former may have come to see and admire the ocean in a storm; but the latter looks on it as the scene where his nearest relatives were wrecked."

Thoreau got his greatest delight from viewing Cape Cod from the shore, not from the highway. He wrote:

Though the prospect was so extensive, and the country for the most part destitute of trees, a house was rarely visible—we never saw one from the beach—and the solitude was that of the ocean and the desert combined. A thousand men could not have seriously interrupted it, but would have been lost in the vastness of the scenery as their footsteps in the sand. . . . All the aspects of the desert are beautiful, whether you behold it in fair weather or foul, or when the sun is just breaking out after a storm, and shining on its moist surface in the distance, it is so white, and pure, and level, and each slight inequality and track is so distinctly revealed; and when your eyes slide off this, they fall on the ocean. In summer the mackerel gulls—which here have their nests among the neighboring sandhills—pursue the traveler anxiously, now and then diving close to his head with a squeak, and he may see them, like swallows, chase some crow which has been feeding on the beach, almost across the cape. . . .

The restless ocean may at any moment cast up a whale or a wrecked vessel at your feet. All the reporters in the world, and most rapid stenographers, could not report the news it brings. No creature could move slowly where there was so much life around. The few wreckers were either going or coming, and the ships and the sandpipers, and the screaming gulls overhead; nothing stood still but the shore. The little beach birds trotted past close to the water's edge, or paused but an instant to swallow their food, keeping time with the elements. I wondered how they ever got used to the sea, that they ventured so near the waves.

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Provincetown is unique, fascinating, beautiful, in a class by itself, at least at the head of the class. With all its artist colony, the strut of glad clothing, funny hats, gaudy colors and artificial affectations, foreign to its nature but tolerated for a season, there is still enough of the original about it to call it "unspoiled." There is enough of quaintness about it to find a joy in the description given by Henry Thoreau, although it is more than three quarters of a century since he visited the Cape and wrote the description: "The front yard plots appeared like what indeed they were, portions of the beach fenced in, with beach grass growing in them, as if they were sometimes covered by the tide. You might still pick up shells and pebbles there. . . . A great many of the houses were surrounded by fish-flakes close up to the sills on all sides, with only a narrow passage two or three feet wide, to the front door; so that instead of looking out into a flower or grass plot, you looked onto so many square rods of cod turned wrong side outward. These parterres were said to be at least like a flower garden in a good drying day in mid-summer."

The visitor of the present day can easily agree with Thoreau in his estimate of the wondrous beauty in "the shrubby hill and swamp country" which surrounds Provincetown on the north. . . . "It was like the richest rug imaginable, spread over an uneven surface; no damask nor velvet, nor Tyrian dye nor stuffs, nor the work of any loom, could ever match it. There was the incredible bright red of the huckleberry, and the reddish brown of the bayberry, mingled with the bright and living green of the small pitch-pines, and also the duller green of the mayberry, boxberry, and plum, the yellowish green of the shrub-oaks, and the various golden and yellow fawn-colored tints of the birch and maple and aspen—each making its own figure, and, in the midst, a few yellow sand-slides on the sides of the hills looked like the white floor seen through rents in the rug."

Dragging for Anchors—It was not very long ago that dragging for anchors was given up, if indeed it has been wholly given up. There is something about the task which savors of adventure, a game of chance and skill all in one, and Cape Codders believe there are still anchors awaiting lucky finders.

"It is a singular employment, at which men are regularly hired and paid for their industry, to hunt today in pleasant weather for anchors which have been lost—the sunken faith and hope of mariners, to which they trusted in vain. . . . If the roadsteads of the spiritual ocean could be thus dragged, what rusty flukes of hope deceived and parted

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chain cables of faith might again be windlassed aboard; enough to sink the finder's craft, or stock new navies to the end of time. . . . But that is not treasure for us which another man has lost; rather it is for us to seek what no other man has found or can find—not be Chatham men dragging for anchors," said the sage of Concord.

During his trip on Cape Cod, Thoreau lodged with the keeper of the Highland Lighthouse and also accepted the bounty from the Wellfleet oysterman. His chapter concerning the latter is one of the masterpieces in the book and should not be overlooked. The oysterman, like many other Cape Cod people, "had lived too long to be hurried." With him Thoreau passed the night, with the casements and fireboards rattling in the wind and in the morning watched the preparations for the early meal. He wrote:

The old woman got the breakfast with dispatch, and without noise or bustle; and meanwhile the old man resumed his stories, standing before us, who were sitting, with his back to the chimney, and ejecting his tobacco juice right and left in the fire behind him, without regard to the various dishes, which were there preparing. At breakfast we had eels, buttermilk cake, cold bread, green beans, doughnuts, and tea. . . . I ate of the apple sauce and the doughnuts, which I thought had sustained the least detriment from the old man's shots, but my companion refused the apple sauce, and ate of the hot cakes and green beans, which had appeared to him to occupy the safest part of the hearth. But on comparing notes afterwards, I told him that the buttermilk cake was particularly exposed, and I saw how it suffered repeatedly, and therefore I avoided it; but he declared that, however that might be, he witnessed that the apple sauce was seriously injured and had therefore declined that.

But Thoreau was never squeamish. He tells elsewhere of the water once given him, "not yet suffered to cool, not yet to settle," and how he drank it, for his host's sake, "shutting his eyes, and excluding the motes by a skillfully directed undercurrent."

How many, after reading Thoreau's reference to beach grass see in it something interesting and poetical, instead of a general nuisance. He said of it:

Cape Cod is anchored to the heavens, as it were, by a myriad little cables of beach-grass, and if they should fail, would become a total wreck, and ere long go to the bottom. Formerly, the cows were permitted to go at large, and they ate many strands of the cable by which the Cape is moored, and wellnigh set it adrift, as the bull did the boat which was moored with a grass rope; but now they are not permitted to wander.

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Thoreau has been quoted in this chapter at considerable length because he, of all the writers concerning Cape Cod of the Fifties, gives the best description. He refers to the salt works and the windmills. There are still a few windmills on the Cape but they are more for looks than use in these days and several of them bear the legend: "Oldest wind-mill on Cape Cod." There was a time, however, when the winds which blew not only carried the vessels from Cape Cod to all parts of the world, contributing greatly to the prosperity of Barnstable County, but turned the wheels and ground the corn and assisted in the process of reclaiming salt from sea water.

Salt, Houses and Furnishings Described—Concerning the salt industry, Dr. Dwight, who visited the Cape in 1800, says:

A Mr. Kelly, having professedly made several improvements in the means of accomplishing this business, obtained a patent, about two years before this journey was taken, for making salt-works on the plan generally adopted in this region. Of these the following is a description: Vats, of a number suited to the owner's design, 20 feet square, and 10 or 12 inches in depth, are formed of pine planks, an inch and a half thick, and so nicely joined as to be water-tight. These are arranged into four classes. The first class, or that next to the ocean, is called the water room; the second, the pickle room; the third, the lime room; and the fourth, the salt room. Each of these rooms, except the first, is placed so much lower than the preceding, that the water flows readily from it to another, in the order specified. The water room is filled from the ocean by a pump furnished with vans or sails, and turned by the wind. Here it continues until of the proper strength to be drawn into the pickle room, and thus successively into those which remain. The lime, with which the water of the ocean abounds, is deposited in the lime room. The salt is formed into small crystals in the salt room, very white and pure, and weighs from 70 to 75 pounds a bushel. The process is carried on through the warm season. After the salt has ceased to crystallize, the remaining water is suffered to freeze. In this manner, a large quantity of Glauber's salt is obtained in crystals, which are clean and good. The residuum is a strong brine, and yields a great proportion of marine salt, like that already described. To shelter the vats from the dews and rains, each is furnished with a hipped roof, large enough to cover it entirely. The roofs of two vats are connected by a beam turning upon an upright post, set firmly in the ground, and are moved easily on this pivot by a child of fourteen or even twelve years. To cover and uncover them, is all the ordinary labor.

Dr. Dwight traveled through the whole length of Cape Cod, and thus described what he said "may be called with propriety Cape Cod houses."

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These have one story, and four rooms on the lower floor; and are covered on the sides, as well as the roofs, with pine shingles, eighteen inches in length. The chimney is in the middle, immediately behind the front door, and on each side of the door are two windows. The roof is straight; under it are two chambers; and there are two larger and two smaller windows in the gable end. This is the general structure and appearance of the great body of houses from Yarmouth to Race Point. There are, however, several varieties, but of too little importance to be described. A great proportion of them are in good repair. Generally they exhibit a tidy, neat aspect in themselves and in their appendages, and furnish proofs of comfortable living, by which I was at once disappointed and gratified. The barns are usually neat but always small.

It was small wonder that Dr. Dwight found the barns "always small," because Cape Cod has been a fishing and industrial country and its population "ship conscious" rather than given, or driven, to agricultural pursuits on such sandy and unpromising land. In recent years, however, agricultural efforts have brought forth good results. Both American and Portuguese farmers have made the light soil bring forth profitably. Many of the hazards encountered elsewhere do not disturb the Cape Cod farmer. Hurricanes, storms, swollen rivers, severe droughts are almost unknown. Cranberry culture has made Cape Cod as famous for that dark red product as ever Milwaukee was made famous by its amber brew. The strawberry industry annually produces shipments of half a million quarts, in addition to the large local demand and sales made at the roadside stands, at the stores, and delivered to houses and hotels for summer visitors.

Before the days of the "Cape Cod Rocker," so called; or the "Comb Back" with its place to rest one's weary head, if he could do so without running the danger of having the chair slip out from under him if he leaned back too far; the first rocking chair was invented and constructed in Kingston. It was, perhaps, the only rocking chair ever custom-made, as its intention and satisfactory service was in contributing to the comfort to an invalid in the Brewster family. More about this famous chair is related in the chapter concerning the town of Kingston, in the part of this history devoted to Plymouth County.

The "kitchen chair" was a real institution in the old days and was trotted out for the comfort of occasional visitors. This chair was beside the fireplace and the Dutch oven and the most popular chair in the house. The "Governor Bradford" chair and others appeared in their time. Just before the Revolution, the "Windsor" chair was added to the home equipment. The "Cape Cod Rocker" developed from the "Windsor," having a

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curved seat, with high back, high arms, spreading legs, considerably larger at the bottom than the top. Most of the chairs were black, with stenciled flowers. The seats were of pine and the rest of the chair usually of maple or birch. The older the chair the shorter the rockers. They were a trifle tricky when one leaned forward, until the rockers were made to project sufficiently to add a measure of safety.

It has become almost a lost art elsewhere to replace the rush-seated chairs with the original sort of seats but it can still be done satisfactorily on Cape Cod. Even caning chair seats requires a skill which few people possess. The signs along the smooth highways of Cape Cod, over which motor cars from every State in the Union and from Canada pass with great frequency in the summer months, announce that rush-bottoming and caning chairs is a specialty with the people living within.

The early days of Cape Cod were days of straight-backed chairs and straight-backed men and women. There were no "easy-chairs" and no easy lives. "The good old days" were days of toil and daily conquering that part of the world in which the people of those days dwelt. They would not be "good old days" for us, but there were rewards as well as sacrifices in them which compensated for the requirements and the Cape Codder who is not proud of his ancestors is unworthy of them.

There are still to be found in Barnstable County many old colonial pieces of furniture, in spite of the pleadings and offerings of large sums of money on the part of people who wish to possess them as so many things to show as trophies but to whom they can never "belong" as they do to those "to the manor born." Some of these pieces of furniture were brought from Philadelphia or other ports by sea. The new owners of these "antiques" tell their fashionable friends how typical they are of old Cape Cod but a large percentage of them were brought by grandfather as a present to grandmother, when grandfather sailed back home from a voyage which took him to Philadelphia. A large percentage of the early furniture was made in Pennsylvania, until the genius for making things in Connecticut became developed,

Those jugs and pitchers, plates and bowls in gray and brown, found in some of the cupboards, have been snapped up by the visitors, and they wonder just how they were made by the early residents of Cape Cod. Sometimes imagination brings forth the story of the manufacture of them with Sandwich glass or even connecting them with the manufacture of salt. But these explanations do not explain, they merely confuse. Those jugs and bowls and all the rest of the things were New Jersey pottery,

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brought home by the Cape Cod captains and sailors. Then came the Bennington ware, manufactured by the same people in some instances who had made the New Jersey pottery. This Bennington ware became common on Cape Cod, as it was purchased from the so-called tin peddlers. It came overland, rather than by sea, and that, in itself, does not seem like Cape Cod. The Bennington pottery was exchanged for Cape Cod products with the peddlers to a considerable extent about twenty years before the Civil War.

Glassmaking an Important Industry—One of the treasures of Cape Cod which has been much in demand for several years is authentic Sandwich glassware. Such pieces have been sought with an eagerness seldom seen except in the instances of antiquarians in search of their prey. Sandwich glass, whenever and wherever found, cannot be considered an antique, as it dates back to the nineteenth century period merely. There is a letter in existence under date of July 10, 1841, signed by Daniel Webster, in which he wrote to Deming Jarvis of the Boston & Sandwich Glass Company:

Washington, July 10, 1841.

My Dear Sir :—I have to thank you for your very handsome present of glass which arrived yesterday. All the pieces came safe and are exceedingly elegant.

They have substance as well as beauty and I shall have much pleasure in exhibiting them as specimens of the skill and industry of Massachusetts.

I please myself with the hope that I may find leisure before autumn to visit Sandwich once more, a spot in which I have spent so much agreeable time in years past.

With renewed thanks for your kind remembrance, I am, dear sir,

Yours Truly,

Deming Jarvis, Esq.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

The making of glass in Sandwich flourished several years and we have the testimony of Daniel Webster that Sandwich glass had "substance as well as beauty."

It is said that the first moulds for Sandwich glass were made by a carpenter at Sandwich. The name of Deming Jarvis is associated with Sandwich glass and Jarvis says in his book on American glass, as early as 1815 he imported pressed glass from England and Holland. From these patterns it is surmised the dolphin used freely in Sandwich glass candlesticks, compotes and other pieces appeared. A fine collection of glass made in Sandwich, possessed by Mrs. George W. Milton, of Ja-

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maica Plain, shows the dolphin. It is true, however, that the dolphin was a favorite decoration with glassmakers as far back as the Middle Ages and copied generally.

Deming Jarvis came to Sandwich in 1825 and interested the citizens in his plan for building a factory and making glass. The factory and dwellings for workmen were ready and the glass was first blown July 4. There were eight furnaces holding 800 pounds each and wood was used for fuel. The Boston & Sandwich Glass Company was incorporated February 22, 1826, by Deming Jarvis, Henry Rice, Andrew T. Hall and Edward Monroe. Sixty or more men were employed and 3,000 cords of wood were used yearly. By 1854 the capitalization reached \$400,000 and five hundred were employed in making a product worth \$600,000 yearly. Stores were built and the town prospered.

The company owned the sloop "Polly" which came almost to the door of the factory at high tide and took the product to Boston. In 1858 a railroad was built to carry the product to the wharf at any tide and the company bought the sloop "Acorn" to compete with the Old Colony Railroad in keeping freight rates down.

The company made a good quality glass. About 1860 an acid-etching machine was brought from Europe and glass shades were etched with forty or more patterns. Shipments were sent to the West Indies and lamps all over the world. The business was prosperous until December, 1887, when the employees formed the Flint Glass Workers Union, refused to sign an agreement with the company, and the fires went out and were never rekindled. Ten of the employees formed a co-operative company in 1888 but the venture failed.

Among other things made at the Sandwich Glass Works were cup-plates, in the days when people not only cooled their tea and coffee in the saucer but drank it from that convenient receptacle. Cup-plates were made of porcelain and glass and many of them were found on the Cape a few years ago and they are still owned here, but in decreasing numbers, as the summer visitors have a way of taking them away with them in exchange for sums of money many times the amount they were ever expected to sell for when made at Sandwich.

Most of them commemorate historic events, bearing pictures of Bunker Hill Monument, the presidents, log cabins or other views which seemed appropriate. The earliest ones were manufactured about 1831 and in 1924 came a change of mould, so that the 1831 pattern is much sought after, not because it was any more beautiful, quite the contrary,

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but it is more distinctive to have one which is hard to duplicate. Some were of opalescent material but most of them were of clear glass.

The Sandwich glass makers were skillful workmen and it is a wonder how they were able to produce the sand-blasted lamps with such a sheen and so smooth. There were many styles of lamps, the sand-blasted female figure supporting the bowl being one of them. Then there were bowls of red flashed with clear facets; others of blue or amber. There were amber candlesticks, some with the figure of the dolphin, which have a golden hue and lustre truly beautiful. It is small wonder that the craze for Sandwich glass came back a few years ago.

In 1850, a glass bowl made in the works of the Boston and Sandwich Glass Company, was presented to Hon. Daniel Webster, of which Mr. Deming Jarvis, in an accompanying letter, says "It claims the merit of being much the largest piece of flint-glass made by machinery in any part of the world. Two machinists were employed six months in forming the mould. This bowl is the first made in it, and is called 'the Union Bowl.' The name will not render it less valuable."

Daniel Webster, like Thoreau, and many other noted men, was very fond of Cape Cod, and in connection with the history at Sandwich, there is a letter in existence written by Daniel Webster to his son, the opening paragraph of which reads as follows:

"Marshfield, June 12, 1847.

"My Dear Son: I received yours last night with the gear. . . . I have fixed my old John Trout rod, and it does very well:—'Venerable man, you have come down to us from a former generation,' &c. &c. &c."

Concerning this illusion, the son of Daniel Webster afterward explained:—"The Mashpee River flows from a very large lake called Wakeby Pond, in Barnstable County, into the ocean, on the S. E. coast of Massachusetts. It is a short and rapid stream running into a deep valley, or rather, ravine, with high precipitous sides covered with a thick growth of small pines and various kinds of brushwood and shrubs. The only method of fishing it, is by wading along the middle and throwing under the banks on either side, it being unapproachable otherwise owing to the trees and underbrush. It was, as he states in his autobiography, whilst middle-deep in this stream, that Mr. Webster composed a great portion of his first Bunker Hill address. He had taken along with him that well-known angler, John Denson, usually called 'John Trout,' and myself. I followed him along the stream, fishing the holes and bends which he left for me; but, after a while, began to notice that he was not

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so attentive to his sport, nor so earnest as usual. He would let his line run carelessly down the stream, or hold his rod while his hook was not even touching the water; omitted trying the best places under the projecting roots of the pines, and seemed indeed quite abstracted and uninterested in his amusement. This, of course, caused me a good deal of wonder, and, after calling his attention once to twice to his hook hanging on a twig, or caught in the long grass of the river, and finding that after a moment he relapsed again into the same indifference, I quietly walked up near him and watched. He seemed to be gazing at the overhanging trees and presently advancing one foot and extending his right hand, he commenced to speak. 'Venerable men,' &c. &c. We afterward frequently referred to the circumstance as he does in the above letter."

It should not be inferred that the Cape Cod windmills were used exclusively to grind corn or in the manufacture of salt from sea water.

A few years ago Alfred Crocker, clerk of courts of Barnstable County, became the possessor of a curious document, issuing a patent for a windmill to cut or polish stone. It was on parchment, dated more than a hundred years ago, signed by James Monroe as president, John Quincy Adams as secretary of State, and William Wirt as attorney-general. The signatures appeared in good state of preservation and the document showed that Cape Cod windmills were inventions of Cape Codders, at least that particular one, but whether there were a sufficient number of stone to cut or polish to keep the mill busy is another matter.

One of the charms of the Cape is the prevalence of shade trees in several of the peaceful, pleasant towns. Among them are many elm trees which bid defiance, like Cape Cod itself, to the east winds. These elm trees lean perceptibly toward the east, firmly planted to withstand the mightiest blast.

The story was told in the "Cape Cod Magazine," of October, 1917, that:

Years and years ago a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, from the elbow of Cape Cod, crossed Beacon Street, Boston, into the Common. He noticed that the great elm trees were dropping their seeds, and he gathered up a handful. When he went back to his old home on the south road out of Orleans, he made a bed of good soil and planted these little memorials of Boston and its Common. Two or three years later he set out the saplings on both sides of the road and in his yard and along his driveway. Today even the scurrying automobilist, as he sweeps down the hill into that elm-arched hollow and sees the ancient house guarded by the noble trees, is struck with admiration at the beauty

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of the spot. In the fact thus told there lies a bigger truth—for those who like to think that the sentiments and uses that have given the Common its perpetual place in Boston's affection have been carried far and wide, like those living seeds, to strike root, and rise in beauty, the whole country over.

Fathers and Mothers to Be Proud Of—Cape Cod still is an “unspoiled land.” It is ludicrous to speak of any part of the United States in terms of “antiquity” in a European sense. But if the word can be applied to any part of the East it is more appropriate in the stretch of sand and romance from Wareham to Provincetown than anywhere else, even though one can remember stories which were told by his grandparents about people whom they knew which carries the chain of recollection almost back to the beginnings of Massachusetts, and therefore of the United States, leaving out the mound builders, the Indians and the Norsemen. All this section is “hopelessly young” in one sense but delightfully antique in another, and surely the same warrant which justifies calling the old spinning wheels, kettles, platters and what not of Colonial days “antiques” holds good for references in words on paper.

The houses of Cape Cod are a delight in themselves, plain, unpretentious homes constructed in the days of simple living, added to as the family increased or another stage in prosperity made it possible. It is well to remember that the old houses of Cape Cod were not builded on mortgages. Most of them never had a mortgage upon them and the few which had shook the mortgage off as rapidly as treasures derived from the sea could be used for that purpose.

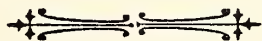
In these delightful old Cape Cod houses are delightful Cape Cod people, many of whom having ancestors dating back to the earliest coming of the people from Europe, more especially the British Isles, since it was a long time before the immigrants came from anywhere else. The staunch old families made and held their place in local and national history and gave a good account of themselves whatever the issue and whatever the necessary sacrifice. The old Pilgrim stock of the Barnstable Plantations and their descendants assay satisfactorily in the crucible of tests which have tried men's souls.

In 1854, the Cape Cod Association, of Boston, celebrated their third anniversary in Yarmouth, August 2, at which Chief Justice Shaw presided. A large concourse was in attendance, and many distinguished guests who were not of Cape Cod origin. In recognition of these last, the Judge felicitously remarked, “We welcome them to our meeting and

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to our hearts; and though they may discover in our speech and manner a little family pride, a little self-gratulation in hinting at the nobleness of our birth and the dignity of our descent from Cape Cod ancestors, yet we feel assured that they will rightly appreciate this harmless vanity, and attribute it to a momentary feeling of local exultation, designed wholly for house use; and we trust they cannot fail to perceive, underlying this sparkling ripple on the surface, there is a deep and abiding love and devotion in our hearts, to all the great interests of personal improvement and social elevation, which we have in common with all the wise and good."

There was manifest by the way, no great unwillingness on the part of some whose claims were thought to be doubtful, to prove the legitimacy of their descent from this quarter. One of these, Hon. Josiah Quincy, Jr., alluding to the fact that some had confessed that they were not descended from the fathers of Cape Cod, remarked "Neither am I; but I am proud to say that I am—what is a great deal better—descended from the Mothers of Cape Cod. His honor, the chief justice, has raised a point of law. I have a decision of the Supreme Court,—not of Massachusetts, but of the Province of Massachusetts Bay—given a hundred and thirty years ago, which proves my right to be here. It so happened that the gentleman who held the office of Chief Justice was my great-great-grandfather. Whether he was judge of law, I know not; but he was a judge of ladies. Being Chief Justice, he came down to this part of the world, and, I suppose, like His Excellency the Governor, having no criminal or civil business to do he looked after the young ladies. The result was that after he got home to Braintree—Quincy that now is—he called his son Josiah to him and advised him to go straightway down to Yarmouth and to inquire for the house of one John Sturgis, and to make himself as agreeable as he could to Miss Hannah Sturgis, who was there. Well, my ancestor was, like his descendants, a very dutiful son, particularly when his father told him to go and see the girls. So down he came to Yarmouth. Whether he succeeded in the object of his mission or not I will not say; but I have the honor of addressing you at this time. There were no revolters at decisions in those times, and consequently the reports are not extant; and I believe this is the only case of adjudication by my ancestor, the report of which has been preserved."



Leonard and Allied Families

BY GAIL WHEELER PRITCHARD, GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN



THE Leonard name is very ancient, known for centuries as both a Christian and surname. It is of Saxon origin, derived from the words, Leo and Ard, signifying Lion-heart, or Lion-strength, and was found more than twelve hundred years ago among the forest-smiths of Germany, who spelled the name Leonard, which is sixth century German. At the time the Saxons came over into Kent and established their King in Essex, the name is found among the older families, the principal line of whom adopted the easier form of spelling, Lennard, though many families preserved the ancient, Leonard.

After the Saxon invasion of England, many Leonards settled in Kent and Sussex, among the iron hills, and here became expert workers in metal. In the course of time some of them removed to the western parts of England bordering on Wales, where great iron mines were established, and from this district, in later generations, came the Leonards who settled in the New England Colonies between 1625-40, and continued in the vicinity of Boston, the hereditary business of their ancestors.

During the fourteenth century King Edward III greatly encouraged the iron industry, and old Sussex and Kent became again the principal seat of the iron manufacture in Great Britain. It is to these counties the Leonards trace their pedigree back to landed property holders and titled nobility, where the family is shown to have descended in two lines from Edward III through his sons, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and his younger brother, Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester. The name is found spelled two ways—Lennard and Leonard—but the coat-of-arms borne by all of them was the same, and early members of the family used both forms of orthography.

Arms—Or, on a fesse azure three fleurs-de-lis argent.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or a wolf's head.

Motto—*Memor et Fidelis.*

The title of rank was brought into the family in the latter part of the sixteenth century, when Margaret Fienes, sister and heir of Gregory Fienes or (Fynes), Lord Dacre, became the wife of Samson Lennard, the Barony of Dacres having been secured to her by direction of King James I, upon the death of her brother in 1604.



Leonard

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Dacre Castle—Dacre Castle was occupied by the northern section of the Lennards. The road through Dacre to Pooley Bridge at the foot of Ulliswater brings one in four miles to Dacre Castle, formerly the residence of the famous border family of Dacre, now converted into a farm house. The name is derived from the exploits of one of their ancestors, at the siege of Acre—the St. Jean d'Acre of modern times—in the Holy Land under Richard Coeur de Lion.

Hurstmonceaux Castle—Hurstmonceaux Castle, formerly a fortress of great magnificence and strength, was, until 1777, the most perfect and regular castellated mansion in the kingdom. Soon after the Norman Conquest it was the seat of a family of DeHurst and several generations later of Monceaux, which upon the failure of male issue, was carried in marriage to Sir John de Fiennes, in the reign of Edward II.

The earliest account of the identification of the later English Leonards with iron work is found in the State calendars. Richard Leonard, Lord Dacre, son of Henry, lived at Hurstmonceaux in 1617. His first wife, Elizabeth, was the daughter of Sir Arthur Throckmorton, grandson of Queen Elizabeth's famous minister. On March 26, 1626, there is record of a grant to Richard, Lord Dacre, Thomas Letsome and Nicholas Page, of a privilege for making steel for fourteen years, invented and perfected by Letsome, by the charge of Lord Dacre and assistance of Page, being the first inventor thereof.

In the Hurstmonceaux household account book there is a reference to a steel forge which is thought to have been near the castle, and records show there was an iron working on the estate nearly a hundred years earlier, in 1574; returns had been made of owners of iron works in the counties of Surrey, Sussex and Kent, and among them this entry: "The Lord Dacres, 1 forge, 1 furnace in Buckholt in the hand of Jeffreys."

Among the first of the name of Leonard, found on record in England, who attained distinction and acquired a valuable estate, was:

I. *George Leonard, Esq.*, who lived in the time of Henry VI (1422-62), and married Anna Bird, daughter and heir of John Bird of County Middlesex.

II. *John Lennard*, born in 1508, died in 1591, son of George and Anna (Bird) Leonard, had a vast heritage, owning the Manor of Chevening, Kent, and Knolle. He married Elizabeth Harmon.

III. *Samson Lennard*, son and heir of John and Elizabeth (Harmon) Lennard, was born in 1545, and died in 1615. He was a member of Parliament, a sheriff for Kent, and commanded a body of Light Horse

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against the invading Spanish, 1564-69. He married Lady Margaret Fienes, sister and heir of Gregory Fienes, 10th Baron Dacre. Lady Margaret conveyed the barony to her husband, and Samson Lennard became 11th Lord Dacre. From this marriage descended all of the name of Leonard, who trace their ancestry to the early Colonial families, whether from Henry, who came in 1626, or James and his brother who were of Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1643.

IV. *Sir Henry Lennard*, Knight, son of Samson and Lady Margaret Lennard, became Lord Dacre, 12th, in his mother's right. He was a distinguished person in society, was knighted in 1596 for service in the expedition against Cadiz. He was a member of Parliament, and an intimate friend of William, Earl of Pembroke. Sir Henry married Lady Chrisogona, daughter of Sir Richard Baker of Sissinghurst, Kent. Their son,

V. *Richard Lennard*, 13th Baron Dacre, married for his first wife Lady Anne Throckmorton, daughter of Sir Arthur Throckmorton, of Northampton. The sons of this marriage were: Francis, Richard, Thomas, and Henry. Richard Lennard married for his second wife, Dorothy, daughter of Dudley, Lord North, by whom he had Richard of 1696, and Anne and Catherine. Francis Lennard became 14th Lord Dacre, and was the ancestor of Henry Barrett-Leonard, antiquarian member of the English family, whose valuable collection of papers, photographs, manuscripts, and genealogical tables, were examined by Bishop William Andrew Leonard, of Trinity Cathedral, Cleveland, Ohio, who visited the ancestral estates in England, and has given a most interesting description of them in his recent book "Stephen Banks Leonard," a splendid monograph of the ancestry of his grandfather, which Bishop Leonard compiled and had printed in 1909 for private distribution.

VI. *Thomas Leonard* (note reversion to original spelling), of Pontypool, son of Richard and Lady Anne (Throckmorton) Lennard, and younger brother of Francis, 14th Baron Dacre, had five sons, among whom were James and Henry, progenitors of the Taunton, Massachusetts, families of the name in New England.

VII. *James Leonard*, son of Thomas of Pontypool, was born in the maritime English county of Monmouthshire, bordering on Wales, a region rich with collieries and blazing with furnaces. Inheriting a knowledge and love of the iron industry, it was natural he should undertake, upon emigration to the new country, this most useful vocation, and with his brother, became interested in most, if not all, of the iron works estab-

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lished in New England within the first century, a business which continued successively and successfully, in the hands of the Leonards more than two hundred years.

In 1652, James Leonard came from Lynn, Massachusetts, to Taunton, where, at the request of interested parties, he established "a bloomery work on Two-mile River," at this forge, which was put in operation in 1653, bar iron being made directly from the ore. The hammers and other heavy machinery for the Taunton bloomery came from abroad, and the works made from twenty to thirty tons annually. This old forge, many times remodelled, was in constant use for more than two hundred years, the oldest successful iron manufactory in New England.

James Leonard married (first), in Lynn, Massachusetts, Mary Martin, the mother of all of his children. In 1653 he built, opposite his forge, a gambrel roofed house, in which he resided until 1682, and which stood as a landmark to this early settlement for two hundred and thirty years, by far the oldest building in that section, and ranking among the earliest in the commonwealth. Through the wisdom and kindness of the Leonard family, a close friendship was established between them with King Philip, head of the Wampanoag tribes, and when the great chief ordered Taunton burned, he also ordered that the Leonard farms be not disturbed. The children of James and Mary (Martin) Leonard: 1. Thomas, married Mary Watson. 2. James, married (first) Hannah Martin; (second) Lydia Gulliver; (third) Rebecca, who died in 1738. 3. Abigail, married John Kingsley. 4. Hannah, married Isaac Deane (Deane I). 5. Joseph, married Mary Black. 6. Benjamin, married Sarah Thresher. 7. Rebecca, married Isaac Chapman. 8. John, died young. 9. Uriah, of whom further. James Leonard, Sr., died in 1691, aged more than seventy years, leaving a widow Margaret, who died in 1701.

VIII. Uriah Leonard, youngest child of James and Mary (Martin) Leonard, was born in Taunton, July 10, 1662, and married there, June 1, 1685, Elizabeth Caswell, daughter of Thomas Caswell, of Taunton, born January 10, 1665. (Caswell III.) In 1670 James Leonard, Sr., built, on Mill River, the Whittington iron works, a "bloomerie with one hearth," known as the "James Leonard's Iron Works." His three sons, Joseph, Benjamin and Uriah, having served in the Taunton works, at the "refining and Bloomerie" trade, worked this forge and the Whittington bloomery was continued by them many years after the death of their father; Uriah having received, as his share from the estate, three-quarters of the Whittington works and a dwelling house with land

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nearby, paying his step-mother an annuity of "600 iron for life." In 1699, Uriah Leonard sold his interest in the iron works to his nephew James, and retired to Taunton, where he lived until his death in 1744, "aged about 82." The children of Uriah and Elizabeth (Caswell) Leonard, most of whom lived to great age, were namely: 1. Uriah, Jr., born in 1686, married Abigail Stone. 2. Elizabeth, born in 1688. 3. James, born in 1691. 4. William, born in 1695, married Anne Barney. 5. Jonathan, born in 1698. 6. Seth, of whom further. 7. Hannah, born in 1704. 8. Margaret, born in 1706, married Josiah White. 9. Abigail.

IX. *Seth Leonard*, son of Uriah and Elizabeth (Caswell) Leonard, was born about 1700, and married, April 18, 1728, Deborah Hall, daughter of George and Lydia (Deane) Hall, of Taunton. They resided in that part of Taunton afterward set off as Easton, where most of their children were born. Deborah (Hall) Leonard had inherited large tracts of land in the vicinity of Taunton, legacies from her grandmother and aunt, Hannah Deane, and with her husband acquired more land by purchase, of her brothers. In 1741, Seth Leonard and his wife, with two of her brothers, sold their land in Bristol County and removed to the vicinity of Lyme, in New London County, Connecticut.

Seth Leonard, with his brothers Uriah and William, served in the early wars as members of the "Second Foot Company," under Captain Joseph Hall. The company was enrolled from the inhabitants in the vicinity of Whittenton, and was also a part of the Colonial Militia, in the French and English War, under Captain Josiah Thatcher, Colonel John Thomas' regiment, which landed in Halifax, May 11, 1759, where Seth Leonard died July 5, 1759. Administration of his estate was made in Bristol, Massachusetts, and New London, Connecticut, counties, and his two youngest sons, Silas and Jonathan, chose their uncle, Isaac Hall, as guardian. The children of Seth and Deborah (Hall) Leonard: 1. William. 2. Deborah. 3. Samuel. 4. Ruth. 5. Barney. 6. Daniel. 7. Sarah. 8. Seth. 9. Silas, of whom further. 10. Jonathan.

X. *Silas Leonard*, son of Seth and Deborah (Hall) Leonard, was born in New London County, in the vicinity of Lyme, Connecticut, in 1747; married, at Lyme, September 1, 1774, Mary Hackett, baptized at Lyme April 14, 1759. Silas Leonard was a soldier in the Revolution, enlisting July 25, 1775, in Captain Joseph Jewett's company, 8th Regiment of Connecticut Militia, recruited mainly in New London, Hartford, and Windham counties. This regiment was stationed on the Sound until September 14, 1775, when on requisition from Washington, it was

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ordered to the Boston camps until the term of enlistment expired, in December, 1775. Silas Leonard served a second term with the Militia at Saratoga under General Gates, August 24, 1777, to October 30, 1777, and from June, 1776, for three months, he served aboard the Privateer "Lady Washington," under the Rhode Island regiment in charge of Colonel Hackett. In 1786, in company with relatives, he moved his family to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and in 1797, accompanied his sons into the "Genesee Country" of the Phelps and Gorham Purchase, in New York. They settled in the vicinity of Rochester, in what is now Parma, Monroe County, where they were the second white family to blaze a trail through the wilderness. While engaged in clearing land Silas Leonard was seriously injured by a falling tree and died a short time after, in April, 1798. His widow, Mary (Hackett) Leonard, died September 23, 1833, and is buried in the family cemetery near Hilton, New York, where the grave stones of these pioneers are still standing. The children of Silas and Mary (Hackett) Leonard: 1. Jonathan, born March 3, 1777, of whom further. 2. Silas, born November 11, 1778; married Rachel Bush. 3. Mary, married Timothy Madden. 4. Lucy, married Daniel Fulton. 5. Thankful, married William Roberts. 6. Lewis, born April 9, 1786; married Laura Atchinson. The two youngest children were born in Massachusetts, the others in Connecticut.

XI. *Captain Jonathan Leonard*, son of Silas and Mary (Hackett) Leonard, was born in New London County, Connecticut, March 3, 1777, and died in Murray, Orleans County, New York, January 3, 1868. He married, February 4, 1807, Persis Henshaw, daughter of William and Mehitable (Moffatt) Henshaw, born May 3, 1782, in Brookfield, Massachusetts, this being the first marriage in the new settlement. Jonathan Leonard was captain of a company of New York Militia in the War of 1812, and his commission is still in the possession of his grandson, William Edwin Leonard, of Port Huron, Michigan. Mr. Leonard was a prosperous and respected pioneer farmer, noted for his integrity and his intense patriotism. Mrs. Leonard died July 24, 1863. The children of Jonathan and Persis ("Hencher" or Henshaw) Leonard, born in Parma, Monroe County, New York: 1. Lucina, born June 22, 1808; married Giles Cropsey. 2. Harvey, born September 23, 1809; married Hannah Clark. 3. Heman, born April 30, 1812, of whom further. 4. Hiram, born May 29, 1814; died December 19, 1840. 5. William, born March 6, 1817; married Lena Atchinson. 6. Jonathan (twin), born May 16, 1819; married Britania Cropsey. 7. Jason (twin), born May 16, 1819;

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married (first) Rachel Atwood, (second) Elizabeth Wardlow. 8. Franklin, born February 24, 1821, died young. When the first government land in Michigan was opened, Jonathan Leonard purchased farms of two hundred acres in Oakland County for each of his children who migrated to this State.

XII. *Heman Leonard*, son of Jonathan and Persis ("Hencher" or Henshaw) Leonard, was born in Parma, New York, April 30, 1812, and died in Grand Rapids, Michigan, February 21, 1884. Mr. Leonard came to the township of Sherman, in St. Joseph County, Michigan, in 1836, and in 1838, when the new town of Fawn River was set off, he became a resident there and one of the first town officers; here he married (first), May 7, 1841, Maria Goodrich, daughter of Nicholas and Patty (Strong) Goodrich, who died June 26, 1842, and on September 10, 1845, Mr. Leonard married (second) Jane Goodrich, sister of his first wife, Maria (Goodrich) Leonard, born April 18, 1823, and died December 25, 1862. The third wife of Heman Leonard was Maria Winslow, daughter of Dr. Winslow, a pioneer settler of Grand Rapids. They were married June 14, 1864, and Mrs. Leonard died June 15, 1883. Soon after the death of his first wife and their infant son, in 1842, Heman Leonard left St. Joseph County and located in the primitive village of Grand Rapids, as proprietor of the Eagle Hotel, one of the first hostleries in this part of the State. In 1844 he established a grocery business which, in 1863, he combined with wholesale crockery and soon developed one of the best enterprises in the city. In middle life Mr. Leonard bore a very striking resemblance to Abraham Lincoln, both in physical and mental characteristics, and it is interesting to note that he was descended through a maternal ancestor from the same family. Deliberate in movement but keenly alert, his early ventures crowned with merited success, he lived to see an "Indian Trading Post become a Modern City."

Heman and Jane (Goodrich) Leonard were the parents of four children, born in Grand Rapids: 1. Charles H., born January 15, 1848, of whom further. 2. Elly, born October 27, 1851, died May 30, 1852. 3. Frank E., born April 8, 1855, died in Grand Rapids, April 25, 1925; he married, October 12, 1888, Sadie Elizabeth Pierce, and their children were: i. Evelyn, married Noyes L. Avery. ii. Franklin E., killed in a train wreck in 1919. 4. Fred H., born September 28, 1860, died July 26, 1908.

XIII. *Charles H. Leonard*, pioneer citizen and public benefactor, whose death occurred in Grand Rapids, Michigan, March 22, 1927, will



E. H. Leonard

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live long in the annals of industrial and civic life in his native city. Mr. Leonard took the gift of life seriously, and the results he achieved were not come upon by chance, but through possession of those stalwart virtues so absolutely essential to the kind of leadership that was his. Blest with a vision to see the demands of the future, he had courage to invest his money and effort in new experiments, and habits of industry led him always to follow a piece of work to its conclusion. His reputation of honesty was never questioned, and his interest in the welfare of his community was keen, alert and active. In family, religious, and civic relationships, Mr. Leonard's generosity was proverbial.

Charles H. Leonard was born in Grand Rapids, January 15, 1848, the son of Heman and Jane (Goodrich) Leonard. His birthplace was in the home over his father's general store, on what is now the Main Street of the city near its central square. He was educated in the public schools, graduating from high school in the Old Stone Schoolhouse in 1866. His ambition was to study engineering at the University of Michigan, but due to a long critical illness shortly after his high school graduation, he was unable to follow out this plan.

He entered his father's store as a clerk in 1868 and soon developed a desire to expand the business along certain lines. With his father's permission he experimented with the wholesaling of stone ware and kerosene lamps in the towns and lumber camps north of Grand Rapids. From this beginning, he developed a wholesale business which enabled him to buy a partnership in his father's store. He then persuaded his father to drop the grocery business and to add house furnishing goods, among which eventually came refrigerators. In the experience of selling these refrigerators, he discovered that their stationary wooden parts were most unsanitary, and he determined to build one which could be cleaned. With the securing of patents on removable metallic parts in 1880 came the beginning of the now famous "Leonard Cleanable" Refrigerator.

At first the refrigerators were built in parts on contracts in various woodworking and tin shops about the city, but in 1887 Mr. Leonard established his first factory building on Ottawa Avenue and Ferry Street. At this time his brother, Frank E. Leonard, took the responsibility of the wholesale and retail crockery and housefurnishing business, and Charles H. Leonard confined his efforts to manufacturing. By 1905 the demand for porcelain lined refrigerators which he had begun to manufacture in 1903 had increased so rapidly that it became necessary to install his own vitreous enamel furnaces. This was the first such plant operated by any

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refrigerator company. In the line of progress, a seamless porcelain chamber was designed and the large furnaces necessary for its manufacture could not be installed in the factory on Ottawa Street, which had now reached its capacity. Mr. Leonard, in 1907, began construction of a factory outside the city limits, which was completed in 1909, built with a capacity to produce 35,000 refrigerators annually, a building so extensive it was called "Leonard's Elephant," but has been continually increased until in 1925 it produced 300,000 boxes and was the largest factory of its kind in the world.

With the development of the electric refrigerator, Mr. Leonard, then over eighty, was ready and eager to begin a new factory and to experiment with the manufacture of electrical machines. In February, 1926, what was considered the largest merger of independent companies, manufacturing domestic and commercial refrigerators, in the country was consummated in the uniting of the Grand Rapids Refrigerator Company with the Kelvinator and Nizer corporations of Detroit under the name of The Electric Refrigeration Corporation. Under the consolidation, Charles H. Leonard retired from active management and became a member of the new Board of Directors of the Leonard Division.

In the business administration, which successfully developed in comparatively few years the great plants of the Grand Rapids Refrigerator Company, Mr. Leonard was ably supported by the splendid executive ability and devotion of his family, who were members of the firm. His son, Harry C. Leonard, a graduate of the Engineering School of Purdue University, entered the business established by his father, in 1895, and after spending one year in the various departments of the factory, was made superintendent and one of the directors, later becoming treasurer of the company, which upon consolidation with the Electric Corporation in 1926, made him vice-president in charge of production, and on January 1, 1927, he was advanced to the post of general manager of the Leonard Division and one of the vice-presidents.

In 1897, Frank A. Harvey, a son-in-law of Charles H. Leonard, entered the firm as sales and credit manager, becoming also, soon after secretary of the company, holding these positions through the most important years of development in the business of the Leonard Company, and he is now a vice-president of the Leonard Division of the corporation. Walter H. Whittier, who is also a son-in-law of Mr. Leonard, joined the family group in the Refrigerator Company in 1906, becoming a member of the firm as vice-president and designing engineer,



LEONARD REFRIGERATOR COMPANY
GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN



HOME OF C. H. LEONARD
GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN



MUSIC ROOM
HOME OF C. H. LEONARD
GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

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and superintending the building expansion when the new plant was erected. During his connection with the firm the company added to its factory space almost continuously. Seven distinct units were constructed up to 1925, and after the consolidation an expansion programme calling for an expenditure of \$1,500,000 was started. In the more recent improvements in design and finish of the Leonard product, much credit is due Mr. Whittier, whose ability has done much to keep the local company's reputation and business up to its very high standard. When the merger of the Grand Rapids plant with the Electric Refrigeration Corporation took place, Mr. Whittier, with other officers of the Grand Rapids Refrigerator Company, became a vice-president of the Leonard Unit of the corporation.

Although Charles H. Leonard was a leading figure in the manufacturing interests of his city, he was also prominent in the ranks of those who directed the first commercial and civic growth of Grand Rapids. As a member of the original Grand Rapids Board of Trade, he was especially active in Grand River improvement, being one of the largest contributors in the capital invested in river boats. When pure water was a civic issue, he advocated sand filtration and was untiring in his efforts for the construction of this system. In this connection he took an active part in the campaign which resulted in a vote for the installation of some means of producing pure water. Against the proposal which followed for the securing of pure water from Lake Michigan, thirty miles away, he conducted a campaign of education. Using an eight-foot model, which he made of the St. Louis Filtration Plant, that he had seen at the World's Fair in 1904, he aroused public interest against the Lake Michigan proposition and in favor of sand filtration. This system was eventually adopted. He was deeply interested in matters of education and was instrumental in securing the introduction of Manual Training in the public schools of his city, against the bitter opposition of the Labor Unions. While away on a long trip, he was elected, without his knowledge, a member of the first Non-Partisan Board of Education in 1911. It was this Board that built the Central High School, the first fire-proof school in the city. He was constantly alert to protect the people's interests whenever new franchises were awarded to public utilities. During the World War he was active in obtaining the use of daylight saving, and put his factory at the disposal of the Government for the production of anything of which it was capable. Thus he produced refrigerators for the navy and for army cantonments.

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In politics, Mr. Leonard, though a Republican throughout his life, was always independent in thought, with firm convictions for the best good of all. His mind ever alert for new inventions and ideas, Mr. Leonard was the first to use the arc light in Grand Rapids at a time when he had need of it to hasten construction in building. He owned the second automobile in his city, and his experiment in the use of concrete blocks in the building of his great factory, stands today as an expression of his courage in new ventures.

Through the Revolutionary War service of his Leonard and Goodrich ancestors, Mr. Leonard was a member of the Kent Chapter, Sons of the Revolution, having proven his line from ten patriots who served in defense of the Colonies in 1776. He was keenly interested in the genealogy and history of his forebears, and provided headstones for some of the unmarked graves he discovered.

In religious affiliation, Mr. Leonard was identified with the Fountain Street Baptist Church in Grand Rapids, and was for more than fifty years actively and faithfully devoted to the church in which he and his beloved companion worshipped. As a member of the Building Committee, he was influential in the construction of the splendid new edifice completed in 1923. Upon the death of his brother, Frank E. Leonard, he succeeded as president of the board of trustees of the church, a position he held until his death. Contributing generously to the support of the work of the organization during his long attendance there, he also made provision for a substantial gift to the church in his will.

Charles H. Leonard married, in the city of Grand Rapids, October 15, 1873, Emma Jane Carr, daughter of Colonel James Webster and Dorothy (Goodhue) Carr (Carr XII). She was born in Plainfield, Illinois, December 13, 1851, and died at her home in Grand Rapids, March 10, 1925. Through the ancestry of her parents, Emma (Carr) Leonard was descended from the early Colonial Governors, Dudley and Winthrop, whose allied families formed the back-bone of the first settlements in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and on the patriotic military records of her Carr progenitors from George Carr of Plymouth and Salisbury (Carr I), to John Carr and John Carr, Jr., of New Hampshire, she held membership in the hereditary patriotic societies, of Daughters of Founders and Patriots, National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, and the United States Daughters of 1812. In the social and civic organizations in her city, Mrs. Leonard's greatest interest was in Fountain Street Baptist Church, where she had been a member nearly



Emma C. Leonard



H. C. Leonard

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half a century, and in the Woman's Society of this church where she was greatly beloved by her associates. Throughout her long life in Grand Rapids she was an active member in its many prominent clubs and enjoyed to the end her privilege of this fellowship. Mrs. Leonard died suddenly without apparent suffering, on March 10, 1925. The following tribute to her memory was made by her pastor, Rev. Alfred Wishart, at her funeral service held in Fountain Street Church, March 14, 1925. "Death came as she had often wished, without warning and in the midst of her busy life. To the end she was keen in her enjoyment of human associations and the privilege of service. Life would have held little value to her if she could not minister to others and it was characteristic of her whole life that she should spend her last day on earth in visiting the sick and cheering the shut-ins. She was a wife of rare qualities. A mother of purest devotion. The companion of her husband in life's journey of more than half a century." Charles H. and Emma (Carr) Leonard were the parents of three children, born in Grand Rapids: 1. Harry Carr, of whom further. 2. Jennie May, of whom further. 3. Jessie Evangeline, of whom further.

XIV. Harry Carr Leonard, son of Charles H. and Emma (Carr) Leonard, was born December 25, 1874; graduated from the Engineering School of Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, with the class of 1895, and has since been closely associated with his father in the various Leonard industries, a business training and experience which gained for him an enviable reputation among the younger industrial captains in Grand Rapids. His rapid advancement to the position of local manager of the Leonard Unit of the Electric Refrigerator Corporation, was an expression of confidence in an unusual business ability.

Mr. Leonard is a member of Kent Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, and of the following local clubs: Kent Country Club, Spring Lake Country Club, Rotary, Peninsular, and University clubs, Sigma Nu Fraternity; and Fountain Street Baptist Church.

On June 23, 1897, Mr. Leonard married Miss Willie Stansbury, born August 18, 1875, the daughter of Rev. George Thomas and Emma Hume (Thorp) Stansbury. Rev. Stansbury was a distinguished clergyman, evangelist and writer, who, in the early eighties, while pastor of the Willoughby Avenue Church, in Brooklyn, often exchanged pulpits with Henry Ward Beecher. Rev. Stansbury was born in Houston, Texas, February 22, 1843, and died in Grand Rapids, Michigan, December 19, 1921. He was the son of Thomas and Harriet (Mixer) Stansbury, and

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grandson of Thomas and Elizabeth (Skelton) Stansbury; through the ancestry of her great-grandmother, Elizabeth Skelton, Mrs. Harry (Carr) Leonard is descended from the early American families of Ffoulk and Cadwallader, whose lineage from the Emperor Charlemagne, is recorded in Browning's "Americans of Royal Descent." On her maternal lines, through the ancestry of her great-grandmother, Emma Hume, born February 12, 1803, daughter of George and Susanna (Crigler) Hume, of Culpeper County, Virginia, Mrs. Leonard traces lineal descent from the Ancient Scottish family, "Humes of Wedderburn," allied by blood and marriage to the intrepid King of the Scots, Malcolm II. Mrs. Leonard is prominent in the social and civic clubs in Grand Rapids and a popular hostess in her delightful summer home on Lake Michigan. Mr. and Mrs. Leonard have three children, born in Grand Rapids, as follows: 1. Dorothy, born September 14, 1898; married, June 29, 1922, Seigel Judd. Their little daughter, Harriet Leonard Judd, was born May 26, 1926. 2. Charline, born April 12, 1903; married, January 2, 1924, Julian B. Hatton, of Grand Haven, Michigan, and has two sons, William Leonard Hatton, born December 16, 1925, and Julian Hatton, Jr., born June 6, 1927. 3. Charles Stansbury, born January 16, 1911.

XIV. *Jennie May Leonard*, daughter of Charles and Emma (Carr) Leonard, born August 15, 1877; married, October 11, 1898, Frank A. Harvey, born September 27, 1869, son of Albert and Martha (Thurber) Harvey, of Buffalo, New York. Jennie (Leonard) Harvey is an accomplished and talented musician with a host of devoted friends in her native city, although she is now a resident of California. Mr. Harvey is a descendant, through his maternal lines, of the Darbees and Thurbers of Connecticut and their allied lines of Avery, Gore and Cleveland, all of whom were prominent in the early town and military records of that State. The paternal lineage of Mr. Harvey had its origin in this country, in the pioneer family of Harvey in Niagara County, New York, William Harvey having come from England some time before 1840, and settled in the vicinity of Buffalo, where Albert Harvey, father of Frank A., was born June 29, 1841, and married, in 1862, Martha Thurber, daughter of Seth and Harriet (Darbee) Thurber.

Frank A. and Jennie May (Leonard) Harvey, who now reside in California, are the parents of six daughters, born in Grand Rapids: 1. Marion, born June 27, 1899; married, June 21, 1921, William A. Bowen, Jr., and has two children, William Bowen, III, born in 1926, and Mary Ann, born in 1927. 2. Francis, born September 25, 1900; married, Feb-



Jennie L. Harvey.



Jessie L. Whittier

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ruary 16, 1924, Donald Abbott; they have two daughters, Jane, born in 1925, and Mary Alice, born in 1927. 3. Evelyn, born November 13, 1903; married, December 10, 1926, J. Clifford Yeakey, and has an infant son born September 22, 1927. 4. Bernice, born December 28, 1907. 5. Ruth, born August 10, 1915. 6. Emily Jane, born April 1, 1919. The unmarried daughters now reside with their parents in California.

Jessie Evangeline Leonard, youngest daughter of Charles and Emma (Carr) Leonard, was born in Grand Rapids, August 30, 1879, and married there, January 14, 1897, Walter H. Whittier, born December 22, 1870, son of John Boland and Martha (Bailey) Whittier, of Searsmont, Maine. Mrs. Whittier is prominently identified with the religious, civic and social life of Grand Rapids and, like her mother, deeply interested in the city welfare work; she is president of the Grand Rapids Association for the Blind; a member of the Housekeepers' Guild, for Butterworth Hospital; and of Fountain Street Baptist Church, where she is also president of the Woman's Working Society. Mrs. Whittier is an active member in the following local clubs, whose organizations are highly esteemed by Grand Rapids citizens: The Ladies Literary Club, Grand Rapids Art Association, The St. Cecelia Society, Kent Garden Club, and Woman's City Club. In the hereditary patriotic societies, Jessie E. (Leonard) Whittier, through her early American ancestors, has membership in the Colonial Dames, of Massachusetts, the National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution, holding the office of regent of the Grand Rapids Chapter, 1924-25, and in 1927 was elected regent of the local chapter, Daughters of 1812.

Walter H. Whittier is descended from the first settlers in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, where Thomas Whittier, progenitor of the name in New England, established a family in Salisbury, 1649. Thomas Whittier was the son of Richard and Mary (Rolf) Whittier, and was born in County Wiltshire, near Salisbury, England, in 1622, coming to America in the ship "Confidence" in 1638; he married, in Salisbury, Massachusetts, in 1646, Ruth Green, by whom he had ten children, numbering among their descendants, the celebrated American poet, John Greenleaf Whittier. The allied families on the Whittier lineage, of Bailey, Bemis, Bishop, Clough, Green, Merrick, Pillsbury, Piper, Reed and many others, represent clergymen, statesmen, and patriots, prominent in the founding of the earliest New England settlements, from whom Mr. Whittier becomes eligible to membership in the hereditary patriotic societies in Massachusetts and Maine, and through military service in the Revolu-

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tionary War, given by Thomas Whittier of Haverhill, and Samuel Bailey of Milford, Maine. He is a member of the local chapter, Sons of the American Revolution.

Walter H. and Jessie (Leonard) Whittier are the parents of two sons and a daughter; the eldest, Charles Leonard, was born in Grand Rapids, July 6, 1898, and married, June 21, 1920, Lucile Gillett. 2. Harry Leonard, second son of Walter H. and Jessie (Leonard) Whittier, was born December 17, 1900, and married, in Grand Rapids, December 27, 1924, Eva Van Ryn van Alkemade. 3. Jessica Leonard, daughter of Walter H. and Jessie (Leonard) Whittier, was born July 6, 1905; married, June 21, 1903, Alonzo G. Curtis, and they are the parents of two daughters, Patricia, born June 25, 1924, and Jessica, born August 15, 1925.

Memorial Windows—On Sunday, September 18, 1927, at a service in Fountain Street Baptist Church, the Leonard Memorial windows were unveiled. They are the work of W. Francklyn Paris and Frederick J. Wiley, of New York, who spent a long period in study of the famous windows in the Chartres Cathedral, in preparation for their work here, on the Leonard and other windows which are to form a symbolic group in this beautiful church.

These hand painted glass windows are the first of their type to be attempted in this country and their unveiling in this city was an occasion of importance in the world of art. The two windows unveiled at this date were memorials to Frank E. and Charles H. Leonard, brothers, who were prominent in the work of building the splendid new edifice in Grand Rapids, and active in its social and religious functions for fifty years.

The iconographic theme of the prophets window, memorial to Charles H. Leonard, is that of the four prophets, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Amos and Jeremiah, the figures occupying the upper and lower sections of the window and a central medallion in which the angel appearing to Amos and the divine messenger bringing the covenant to Isaiah are shown. The arabesque against which the prophets are silhouetted is in the spirit of the thirteenth century as manifested in the windows of that period which make the glory and incandescent radiance of the Chartres Cathedral.

The memorial window to Charles H. Leonard is the gift of his children, Harry Carr Leonard, Mrs. Frank A. Harvey and Mrs. Walter H. Whittier, and the coat-of-arms of the Leonard family constitutes the motif of the rose which overtops the stem of the window.

Among the windows soon to complete the group in Fountain Street



IN MEMORY OF CHARLES H. LEONARD - THE GIFT OF HARRY CARL LEONARD JESSIE LEONARD WHITTIER AND JENNIE LEONARD HARVEY

MEMORIAL WINDOW IN FOUNTAIN STREET
BAPTIST CHURCH

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Church is the parable window given by Mr. Leonard previous to his death, in memory of his wife, Emma Carr Leonard.

(The Carr Line).

Arms—Quarterly 1st and 4th, azure, a chevron argent charged with three mullets, gules, a demi-lion rampant of the first. 2d and 3d, checky gules and or.

Crest—A hart's head erased or.

The history of the English speaking family of Carr is as old as the Norman Conquest. The charter in Battle Abbey bears the name of William Karre, a noble in the train of the Conqueror, whose descendants settled in the north of England and in succeeding generations spread to the border lands of England and Scotland. In England the Norman-French Karre became Carr, but in Scotland the surname has remained Karr, Kerr, or Ker, and here the family was strongly established in Berwickshire, Edinburghshire, and Ayrshire as early as 1300 A. D. Four men bearing this name appear on a list of Scotch baronets who swore fealty to Edward I, at Berwick, 1221; they were Andrew del Ker of Sterlingshire, Henry Ker of Edinburghshire, Nicholas Kerr of Peebleshire and William Ker of Ayrshire. The Kerr family has been represented from time immemorial in Roxburgshire, where they possess or have held the Dukedom of Roxburg and various earldoms and lordships, and have sent many members to the Scotch Parliament. The ancient arms of this family are three mullets (gules) on a chevron; the crest, a hart's head. This charge has been retained by the English branches of the house but with great variety in regard to colors and quarterings. In England the descendants of the old Border House Carrs held land at Holiwell, Northumberland, as early as 1435. John Carr, of Hetton, Northumberland, had a son, Thomas, of Ford Castle, who successfully held the high office of Captain of the Royal Castle. This family for many generations, since Henry VIII, have resided in Northumberland. Rev. James Carr, vicar of Alwick, 1593, bequeathed his lands to his brother, Thomas Carr.

The ancestry of the Carr family in America is traced in a direct line through the various Peerage books of England and Scotland, from

I. *Andrew Kerr*, ninth baron of Fennerhurst, born in 1450, created baron in 1480, and Knighted in 1483. A man of remarkable talent and undaunted courage, conspicuous in the reign of James IV and James V, he died in 1543. His son,

II. *Sir John Kerr*, did great service against the English during their incursions.

III. *Sir Thomas Kerr*, devoted to the cause of Mary Stuart, never deserted her, even in defeat.

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IV. *Sir William Carr*, son of Sir Thomas Kerr, held large estates in Northumberland and was a member of the English Parliament in the last of Elizabeth's reign, and a resident of London in the beginning of "Puritan England," 1583-1603. Three of his sons born in the vicinity of London, were progenitors of the name of Carr in New England. Their descendants have long been identified with the history of Massachusetts and New Hampshire and have borne their part in the pioneer development of the early settlements. The sons of Sir William Carr were as follows: 1. Benjamin, born August 18, 1592; married, September 2, 1613, Martha Hardington, and had: i. Robert, born October 4, 1614. ii. Caleb, born December 9, 1616. iii. Richard, born January 5, 1621. iv. Andrew, born December 5, 1622. Benjamin Carr and his wife died in England and the sons, Robert and Caleb, came to America to make their home with their uncles in Rhode Island. 2. William, born in London, June 17, 1597; married, May 15, 1619, Susan Rothchild. Their son, George, was born March 12, 1620. William and Susan (Rothchild) Carr came with their infant son in the ship "Fortune," in 1621, and settled at Mount Hope (now Bristol), Rhode Island. 3. George, born in 1599, of whom further.

V. *George Carr*, son of Sir William Carr, of Northumberland County, England, was born in 1599 and, according to family records and tradition, which are borne out in published histories of the Carr families, was one of the shipwrights on board the "Mayflower" in 1620. He brought with him his bride, Lucinda (Davenport) Carr, and a copy of the coat-of-arms of his family, which is still in the possession of his descendants. The young wife of George Carr was among the unfortunate forty-one to die in the first sickness at Plymouth. William Carr, brother of George, came to New England in the ship "Fortune" in 1621, bringing the old family Bible, still preserved by his descendants. In this Bible are the baptismal records of the brothers and also a diary kept by Susan (Rothchild) Carr, relating to the history of the family; William Carr also brought a copy of the coat-of-arms of his line, which is still preserved and is an exact counterpart of that owned by George Carr's descendants. No other proof has been found of the "Mayflower" passengers of this name but recent English research has strongly strengthened the family tradition.

The coat-of-arms described in this article is the one which forms the frontispiece in a "Genealogy of the Carr Family" by Edson I. Carr, and is a copy of the original brought to America by George Carr and owned,

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in 1894, by his descendant then in the seventh generation, Mrs. Adelaide Humphreys, of Chicago, Illinois. The copy brought over by William Carr was at this time in the possession of Elbrige Gerry Carr, of Mexico, Maine.

(The Family in America).

I. George Carr, first of the name in New England, remained with the Pilgrims at Plymouth the first winter, and soon after removed to Ipswich, locating later with the first settlers at "Clochester" (Salisbury), Massachusetts. Here he received land in the first division, and is honored with the title of "Mister," a distinguishing mark of respect in the days of Colonial settlements.

In September, 1638, the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay granted Simon Bradstreet and his associates liberty to begin a plantation north of the Merrimack, and at the first meeting of the proprietors of this settlement, then called Colchester, "It was ordered that George Carr shall have the land where he now dwells; as well Marsh as upland, it being the greatest land within the Town bounds in the river Merrimack: with his 3 acre house lot more or less lying upon the east of Mr. Winsleys house lot and upon the west of Mr. Francis Dows house lot, for the whole of his first division." There being some uncertainty in regard to the jurisdiction of the General Court over the islands in the river, a formal petition was presented to the deputies of the settlement now called Salisbury; and, under date of May 10, 1648, the "Court conceived it meet that the little island in Merrimack be reserved for the 'countrys' use and the greater island to be given to the town of Salisbury, reserving a sufficient highway for passage of men and cattle, and that the town have liberty to keep a ferry." (Massachusetts Colonial Records, Vol. II, p. 246). On June 29, 1648, the town of Salisbury appointed a committee to set off the ferry and on the 18th of December following, it was ordered "Mr. George Carr should have the ferry for fourteen years upon the terms agreed." For at least five years after the settlement of the town there was no legally established ferry, but transportation by way of Carr's Island and the highway leading to the ferry are mentioned in 1639.

On April 9, 1650, in answer to petition, the court granted George Carr permission to build a floating bridge over the northernmost point of Merrimack River, connecting the main land to Mr. Carr's Island. The capital and labor necessary for the building of a floating bridge of the dimensions required were not easily procured in those early days and the

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work progressed slowly, but steadily, until the early summer of 1655. On June 29, 1655, the finished bridge was accepted by the committee of inspection and opened to the public by the presiding magistrate of the court of old Norfolk County, who, with mounted attendants, passed over the bridge and was entertained at the home of Mr. Carr on the island, an event of unusual interest and importance. If the little group of spectators gathered there, the solemn judge with his retinue of mounted horsemen, and the bridge itself floating lazily on the tide, could be reproduced on canvas, the picture would be most stately and imposing. It is worthy of note that this bridge, built in compliance with the terms imposed by the General Court, was the first floating bridge in America. As a token of their appreciation of Mr. Carr's services to the country, the General Court passed the following vote, November 22, 1655:

This Court doth grant the inheritance of Ramme Island to Mr. George Carr and his heirs for ever.

The importance of keeping the ferry established at Carr's Island, open for the transportation of troops and ammunition during the progress of King Philip's War, was carefully provided for in orders passed by the General Court, establishing a garrison of the full number of men, which Mr. Carr was to maintain at his own expense for the security of the ferry. (Massachusetts Colonial Records, Vol. V, p. 89). At this time and for many years after, the only route from Boston to the eastern frontier was by way of this ferry at Carr's Island. Largely patronized by the settlers in this immediate vicinity, by soldiers engaged in various expeditions against the Indians, and by traders and travellers of every description, the income derived from the "great ferry and the bridge and privileges there-unto belonging," rapidly increased the estate of Mr. Carr, and at his death, which occurred April 4, 1682, his real and personal property was valued at nearly fourteen hundred pounds, a very large estate for those early days.

In the division of his property, made by a committee appointed by the county court, and recorded, September 25, 1683, in Probate Records, the bridge and ferry were assigned to Richard and James Carr, sons of George Carr, and they continued in undisturbed possession for several years; but the establishment of a rival ferry in 1687 was the beginning of long and tedious litigation, with varying success to each of the contestants, until the increase of population gradually diverted the tide of travel from the old ferry and it was finally abandoned. A large part of the island remained in the possession of the lineal descendants of George

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Carr, but the subsequent division of his estate, resulting from intermarriages and conveyances, largely increased the number of owners, and interfered with careful and prudent management of the property.

George Carr married, as his second wife, Elizabeth Oliver, daughter of Elder Thomas Oliver, of Boston, and by her had the following children: 1. Elizabeth, born April 21, 1642; married John Woodmansey. 2. George, born April 15, 1644; married Ann Cotton. 3. Richard, born March 16, 1646; died in 1649. 4. William, born April 15, 1648; married Elizabeth Pike. 5. James, of whom further. 6. Mary, born February 24, 1652; married Rev. James Baily. 7. Sarah, born December 17, 1654; married William Hinkley. 8. John, born November 14, 1656, died September 23, 1689. 9. Richard, born April 2, 1659; had four wives. 10. Ann, born June 15, 1661; married Thomas Putnam. Elizabeth (Oliver) Carr, widow of George Carr, died at Salisbury, May 6, 1691. Her will, dated March 18, 1683, was probated June 30, 1691.

VI. James Carr, son of George and Elizabeth (Oliver) Carr, was born in Salisbury, Massachusetts, April 28, 1650, and married, November 14, 1677, Mary Sears, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Hilton) Sears, and subscribed to the oath of allegiance and fidelity at Salisbury in 1678. He was a soldier in King Philip's War and a part owner of the ferry and Carr's Island, where he lived. He died at Salisbury, August 5, 1726. His children were: 1. Mary, born December 15, 1678; married John Freese. 2. Hannah, born October 17, 1680. 3. Sarah, born May 8, 1682. 4. John, of whom further. 5. Catharine, born November 24, 1686. 6. James, born April 3, 1689; married Ruth Moody. 7. Hepzibah, born April 24, 1692; married Charles Chase. 8. Elizabeth, born March 24, 1694; married Joseph Sargent. The estate of James Carr was administered October 23, 1726.

VII. Captain John Carr, son of James and Mary (Sears) Carr, was born at Newbury, Massachusetts, August 26, 1684, and married there, December 14, 1708, Elizabeth Chase, daughter of Moses and Ann (Follansbee) Chase. She was born September 25, 1693, and died April 4, 1754. John Carr was Captain of a company of militia in the French and Indian War and prominent in the town affairs at Newbury, where he died May 5, 1753. The children of John and Elizabeth (Chase) Carr were: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Ann, born October 10, 1713. 3. Moses, born November 25, 1715. 4. Mary, born February 24, 1717. 5. Elizabeth, born March 20, 1720. 6. Sarah, born June 1, 1722. 7. Hannah, born September 15, 1725. 8. Judith, born June 15, 1730. 9. James,

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born April 7, 1734. 10. Daniel (twin), born July 13, 1736. 11. Anne (twin), born July 13, 1736. 12. Elizabeth, born September 9, 1738.

VIII. John Carr, son of John and Elizabeth (Chase) Carr, was born in Newbury, Massachusetts, June 4, 1711, and died in Poplin (now Fremont), New Hampshire, May 2, 1786. He married (first), July 28, 1738, Ann Moody, daughter of Deacon Samuel and Sarah (Knight) Moody, born June 30, 1714, and died September 3, 1758. John Carr married (second) Abigail Perley. He was one of the original founders of the early settlement at Brentwood, New Hampshire, and a patriot in the Revolutionary War. The children of John and Ann (Moody) Carr were as follows: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Samuel, born December 6, 1740; married Emma Chase. 3. Ann, born March 6, 1743; married Samuel Brown. 4. Sarah, born July 21, 1745; married (first) Barnard Goodrich; (second) Elisha Cheney. 5. Moses, born July 23, 1748, died in 1758. 6. Elizabeth, born September 6, 1750; married John Chase. 7. Mary, born April 22, 1757; married William Pillsbury.

IX. John Carr, son of John and Ann (Moody) Carr, was born in Newbury, Massachusetts, May 16, 1739, died in Poplin (now Fremont) New Hampshire, January 12, 1825. He married, at Newbury, May 5, 1763, Ruth Morse, daughter of Samuel and Abigail (Perley) Morse, born in Newbury, August 11, 1736, and died in Poplin, New Hampshire, April 26, 1819. John Carr removed to the new settlement then called Brentwood, before the Revolutionary War, and served in several enlistments with the troops from Exeter and Fremont. His children, the eldest born in Newbury, Massachusetts, and the others in Brentwood, New Hampshire, were: 1. Abigail, born March 11, 1764; married Ezekiel Robinson. 2. Moody, of whom further. 3. John, born May 13, 1768, married (second) Rhoda Rundlett. 4. Jeremiah, born March 5, 1770. 5. Ruth, born May 18, 1772, died January 2, 1792, aged nineteen years. 6. Perley, born April 30, 1774. 7. Samuel, born August 5, 1776.

X. Moody Carr, son of John and Ruth (Morse) Carr, was born May 12, 1766, married (first), February 14, 1791, Ruth Hudson, daughter of Joseph and Rhoda (Edwards) Hudson, born in Salisbury, Massachusetts, November 25, 1762, died in Poplin, New Hampshire, October 11, 1806. Moody Carr married (second) Ruth Wilson, and died in Fremont, New Hampshire, July 10, 1857. Moody and Ruth (Hudson) Carr were the parents of the following children, born in Fremont, New Hampshire: 1. James, of whom further. 2. Moody, born April 15, 1796, married Abigail Sanborn. 3. Ruth, born February 9, 1799, mar-

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ried Jesse Mudgett. 4. Rhoda, born December 30, 1801, died young. 5. John, born May 17, 1804.

XI. James Carr, son of Moody and Ruth (Hudson) Carr, was born November 15, 1793, in Brentwood (now Fremont); married, in Kingston, New Hampshire, December 25, 1817, Sally Webster, daughter of Gideon and Sarah (Carter) Webster. She was born March 8, 1791, at Kingston, and died July 19, 1872, at Pembroke, New Hampshire. James and Sally (Webster) Carr were the parents of seven children, the first four born in Poplin, the others in Pembroke: 1. Harriet, born February 1, 1819, married Augustus Burt. 2. Moody, born November 26, 1820, married Sarah Sweetster. 3. Ruth, born June 4, 1822, married Leander Forbush. 4. James W., of whom further. 5. Abby, born May 21, 1828, married Crosby Knox. 6. Sarah, born August 11, 1830. 7. Betsey W., born September 25, 1832, married Lewis McCutcheon.

XII. Captain James Webster Carr, son of James and Sally (Webster) Carr, was born November 26, 1824, in Poplin, New Hampshire, and died in Grand Rapids, Michigan, July 6, 1875. He married, November 29, 1848, Dorothy Jane Goodhue, daughter of Joseph and Dolly (Green) Goodhue, born in Deerfield, New Hampshire, January 29, 1828, died in Grand Rapids, October 3, 1891. (Goodhue VII.) James Webster Carr inherited the character as well as the traditions of the founders of the ancient House of Carr, and more than two hundred years later displayed the same courage in battle that distinguished his early ancestors in England and New England. At the outbreak of the Civil War, in 1861, James Carr raised a company of New Hampshire Volunteers who chose him captain, and with whom he served in some of the most important engagements of the war, taking part in more than forty battles of varying note and severity; among them, the first and second Bull Run, Chancellorsville, Seven Oaks, Fredericksburg and Gettysburg, and except for a slight injury received at Gettysburg, was without wound or illness during the entire period of the war. Returning at the end of three years of service, a lieutenant-colonel of his regiment (the 2d New Hampshire Volunteers), Mr. Carr spent a few years in travel and prospecting through the West. Previous to 1861 he had lived for a time in Plainfield, Illinois, where he engaged in building operations, but returned to his native State a few months prior to the declaration of war. In 1866 he removed to the city of Grand Rapids, Michigan, which remained his home thereafter. James Webster and Dorothy Jane (Goodhue) Carr were the parents of two children: 1. Henry James, born in Pembroke, New

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Hampshire, August 16, 1849; married (first) Emma Quimby, who died in 1882, and (second), May 13, 1886, D. Edith Wallbridge, of Springfield, Illinois. Mr. Carr, a librarian of splendid ability and experience, is at present in charge of the City Library at Scranton, Pennsylvania. His wife, Edith (Wallbridge) Carr, a descendant of some of the early Colonial Governors, is a member of the Massachusetts Society of Colonial Dames, and in 1924 was president of the Association of Past and Present State Presidents and Charter Members of the National Society United States Daughters of 1812. 2. Emma Jane, born in Plainfield, Illinois, December 13, 1851, married, October 15, 1873, Charles H. Leonard, of Grand Rapids. (Leonard XIII.)

(The Caswell Line).

Arms—Argent three bars gemelles and a mullet for difference, sable.

Crest—A dexter arm embowed in mail proper holding a cross crosslet fitchée or.

The family of Caswell is of considerable antiquity in Wales and in the neighboring county of Herford. Sir Thomas Caswell, a knight of the Holy Wars, was buried at Leominster Long. Subsequently Sir George Caswell had very great estates in that community and represented Leominster in several Parliaments. He left two sons, John and Timothy. John, the eldest, left one son, John, father of the Rev. Robert Caswell, and Timothy, younger son of Sir George, left a son, George Caswell, of Secombe Park, Herts. These were the common ancestors of all the Caswalls or Caswells, as the name was known, who settled in Herford originally. In their coat-of-arms they used the mullet or star of five points showing their descent from a younger son, the crest is distinctive of knights who fought in the Holy Wars.

I. *Richard Caswell, Esq.*, of London, married Mary Slany, daughter of Richard Slany, Esq., of County Salop, and among their children were Thomas and George, the third and fourth sons.

II. *Thomas Caswell*, believed to be a son of Richard of London, was one of the first settlers in Taunton, Massachusetts, which was incorporated in 1639. He reached the colonies about 1640, believedly from Somersetshire, England, and in 1668 was one of the original purchasers of the "Taunton North Purchase," a tract which now includes Easton, and parts of Mansfield and Norton, Massachusetts. The name of his wife has not been learned, but his descendants in this country are numerous, as he was the father of ten children: 1. Stephen, born February 15, 1649. 2. Thomas, born February 22, 1651. 3. Peter, born October 31, 1652. 4. Mary, born August 31, 1654, married Israel Thrasher. 5.

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John, born July 31, 1656, married Elizabeth Hall. 6. Sarah, born November 30, 1658, married William Haskins. 7. William, born September 15, 1660. 8. Samuel, born January 26, 1663. 9. Elizabeth, of whom further. 10. Abigail, born in 1666.

III. *Elizabeth Caswell*, daughter of Thomas of Taunton, Massachusetts, was born January 10, 1665, and married, June 1, 1685, Uriah Leonard. (Leonard VIII).

(The Cleveland Line).

Arms—Per chevron sable and ermine, a chevron engrailed counterchanged.

Crest—A demi old man proper habited azure, having on a cap gules, turned up with a hair front, holding in the dexter hand a spear, headed argent, on the top of which is fixed a line proper, passing behind him, and coiled up in the sinister hand.

Motto—*Pro Deo et patria.* (For God and Country.)

The name Caluvium was given to the district (now Cleveland, Yorkshire, England) by the Romans or their governor, at some time between A. D. 72 and their final departure from Britain, A. D. 421. By the time of the Norman Conquest, 1066, the name had become Cleveland, the Caluvian Lands becoming descriptive; with the changes in the surname it gradually became Cleveland, which name it has always borne. This district of Cleveland in the North Riding of Yorkshire, England, is the original and ancient seat of the Cleveland and Cleaveland family, and is so beautiful and popular a part of England it has been the subject of several splendidly illustrated histories, each with engravings and maps.

Moses Cleveland, ancestor of the Clevelands of New England origin, spelled his own name (as shown in his signature as a witness December 8, 1662, at Woburn, Massachusetts) thus, although rendered in many forms by the clerks' records in old Woburn. His name is not found on the passenger lists of the ships leaving London or other ports, and the first record of him in New England is in 1635-36.

The Woburn town records show grants of land to Moses Cleveland February 3, 1648-49 and again on June 19, 1649, he, with others, was granted thirty acres. The Woburn Military Muster Rolls of 1663 name Moses Cleveland, aged thirty-nine, therefore born in 1624. He married, September 26, 1648, Ann Winn, born, according to family tradition, in Wales, or England, about 1626, and died at Woburn, Massachusetts, before May 6, 1682, daughter of Edward and Joanna Winn. The children of Moses and Ann (Winn) Cleveland were: 1. Moses, born September 1, 1651; married Ruth Norton. 2. Hannah, of whom further. 3. Aaron, born January 10, 1655, ancestor to President Cleveland; married (first) Dorcas Wilson. 4. Samuel, born June 9, 1657; married

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(first) Jane Keyes; (second) Persis Hildreth. 5. Miriam, born July 10, 1659, married Thomas Fosdict. 6. Joanna, born September 19, 1661, died in 1667. 7. Edward, born May 20, 1664, married (first) Deliverance Palmer; (second) Zeria Church. 8. Josiah, born February 26, 1667, married Mary Bates. 9. Isaac, born May 11, 1669, married Elizabeth (Pierce) Curtis, a widow. 10. Joanna, born April 5, 1670, married Joseph Keyes. 11. Enoch, born August 1, 1671, married Elizabeth Counts.

II. *Hannah Cleveland*, daughter of Moses and Ann (Winn) Cleveland, was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, August 4, 1653, and married, in Woburn, September 24, 1677, Thomas Henshaw. (Henshaw I).

(The Deane Line).

Arms—Vert, on a chevron between three griffins' heads erased or, beaked gules five mullets sable.

Crest—A griffin's head erased or, beaked gules with a collar vert, between two wings erect vert.

Motto—*Fideliter*.

The name of Den or Dene, which was the ancient way of spelling what is now written Deane, made its appearance in England soon after the introduction of surnames and was apparently derived from the Saxon word *den* or *dene*, a valley, a name still preserved in the proper names of certain valleys in England, and was probably given first to estates situated in or near these valleys. From estates the name would easily pass to their possessors. William de Dene, whose family were from a branch of Dene of Dene Forest, 1348, bore arms derived from a grant of the Crest of Hugh le Despenser. From Gloucestershire, and probably from Dene of Dene in the Forest of Dene, came Henry Dene, archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor under Henry VII, also Sir Richard Deane, mayor of London, 1629.

I. *John Deane*, one of the first permanent settlers of "Cohannet," was the son of William Deane, son of Walter Deane, of South Chard, a settlement in Somersetshire, England. In 1636, accompanied by his brother Walter and sister Marjorie (the first wife of Elder John Strong) he came to New England and landed at Dorchester. He was made a freeman of the Plymouth Colony, December 4, 1638, and in 1639 removed to the new settlement at Taunton, where his son John was born, the first white child of the settlement, and where John Deane, Sr., became a deacon in the first church, and held various early town offices.

In his will dated April 25, 1660, his strong religious fervor is expressed in a provision whereby his wife or children might sell the

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lands and housings to remove, if necessary, where they might have the "privilege of God in his ordinances." John Deane was born about 1600, and died in May, 1660. His wife, Alice, whom he married in England, was the mother of six children, born in Taunton: 1. John, born in 1639, married, in 1663, Sarah Edson. 2. Thomas, of whom further. 3. Israel, a lieutenant in King Philip's War. 4. Isaac, married, January 24, 1677, Hannah Leonard, daughter of James Leonard (Leonard VII). 5. Nathaniel, died without issue. 6. Elizabeth, married Josiah Edson, of Bridgewater.

II. *Thomas Deane*, son of John and Alice Deane, was born in Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1639, and married there, January 5, 1669, Katherine Stephens, daughter of Thomas Stephens, who came from England with a wife and two children: Richard, who married Mary (Lincoln) Hack, and Katharine, who became the wife of Thomas Deane. Katharine (Stephens) Deane died in 1727, and he died in 1697. They were the parents of the following children: 1. Thomas, born February 11, 1671, died soon. 2. Hannah, born January 14, 1672, died unmarried. 3. Thomas, born in 1673, married Mary Kingsley. 4. Deborah, married John Tisdale. 5. Lydia, of whom further. 6. Katharine, married Deacon Samuel Leonard. 7. Mercy, married Daniel Williams. 8. Elizabeth, married Deacon Benjamin Williams.

III. *Lydia Deane*, daughter of Thomas and Katharine (Stephens) Deane, was born in Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1679, died in Easton, August 22, 1726. She married, in Taunton, in 1702, George Hall. (Hall III).

(The DeLamater Line).

I. *Claude LeMaitre*, ancestor of all who bear the name of DeLamater in America today, was born in Richerbourg, in Artois, France, and was descended from an ancient family, prominent in the history of the struggle between Catholic and Protestant, and remaining true to the adherents of the great Calvinistic Reformation in that country, was forced to flee the "sword and fagot" of those days, and became, with all others of their faith who survived the hideous warfare of the church, refugees to England. From this refuge in England the Huguenot Colony, of which Claude LeMaitre was a member, removed to Amsterdam in Holland; here he met and married, as his second wife, Hester DuBois, the daughter of Pierre DuBois. She was born in England during the sojourn of her family in Canterbury. The first wife of Claude LeMaitre was Jean DeLanoy, a descendant of the ancient family from Lanois, in

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France, whose progenitor in America was Philip de Lannoy of Duxbury, 1621. Claude LeMaitre and Hester DuBois were married April 24, 1652, and seeking abroad the religious freedom not then secure in Europe, came to America that same year. Claude LeMaitre settled, first, at Flatbush (Midwout), New York, and here four of their children were born: Jan, Abraham, Isaac and Susana. In 1662 they removed to Harlem where the two younger children were born. This remained their home and Claude LeMaitre became prominent in the early history of the settlement, aiding in the establishment of stockades and military companies, which successfully defeated several attacks by the Indians and ended apprehension of further trouble with them. He also held important civil and church trusts, in which he proved himself efficient and very successful. He died in Harlem, New York, in 1683. His wife, Hester, surviving him, became, under the provision of their joint will, the possessor of all their property, this to continue until the time came of the marriage of the survivor, at such time the marrying party was to place in the hands of guardians appointed by the court, a full amount of all; this to remain in the protection of the court until the children become of age or are married "with the consent of the parent." The children of Claude and Hester (DuBois) LeMaitre (DeLamater) were as follows: 1. John, born in 1653, married Ruth Waldron. 2. Abraham, born in 1656, married Celeste Vernoye. 3. Isaac, born in 1658, married Cornelia Evarts. 4. Susanna, born in 1660, married Albert Bussing. 5. Hester, born in 1662, married Moses DeGraf. 6. Jacobus, of whom further.

II. *Jacobus DeLamater*, youngest son of Claude and Hester DeLamater, was born at Harlem, in 1665, and settled at Kingston, where he married, in 1688, Gertrude Ysselsteen, daughter of Martin Cornelius Ysselsteen, of Claverack. He was a trustee of Kingston and a firm supporter of the Dutch Reformed Church there. His farm was at Marbleton and consisted of two hundred and ninety-six acres, bought in 1715, and this land, upon his death in 1741, was left to his sons, his wife, who was born in 1666, having died before him. Their children were: 1. Claude, born in 1692. 2. Isaac, of whom further. 3. Martha (twin), born in 1696. 4. Jacob (twin), born in 1696. 5. Martin, born in 1701. 6. Bata, born in 1705. 7. Hester, born in 1706. 8. Cornelius, born in 1708. 9. Jennetie, born in 1711. 10. Susanna, born in 1713.

III. *Captain Isaac DeLamater*, son of Jacobus and Gertrude (Ysselsteen) DeLamater, was born in Kingston, New York, June 3, 1694, and married, October 20, 1717, his cousin, Rebecca LeMaitre, born

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November 25, 1696, the daughter of Isaac and Cornelia (Evarts) LeMaitre, of Harlem (See records of Dutch Reformed Church, at Kingston). They settled upon their own farm at Marbleton, New York, and had a family of seven children. In 1745 they removed to the "Oblong," now Amenia, New York, where he was a freeholder and became wealthy. He was a captain of the town militia and took his company to Canada during the French and Indian War, and upon his return became the chief military man of the settlement. He also held the office of justice of the peace, and was greatly revered for his administration of the law. He was a great patriot at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, and called the young men of the town together, giving them instruction in military drill and arms, these meetings being held in his own home because of Tory spying. Captain Isaac DeLamater died April 20, 1775, the day after the battle of Lexington, having sent his sons and grandsons, with the other youths of the town, into the service of their country. The children of Captain Isaac and Rebecca (LeMaitre) DeLamater, born in Marbleton (Kingston) were as follows: 1. John, born in 1720, married Maria Kip. 2. Cornelius, married ——— Duzenbury. 3. Isaac, married Eva Kip. 4. Martin, married Ann Marsh. 5. Elizabeth, born in 1737, married Cyrus Marsh. 6. Henry, born in 1739, married Catharine Kip. 7. Benjamin, of whom further.

IV. Benjamin DeLamater, born in 1743, youngest son of Captain Isaac and Rebecca (LaMaitre) DeLamater, married, January 2, 1769, Hannah Row, daughter of Nicholas Row, and settled at Amenia, New York, where he lived many years. He served in the military company under his father and was on guard duty during the French and Indian War. He was one of the first to enlist at the call to arms in defense of the Colonies in 1776, serving in Captain Benjamin DuBois' company, under Major General Willett, 1st New York Line. He continued to serve in various enlistments throughout the period of war. Receiving land grants in Dutchess County, he removed there after the war and died in Clinton, that county, August 7, 1800. The children of Benjamin and Hannah (Row) DeLamater were: 1. Susanna, of whom further. 2. Nicholas, born in 1772. 3. Jacob, born in 1774. 4. Sarah, born in 1776. 5. Benjamin, born in 1778, married Almira Row. 6. Laura, born in 1780. 7. Elizabeth, born in 1783.

V. Susanna DeLamater, daughter of Benjamin and Hannah (Row) DeLamater, was born in Amenia, New York, 1770, and married there, in 1792, Solomon Goodrich. (Goodrich V.)

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(The Goodhue Line).

Arms—Or on a chevron between three griffins' heads erased gules, a swan's neck also erased ducally gorged or. On each side of the field a bee volant.

Crest—A young Shepherd leaning on the stump of a tree playing the flute, his dog by his side.

Motto—*Dieu avec nous.*

In the eighth year of Edward I the names of Wills Godhewen and Robs Godhewen (William and Robert Goodhue) both of County Kent, are found on record. The name is evidently Saxon, and the first syllable derived from the Saxon word god, meaning good. That William Goodhue, who came from Kent, England, to America, in 1636, was a descendant of Wills Godhewen mentioned above, has long been established. The first of this family in New England spelled the name Goodhew and it is so inscribed on the early tombstones in the cemetery in Essex, Massachusetts.

I. Deacon William Goodhue, born in England in 1612, came to New England in 1635-36 and was the first of this name in America. He settled in Ipswich, Massachusetts, where in 1638 he was chosen deacon of the first church and where, in history, he is declared to have been a man of more than average intelligence, of deep practical piety and of the highest integrity and wisdom. For many years he served the town of Ipswich in various civil capacities, among them that of moderator, selectman, and representative to the Colonial Legislature from 1666 until his death. Deacon Goodhue was four times married, his first wife, Margery Watson, of Kent, England, whom he married before he left England, was the mother of the only children born to him. The first wife did not long survive the hardships of the voyage and residence in the new land. He died at an advanced age in 1699. The children born to William and Margery (Watson) Goodhue were: 1. Joseph, of whom further. 2. William, born in 1645, married Hannah Dane. 3. Mary, married, February 23, 1668, Thomas Giddings.

II. Joseph Goodhue, eldest son of William and Margery (Watson) Goodhue, was born in Ipswich, in 1639; married, July 13, 1661, Sarah Whipple, daughter of Elder John Whipple. At the time of this marriage Joseph Goodhue received a deed to the dwelling house and lot with twenty-two acres of salt marsh which had been purchased for him with money left by the grandfather Watson in England. Sarah (Whipple) Goodhue died at Ipswich, July 23, 1681. She left a farewell address to her husband and children, which is preserved as one of the finest records of the unselfish love and devotion of the early Colonial mother. Joseph Goodhue was twice married after the death of his first wife and was the father

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of thirteen children by the three wives. He married (second), October 15, 1684, Widow Rachel Todd, who died at Ipswich, in 1691, and his third wife was widow Mercy (Boynton) Clark, whom he married July 4, 1692. Joseph Goodhue was prominent in the town and church at Ipswich, and like his father, deacon of the first church, and moderator, selectman, assessor, and Representative to the General Court. He died at Ipswich September 2, 1697. His children were: Joseph, Mary, Sarah, Margery, Susanna, Elizabeth, John, Hannah, William; by his second wife he had: 1. Ebenezer, born July 25, 1685. 2. Joseph, born in 1687. 3. Benjamin, born January 25, 1690; and by his third wife, Mercy (Boynton) Clark, he had Samuel, of whom further.

III. Samuel Goodhue, son of Joseph and Mercy (Boynton) Goodhue, was born at Ipswich, Massachusetts, April 6, 1696, and married (first), November 6, 1717, Abigail Bartlett, daughter of John and Mary (Rust) Bartlett, of Newburyport, Massachusetts; (second) widow Rebecca Caldwell. He removed from Ipswich to Stratham, New Hampshire, and later to Nottingham, in the same State, where he owned a large landed property. After his marriage to Rebecca Caldwell, he removed to Hollis, New Hampshire, where he died November 7, 1785, in the ninetyeth year of his age, "triumphantly sustained by that religion he so long professed and enjoyed." He was a man of unusual education for those times and left an address to his children and descendants, written in his ninetyeth year, which is remarkable for its quaint and pious character. He left a small legacy including a Bible to each of his thirty grandchildren. The children of Samuel and Abigail (Bartlett) Goodhue were: Samuel, of whom further, Joseph, Nathaniel, Abigail, Mercy, Josiah, Mary, died young, and John. Deacon Samuel Goodhue was a Patriot in Hollis, New Hampshire, during the Revolution, signing the Association Test, and furnishing money for the families of the soldiers. His son, Samuel, and grandson, Robert, served in the militia from Rockingham County.

IV. Samuel Goodhue, son of Deacon Samuel and Abigail (Bartlett) Goodhue, was born in Stratham, New Hampshire, in 1719; married, in 1745, Deborah Wadleigh, daughter of Robert and Deborah (Smith) Wadleigh, of Exeter. They resided in Stratham for a time and later removed to Deerfield, where he died, aged eighty-nine. Samuel Goodhue was a member of the Colonial Militia of New Hampshire, and a soldier in Captain Goss' company from Hollis, 1776, that responded to the first call for troops in the Revolutionary War. The children born to

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Samuel and Deborah (Wadleigh) Goodhue were: 1. Samuel, born in 1749. 2. Robert Wadleigh, of whom further. 3. Maria, born in 1752, married Abiel Bartlett. 4. Deborah, born June 15, 1755; married James Gilman.

V. *Robert Wadleigh Goodhue*, son of Samuel and Deborah (Wadleigh) Goodhue, was born in Stratham, New Hampshire, in 1750; married (first), in 1774, Mary Gilman, daughter of John and Jane (Deane) Gilman, of Exeter. She was born in 1745 and died at Deerfield, New Hampshire, in 1785. Robert Goodhue married (second), in 1787, Sarah Green. He served several short terms of enlistments in the Revolution, replacing his father who, although beyond the age limit, had marched with the militia on the first alarm. His children, by his first marriage, were: 1. Deborah, born January 1, 1775; married Colonel Samuel Collins. 2. Samuel, born in 1777; married Mary Ayer. 3. Robert, born in 1779; married Miriam Collins. 4. Mary, born in 1780, married Benjamin Fellows. 5. Timothy, born in 1782; married Polly Prescott. 6. Joseph, of whom further. By the second wife, Sarah Green, Robert Goodhue had three children: 7. Elizabeth, born August 17, 1788; married Thomas Vesey. 8. Jonathan, born June 27, 1790; married Mary Stearns. 9. Sally, born in 1793, died unmarried.

VI. *Joseph Goodhue*, son of Robert and Mary (Gilman) Goodhue, was born May 12, 1784; married, November 28, 1806, Dolly Green, daughter of Jabez and Anna (Smith) Green, of Hampton Falls, New Hampshire. She was born May 9, 1788, and died at Deerfield, June 10, 1865. "A woman of many virtues possessing deep and unaffected piety, of good intellect and education, she was tenderly beloved by her children." Her daughters are recorded in history as possessing remarkable loveliness of person and character. Joseph Goodhue died at Deerfield, New Hampshire, February 2, 1870. His children, born in Deerfield, were: 1. Mary, born December 5, 1807, married Ebenezer Carter. 2. Nancy, born August 20, 1809, married Josiah Sargent. 3. Isaac, born August 27, 1811. 4. Wadleigh, born April 14, 1813, married (first) Mary Gale; (second) Harriet Phelps. 5. Jabez, born April 10, 1815; married Myra Morris. 6. Nathaniel, born December 5, 1817; married Sarah Wilson. 7. Sarah, born December 27, 1819, died young. 8. Lydia, born March 9, 1822, died unmarried. 9. Jonathan, born April 15, 1824, married Esther Hawley. He was a graduate of Yale College, in 1852, and of the Divinity School, Middletown, Connecticut, ordained to Deacons' Orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church at Middletown,



Goodrich

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1860, and ordained to the priesthood in St. Paul's Church, Brookfield, Connecticut, in 1861. A distinguished clergyman and scholar, compiler of the Goodhue Genealogy. 10. Emily, born March 29, 1826; married Robert Loomis. 11. Dorothy Jane, of whom further.

VII. *Dorothy Jane Goodhue*, daughter of Joseph and Dolly (Green) Goodhue, was born in Deerfield, New Hampshire, January 29, 1828, and died in Grand Rapids, Michigan, October 3, 1891. She married, November 29, 1848, James Webster Carr. (Carr XII.)

(The Goodrich Line).

Arms—Or, two lions passant between ten crosses-crosslet sable.

Crest—A demi-lion rampant couped argent, holding in the dexter paw a cross-crosslet or.

Motto—*Ditat servata fides.*

The surname of Goodrich has its origin in the Saxon word Godric, a good ruler. The name existed in Great Britain at a very early date and denotes an honorable family origin. The Domesday Book of the Conqueror shows that land holders of the Goodric family were numerous in that early day. Freeman, in his "History of the Norman Conquest," makes repeated mention of a Godric of great prominence who fell at Senlac, bravely fighting for his King and country. In the lists of "those patriotic Englishmen" who came at the call of Harold to repel the invader and who offered up their lives at Hastings, is Godric, Lord of Fifhide.

One of the earliest evidences of the name of Goodrich is found in the ruins of Goodrich Castle which stood on a commanding eminence, near the southeastern border of Herford, in Herfordshire, Wales. Preceding the coming of the Conqueror, the Castle is thought to have been built about 1050. In the "Visitation of Yorkshire," made by the Heralds, Robert Clover and Richard St. George, a record is found of John Goodrich of Bollingbroke, whose son, Edward of Kirby, County Lincoln, baronet, married Jane Williamson, daughter and heiress of James Williamson, Esq., and from them the following line of descent to William Goodrich of Wethersfield, Connecticut, has been traced and found to corroborate with the genealogical tree in the possession of family of an English descendant, James Pitt Goodrich, of Egarth House, Egarth, Denbighshire, and is as follows: The children of Edward and Jane (Williamson) Goodrich were: 1. John, born in 1485, married Katharine Dymoke. 2. Henry, of whom further. 3. Thomas, born in 1489. Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor of England, during the time of Henry VIII. 4. Katharine, born in 1492, married Sir Thomas Mussenden. 5. Mary, born in 1495.

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III. *Henry Goodrich*, second son of Edward and Jane (Williamson) Goodrich, married, in 1508, Margaret Rawson, daughter of Christopher Rawson; bought Ribston Manor, Yorkshire, and had William, Richard, of whom further, Christopher, and Alborougha, a daughter.

IV. *Richard Goodrich*, son of Henry and Margaret (Rawson) Goodrich, was born in 1510; married Clara Conyers, daughter of Richard Conyers, Esq., of Norton Conyers, and had sons: Richard, of whom further; Henry, and a daughter, Margaret.

V. *Richard (2) Goodrich*, son of Richard and Clara (Conyers) Goodrich, was knighted in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and married Muriel Evans, daughter of Lord William Evans, and had: William, Henry, Robert, Ralph, John, of whom further, Richard, Francis, and Margaret.

VI. *John Goodrich*, son of Richard and Muriel (Evans) Goodrich, married and emigrated to New England, in 1635, and with him came Henry, Richard, John, and William. A document left among the papers of David Goodrich, grandson of William Goodrich, of Wethersfield, declares that the mother of John and William Goodrich was a sister of the Duke of Marlboro, and their father (William), a brother of the John Goodrich who came to New England with them. The wills of John and William Goodrich, of Bury St. Edmund, prove the parentage of the brothers, who were the progenitors of the name in America. The will of William Goodrich, of Hegessett, in the county of Suffolk, England, and on file in Vol. V, p. 239, Secretary of State's office, Hartford, Connecticut, names "John Goodrich, eldest son of my brother William," showing that there were two sons named William in his father's family; and that he was "William the younger" as mentioned in the will of John Goodrich of Bury St. Edmund, is proved by the lands he lists in his will. "William the elder," son of John Goodrich of Bury St. Edmund, and his brother John, came to "Virginia" (the name by which the British Colonies in North America were then called) soon after the death of their father (1632) and in so doing much displeased the supervisors of their father's will, and came under the ban in a clause in the will which reads thus: "If any of my said children prove rebellious, stubborn, and disobedient, and refuse to be maintained, ordered and governed according to my wife's discretion, or those managing their shares, the increase of their portion was to go to those of them that were obedient and dutiful."

The Rev. William Goodrich died without heirs and in his will leaves the property he inherited from his father, John Goodrich, to the two eldest living sons of his brothers, John and Wililam Goodrich, who settled in

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"Wethersfield in the County of Hartford, in the Colony of Conneticott, in New England," they to inherit it only after the death of his wife.

Abstracts from the Court Rolls: "Manor of Dagworth cum Sorrells." "In the year 1680, Rebecca Goodrich was admitted tenant for life upon the death and under the will of her husband, William Goodrich, of Hesselsett, Suffolk, to the close called Robbetts"; "At a General Court Baron held for the Manor, July 3, 1718, it was presented and certified that on the 26th day of March, 1717, by authority of John Goodrich, of Wethersfield, in the County of Hartford, Colony of Conneticott the land was leased to Benjamin Thompson, and he was admitted tenant to said premises." This land came to John Goodrich in 1699, upon the death of his aunt, Rebecca Goodrich. The English origin of the Goodrich brothers of Wethersfield, Connecticut, who became progenitors of large and distinguished American families, has been definitely established, and the line from William Goodrich, 1st, is as follows:

I. "*Ensign*" William Goodrich, born in England, married, at Hartford, Connecticut, October 4, 1648, Sarah Marvin, daughter of Mathew and Elizabeth Marvin, of Hartford. He was made a freeman of Connecticut, May 15, 1656, and was deputy from Wethersfield to the General Court during five sessions, from May, 1662, to October, 1666. He was grand juror in May, 1662, and was commissioned Ensign of the Wethersfield "train band" by the General Court, May 11, 1665. (Colonial Records, Vol. II, p. 17), and was so styled on all public records as long as he lived. Ensign William Goodrich died in 1676, and his widow married (second) Captain William Curtis, of Stratford, Connecticut, who died December 21, 1702, and Sarah (Marvin-Goodrich) Curtis died the same year. Her will, dated October 21, 1697, was probated January 7, 1702-03.

The children of Ensign William and Sarah (Marvin) Goodrich, born in Wethersfield, Connecticut, were: 1. William (twin), born August 8, 1649, died young. 2. Sarah (twin), born August 8, 1649, married John Hollister. 3. Mary, born November 13, 1651, married Joseph Butler. 4. John, born May 20, 1653, married Rebecca Allen. 5. Elizabeth, born in 1658, married Captain Robert Wells. 6. William, of whom further. 7. Abigail, born June 5, 1662, married Thomas Finch. 8. Ephraim, born June 2, 1663, married Sarah Treat. 9. David, born May 4, 1667, married Hannah Wright.

II. *Lieutenant William Goodrich*, son of William and Sarah (Marvin) Goodrich, was born in Wethersfield, Connecticut, February 8, 1661,

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and married (first), November 22, 1680, Grace Riley, daughter of John and Grace Riley of Wethersfield. She died October 23, 1712, and he married (second) Mrs. Mary Ann Ayrault, widow of Dr. Nicholas Ayrault. She died August 27, 1741, and Lieutenant Goodrich died December 27, 1737. His children by the first wife were: 1. William, died soon. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Benjamin, born September 29, 1688. 4. Joseph, born February 29, 1691. 5. Isaac, born August 18, 1693. 6. Ann, born March 25, 1697. 7. Ephraim, born September 12, 1699. 8. Ethan, born June 3, 1702. By the second wife: 9. Elizabeth, born September 15, 1715. 10. Lucenia, born June 23, 1717. 11. Eunice, born December 8, 1719.

III. William Goodrich, son of Lieutenant William and Grace (Riley) Goodrich, was born in Wethersfield, Connecticut, July 2, 1686, and married, May 14, 1706, Margaret Orvis, of Farmington. He removed to Litchfield where he remained about ten years, and from there to Sheffield, Massachusetts. When the township of Sharon, Connecticut, was sold, he became the purchaser of two "rights" in the new town, moving his family there in the fall of 1738. He built a small cabin which sheltered them that first winter, with no neighbors nearer than the settlement at Leedsville. That he was deeply and sincerely a religious man, is shown in the wording of his will, which was recorded in the Probate Records for the district of Litchfield, the first one on record there. He died March 31, 1743, his widow, surviving him about seven years, died in Sharon, April 14, 1750, aged sixty-two years. One tombstone marks the resting place of William and Margaret (Orvis) Goodrich, on which the following epitaph is inscribed: "Here lies the husband and the wife, Interred beneath this double tomb. This double witness may suffice to prove that death will be Your doom."

William and Margaret (Orvis) Goodrich were the parents of eleven children, three dying young; the following sons and daughters became progenitors of numerous descendants in Sharon, Connecticut: 1. Deborah, born June 8, 1707. 2. Samuel, born June 29, 1708. 3. Margaret, born June 1, 1710. 4. William, born May 5, 1711. 5. Ethan, born June 5, 1713, died soon. 6. Jared, born June 12, 1715. 7. Margaret, died young. 8. Elnathan, born December 6, 1718, married Elizabeth Showers. 9. David, born February 12, 1720, married Martha Mudge. 10. Elisha, born June 21, 1723, married Elizabeth Fairchild. 11. Solomon, of whom further.

IV. Solomon Goodrich, son of William and Margaret (Orvis) Goodrich, was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, March 7, 1726, and mar-

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ried (first), in Sharon, Connecticut, December 23, 1747, Betty Pardee, daughter of Lieutenant John Pardee. She died February 15, 1774, aged forty-six, and Soloman Goodrich married (second), September 22, 1774, Esther Haddon, who died October 25, 1799, age sixty-seven. He died December 22, 1790. Soloman Goodrich served in the militia, in the French and English wars, and was a member of the Alarm Company at Sharon during the Revolution. Enlisting at first under Captain Samuel Elmore, from May, 1775, to November, 1775, in 1777, he was a member of the company of Light Horse on duty on the north river.

The children of Soloman and Betty (Pardee) Goodrich were: 1. Jared, born in 1749. 2. David, born in 1751. 3. Samuel, born in 1754. 4. Soloman, of whom further. 5. Elnathan, born in 1758, and several daughters, of whom Mary, born in 1773, was the youngest.

V. Captain Soloman (2) Goodrich, son of Soloman and Betty (Pardee) Goodrich, was born February 21, 1756, and married, in America, New York, in 1792, Susanna DeLamater, daughter of Benjamin and Hannah (Row) DeLamater, born in 1770, and died June 30, 1828, age fifty-eight. (DeLamater V.) Soloman Goodrich settled on a farm in Litchfield County, Connecticut, near the New York State line, and from this district enlisted with the New York troops at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. He was chosen captain of a volunteer company and served under General Montgomery in the attack on Canada ("New York in the Revolution," p.61). He also served later with the local "Alarm Company," his heirs receiving "Land Grants" in the Military Tract after his death, which occurred October 2, 1812. Two of the sons of Soloman and Susanna (DeLamater) Goodrich migrated to Michigan in 1836 and established their families in St. Joseph County, where their descendants were prominent in the history of that district later on. The children of Soloman and Susanna (DeLamater) Goodrich are recorded in the vital records of Sharon, Connecticut, as follows: 1. Nicholas, of whom further. 2. Helen, born June 6, 1796, married John Curtis. 3. Soloman, born July 8, 1798. 4. Electa, born November 9, 1800, died in 1800. 5. Lois, born March 8, 1802, married ——— Lake. 6. Benjamin, born January 7, 1807, married Mary C. Wright.

VI. Nicholas Goodrich, born August 24, 1794, son of Captain Soloman and Susanna (DeLamater) Goodrich, married, November 2, 1820, Patty Strong, daughter of Amasa and Lydia (Rockwell) Strong, born April 17, 1798. They resided for a time in Sharon, Connecticut, and in New York, but in 1836 Nicholas and Benjamin Goodrich, with

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their families, removed to Michigan, settling at Sherman, St. Joseph County, and when the township of Fawn River was established, they became identified with the new town and were among the town officers elected at the first meeting in 1838. Nicholas Goodrich died in St. Joseph County, Michigan, in 1851.

The children of Nicholas and Patty (Strong) Goodrich, born in Green River, New York, were as follows: 1. Amanda Maria, born July 26, 1821, married, in 1841, Heman Leonard. 2. Laura Jane, of whom further. 3. Charles Henry, born January 26, 1827, married Mary A. Baker. 4. George W., born August 31, 1828. 5. James Edwin, born September 10, 1830, died in infancy.

After the death of Nicholas Goodrich, his widow, Patty (Strong) Goodrich, removed with her son Charles H. to the township of Leighton, in Allegan County, later purchasing a home in the village of Wayland, where she lived some years. Upon the death of her son in 1866, she went to Grand Rapids to make her home with her son-in-law, Heman Leonard, and died in that city April 15, 1874.

VII. Laura Jane Goodrich, daughter of Nicholas and Patty (Strong) Goodrich, was born in the town of Green River, Columbia County, New York, April 18, 1823, and married, as his second wife, September 10, 1845, Heman Leonard, born in Parma, New York, April 30, 1812, son of Jonathan and Persis (Henshaw) Leonard. (Leonard XII.)

(The Hall Line).

The following arms were granted to Sir John Hall and to descendants of his father, George Hall, of Kingston-upon-Hull:

Arms—Argent, on a chevron sable between two talbots' heads erased in chief of the last, and on a mount a tree-fern in base proper a mullet of six points within an annulet or.
Crest—Two fronds of fern proper, therefrom issuant a talbot's head erased sable guttie d'or gorged with a collar gemel, or.

The name is of Saxon origin, from the region about the city of Halle whose people, for the sake of distinction, before the use of surnames, were called de Halle. In England the many families bearing the surname of Hall are doubtless the posterity of the men of Halle who came in the successive Saxon invasions and were called De la Halle; it is said the Halls of Great Britain far exceed in number any other name save those of Smith, Jones, Brown and Robinson.

Among the earliest of this name in New England was George Hall and wife Mary, ancestors of the Taunton, Massachusetts, family, and believed to have descended from the early English John Hall, father of

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Edward Hall, eminent historian, who lived in the reign of Henry VIII, and who, in treating of the religious questions of the time, sided emphatically and intolerantly with the Protestants. The large number of Halls who left England for New England during the great Puritan exodus, more than forty of the name before 1650, indicates plainly what must have been the religious belief and convictions of the early ancestors.

I. George Hall, with wife, Mary, emigrated from Devonshire County, England, in 1636. He is recorded as a proprietor of land in Duxbury, Massachusetts, in 1637, and later, as one of the original "forty-six proprietors" of the first territorial purchase of the Indian Sachem, Massasoit, including a tract of eight miles, now the territory of Taunton, Berkley and Raynham, extending to Mansfield. He had, with John and Walter Deane and others, who had similar shares, twelve acres along the Taunton River, where on its banks they erected their first dwellings; Neighbors and friends for a life time, these homes have been transmitted to descendants for more than two hundred years, some of whom in the seventh and eighth generation still owned the original site.

In 1643, George Hall was enrolled to bear arms and in 1645 was a member of the supervising council and chairman of the board of selectmen, established by the Colonial Court, 1666 to 1669. He was one of the founders of the First Congregational Church and Society of Taunton and contributed liberally to its support. Upon the establishment of the bloomery at Taunton by the Leonards and others, on the former site of the old forge in Raynham, he became one of the stock proprietors and first clerk of the works, a position which he filled many years. His will, dated October 16, 1669, was witnessed by his two close friends, Deacon Richard Williams and Walter Deane, and named the wife Mary as executrix, dividing his extensive land holdings between his sons. The children of George and Mary Hall were: 1. John, born in 1640, married Hannah Penniman. 2. Joseph, born in 1642, married Mary Ball. 3. Samuel, of whom further. 4. Charity. 5. Sarah. 6. Mary.

II. Samuel Hall, son of George and Mary Hall, was born in 1644, and married, in 1663, Elizabeth White, daughter of Nicholas and Susanna (Humphrey) White. Samuel Hall made his will January 25, 1690, which was probated May 19, 1696. His widow married (second), March 3, 1698-99, Jonathan Pratt, and died in 1707. Samuel Hall was a large land holder, sharing in the Taunton North and South Purchases, and inheriting and purchasing land in the original tract. He was a member of the first church and contributed toward the improvement of the parsonage for the Rev. Samuel Danforth.

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The children of Samuel and Elizabeth (White) Hall: 1. Samuel, born December 11, 1664, married Abigail Pratt. 2. John, born October 19, 1666, married Esther Bell. 3. Nicholas, born January 23, 1668, died in 1689, unmarried. 4. Elizabeth, born October 28, 1670, married John Caswell. 5. Mary, born October 3, 1672, married (first) Samuel Briggs, (second) Benjamin Caswell. 6. Sarah, born in 1674, died in 1677. 7. Ebenezer, born March 19, 1677, married Jane Bumpas. 8. Sarah, born March 2, 1679, married John Austin. 9. George, born January 25, 1681, of whom further. 10. Hannah, born in 1682, married William Wetherel.

III. George Hall, son of Samuel and Elizabeth (White) Hall, was born in Taunton, Massachusetts, January 25, 1681, and married Lydia Deane, daughter of Thomas and Katharine (Stephens) Deane. (Deane III.) She was born in 1679 and died in Easton, Massachusetts, August 22, 1726. They resided in that part of Taunton, North Purchase, which became Norton in 1711, and Easton in 1725. After the death of his wife, George Hall was made guardian of his minor children, who inherited valuable lands lying in Norton from their grandmother, and their Aunt Hannah Deane. He sold most of his lands in Massachusetts and removed to Lyme, Connecticut, where he lived many years with his sons and with his widowed daughter, Deborah (Hall) Leonard. The last record of his name is his acknowledgement before a magistrate in 1760 of his signature on a deed of sale made many years previous. The children of George and Lydia (Deane) Hall were: 1. Lydia, born February 4, 1706, married Thomas Morey. 2. Deborah, of whom further. 3. George, born October 22, 1710, married Sarah Gates. 4. Thomas, born October 8, 1712, married Sarah Clark. 5. Isaac, born January 12, 1714, married Sarah Forbes. 6. Katharine, born February 2, 1716. 7. Abial, born April 20, 1719. 8. Nathan, born May 19, 1721. 9. Abijah, born December 19, 1723, married Margaret Dewey.

IV. Deborah Hall, daughter of George and Lydia (Deane) Hall, was born in Taunton, Massachusetts, February 15, 1708, and married, April 18, 1728, Seth Leonard. (Leonard IX.)

(The Henshaw Line).

Arms—Argent a chevron sable between three heronshaws sable.

Crest—A hawk close or, preying on a mallard's wing of the first, erased gules.

The Henshaw family, as the name was spelled three hundred years ago in England, were recorded there as people respected for wealth, rank and influence.

I. Thomas Henshaw, ancestor of the Woburn, Massachusetts,

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family, first appears there in 1672, when his name was on the list of those who were taxed in the "Meeting House Rates." He was a soldier in King Philip's War and is credited in the Archives as serving in Lieutenant Edward Oakes' company and under Major Simon Willard, September 17, 1675. Many years afterward he was wounded in battle with the Indians and died from the effects January 16, 1699. He married, in Woburn, September 24, 1677, Hannah Cleveland, daughter of Moses and Ann (Winn) Cleveland (Cleveland II) and they were the parents of seven children: 1. Elizabeth, born July 30, 1678, married John Mauser. 2. Thomas, of whom further. 3. Hannah, born May 21, 1683. 4. William, born November 25, 1685. 5. Samuel, born March 13, 1688. 6. Ebenezer, born March 1, 1691. 7. Josiah, born March 1, 1695.

II. *Thomas Henshaw*, son of Thomas and Hannah (Cleveland) Henshaw, was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, November 17, 1680, and died September 11, 1726. He married, May 26, 1712, Mary Brooks, daughter of John and Mary (Richardson) Brooks, born in Woburn, April 1, 1688. They had six children: 1. Thomas, born September 1, 1713, married Keziah Fowle. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Isaac, born August 22, 1719. 4. Joshua, born October 1, 1721. 5. Mary, born February 7, 1723. 6. Oliver, born March 14, 1726.

III. *William Henshaw*, son of Thomas and Mary (Brooks) Henshaw, was born December 21, 1715, in Woburn, Massachusetts, and died in Brookfield, September 7, 1801. He married (first), in Woburn, March 8, 1739, Priscilla Reed, born August 8, 1715, daughter of Thomas and Sarah (Sawyer) Reed, of Woburn. She died November 24, 1748, and William Henshaw married (second), November 6, 1755, Ruth Wolcott, who died June 13, 1813. The children by the first marriage were. 1. Mary, baptized in 1740, married ——— Tucker. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Sarah, born April 18, 1744, married Amos Fobes. 4. Hannah, born April 20, 1746, married ——— Holbrooke. 5. Thomas, born July 29, 1748. Children by the second wife: 6. Ruth, born in December, 1759. 7. Deborah, born December 16, 1764. 8. Joshua, born February 6, 1767. 9. Oliver, twin of Joshua, born February 6, 1767. 10. Abigail, born April 16, 1770, married ——— Richards. William Henshaw was a soldier in the French and Indian War, in 1757, and served again in the early days of the Revolutionary War, enlisting as a private in Captain Peter Harwood's company, Colonel Ebenezer Learned's regiment of Massachusetts militia, 1775. In 1778 he settled at the mouth of the "Emster Gerundegut," and eventually became very wealthy.

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IV. William Henshaw, son of William and Priscilla (Reed) Henshaw, was born May 9, 1742, and married (first), September 16, 1766, Christina Bellenger, who died leaving one child, a daughter Priscilla, born May 3, 1767. He married (second), March 10, 1770, Mehitable Moffatt, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Moffatt) Moffatt, of Brookfield, Massachusetts. She was born February 2, 1746, and died April 12, 1830. William Henshaw was a soldier in the Revolution, in Captain Daniel Gilbert's company, Colonel Job Cushing's regiment, enlisting from Brookfield, and in 1791, removed to that part of the Phelps and Gorham Purchase in New York, now Monroe County, where he was the first white settler to build and occupy a house on Lake Ontario, between the mouth of the Genesee River and Fort Niagara; and for several years he and his family lived with no intervening neighbor between the twelve miles of forest which stretched from Pittsford to the solitude where they dwelt. In the military records of the service of William Henshaw, his name was spelled "Hincher," and the family adopted this form. He died June 21, 1817, aged seventy-five years. By his wife, Mehitable Moffatt, he had one son and six daughters: 1. Mehitable, born February 22, 1772. 2. Mary, born March 10, 1774. 3. Sarah, born August 25, 1776; married Amos Fobes. 4. Chloe, born June 7, 1778. 5. William, born April 17, 1780. 6. Persis, born May 3, 1782; married Jonathan Leonard. (Leonard XI.) 7. Ann, born April 16, 1784.

(The Humphrey Line).

The antiquity of the family of Humphrey has long been established, for among the brave warriors who followed the Conqueror in 1066, we find Sir Robert De Umfreville, Knight, and his kinsman, Humphrey De Carteret, whose son accompanied Duke Robert to the Holy Land; Humphrey, Lord Bohm, who seems to have been related to the Conqueror, and whose descendants were hereditary constables of England, and subsequently Earls of Herford, Essex and Northampton, from whom the name spread to various branches of the family in England.

In the many ships arriving in New England, 1634-35, came the planters of Dorchester, Massachusetts, and among them Jonas Humphrey, from Wendover, in Buckinghamshire, England, where he had been a constable. He had with him a wife, Frances, and son, John, who was twenty-six years old at the time. Jonas Humphrey was a grantee of Neck lands in 1637, a member of the church in 1639, freeman May 13, 1640, and proprietor in the great lots in 1646. He lived on what is now called Humphrey Street, the estate remaining in the possession of his

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descendants until 1917. He married, as his second wife, Jane (Clap) Weeks, sister of Roger Clap and widow of George Weeks. She died August 2, 1668, and he died March 19, 1662. His will, dated March 12, was probated on the 17th of that month, 1662. The children of Jonas and Frances Humphrey: 1. Jonas. 2. James. 3. Elizabeth. 4. Susanna, of whom further. 5. Sarah.

II. Susanna Humphrey, daughter of Jonas and his first wife, Frances Humphrey, was born in England and came to Massachusetts with her parents in 1643. She married, about 1648, Nicholas White, of Dorchester. (White I.)

(The Pardee Line).

I. George Pardee, born in England in 1619, first of the name in New England, was an early settler in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1644. The name appears to be French, and traditions in the family support the theory that they were Huguenot settlers in England. He is thought to have been well educated for his day, for in 1662 "The Town of New Haven negotiated with George Pardee, one of their own people, to teach the children English and to carry them on in Latin so far as he could." He married (first), October 20, 1650, Martha Miles, daughter of Richard Miles, (second), December 29, 1662, Rebecca Lane. The children by his first wife were: 1. John, born August 29, 1651, died young. 2. John, born December 2, 1653. 3. George, born January 15, 1655. 4. Mary, born February 18, 1658. 5. Elizabeth, born June 10, 1660. Children by his second wife: 6. Joseph, of whom further. 7. Sarah, born February 2, 1669. 8. Hannah, born July 7, 1672.

II. Joseph Pardee, son of George and Rebecca (Lane) Pardee, was born in New Haven, Connecticut, April 27, 1664. He married (first), January 30, 1688-89, Elizabeth Yale, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Turner) Yale, born January 29, 1667. She died September 19, 1701, and Joseph Pardee married (second), December 23, 1703, Elizabeth Payne. Joseph Pardee was one of the early settlers in Norwalk, Connecticut, where the following children, of whom Elizabeth (Yale) Pardee was the mother, were born: 1. Joseph, born August 9, 1693. 2. Thomas, born October 26, 1695. 3. John, of whom further. 4. Mary, born April 9, 1700. Children of second wife were: 5. Elizabeth, born September 16, 1704. 6. Abigail, born September 1, 1705. 7. Daniel, born November 28, 1706.

REFERENCES:

(Atwater)—"History of the New Haven Colony," p. 289. Andrews: "Hamlin Family Genealogy," pp. 137-138.

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III. Lieutenant John Pardee, patriarch of the numerous Pardee family in Sharon, Connecticut, was born in New Haven, February 6, 1698, the son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Yale) Pardee. He married (first) Betsey (Elizabeth) Horn, who, according to the family Bible, was the daughter of a prominent family in London, England, and with her attendant was abducted by the Free Rovers from London, and brought to New Haven, where she was ransomed by Lieutenant George Pardee. They removed to Sharon, where he became one of the original proprietors and a leading man in the town affairs. He was elected representative of the town in October, 1755, and chosen to the office for six sessions. His home was north of the first meeting house and he was buried near the church. He died July 13, 1766. His first wife dying January 8, 1762, he married (second) Hopestill Hamlin. His children, all by the first wife: 1. Thomas, born in 1722. 2. Jehiel, born in 1724. 3. Mary, born in 1726. 4. Elizabeth, of whom further. 5. John, born in 1730. 6. James, born in 1733. 7. George, born in 1735. 8. Moses, born in 1739. 9. Rebecca. 10. Dinah.

IV. Elizabeth (Betty) Pardee, daughter of Lieutenant John and Elizabeth (Horn) Pardee, was born in 1728. She married, in Sharon, Connecticut, December 23, 1747, Solomon Goodrich. (Goodrich IV.)

(The Strong Line).

Arms—Gules, an eagle displayed or.

Crest—An eagle displayed or.

The surname of Strong had its origin in the sobriquets for an outstanding physical characteristic in its bearer, the name appearing on the Rolls of Parliament as Jocelin le Strong; the French *le*, which was popular following the Norman Conquest, was finally dropped. The arms described are those borne by the Rev. Thomas Lenwood Strong, elder son of Clement Samuel Strong, Esq., of Lenipsfield, County Surrey, whose father, Melancthon Strong, was descended from the Nether Strong ancestry, County Somerset, from whom it is thought came the distinguished preacher, Rev. William Strong, rector of More Critchel, County Dorset, who was buried in Westminster Abbey, July 4, 1654. The family of Strong in England was originally located in the county of Shropshire. One of its members marrying an heiress of Griffith, of the county of Caernarvon, Wales, went there to live in 1545, and there Richard Strong was born in 1561. In 1590 he removed to Taunton, Somersetshire, England, where he died in 1613.

I. Elder John Strong, son of Richard, of Taunton, England, was

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born there in 1605, and was but eight years old at the time of his father's death. He removed to London and afterwards to Plymouth, and having strong Puritan sympathies, he joined the company of one hundred and forty persons, among whom were the Rev. Messrs. John Warham and John Maverick, also John Mason and Roger Clap, and sailed for the New World March 20, 1630, in the ship "Mary and John" which after a passage of more than seventy days, landed its passengers at Hull, Massachusetts, about twelve miles southeast of Boston, on Sunday, May 30, 1630. The original destination of this ship was the Charles River, but through misunderstanding arising between the captain and his passengers they were summarily put ashore at Nantasket. They eventually chose for their place of settlement the spot which they called Dorchester, in memory of their endeared home in England and its revered pastor, Rev. John White, the "great patron of New England emigration" who had encouraged them to come hither.

In 1635, after assisting in the founding and development of the town of Dorchester, John Strong removed to Hingham, Massachusetts, and on March 9, 1636, took the freeman's oath at Boston. In 1638, he became an inhabitant and one of the proprietors of Taunton, Massachusetts, and in 1641, was a deputy from there to the General Court in Plymouth, continuing in this office 1643-44. His ability as an organizer of the new towns is shown in his appointment, with four others, Captain John Mason, Roger Ludlow, Israel Stoughton and Henry Wolcott, all very leading men in the infant colony, to "superintend and bring forward the settlement" at Windsor, Connecticut, which had been started in 1636, by a portion of the same company who, with him, had founded Dorchester, and for some time (1636-50) Windsor was called "New Dorchester."

In 1659, John Strong became one of the first and most active founders of Northampton, Massachusetts, and here he lived for forty years, a leader in the church and town affairs. Chosen as a ruling elder of the church, he was ordained March 13, 1663, and that he stood near to the minister, so greatly revered in the minds of the Pilgrim fathers, is shown by the functions of his office, recorded there.

Elder John Strong married (first), in England, Marjorie Deane, daughter of William Deane, of South Chard, Somersetshire, England, and sister of John and Walter Deane, first of the name in America. Marjorie (Deane) Strong died soon after their arrival in the new country, leaving an infant daughter who soon died, and a son, John Strong, born in England in 1626. In December, 1630, Elder John Strong married

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(second) Abigail Ford, with whom he lived in wedlock for fifty-eight years, and who died, the mother of sixteen children, July 6, 1688. She was the daughter of Thomas Ford, who came to New England with John Strong and the company that founded the Dorchester of the New World. The children of John and Abigail (Ford) Strong were: 1. Thomas, born in 1632. 2. Jedediah, of whom further. 3. Josiah, born in 1639, died young. 4. Return, born in 1641. 5. Ebenezer, born in 1643. 6. Abigail, born in 1645, married Rev. Nathaniel Chauncy. 7. Elizabeth, born February 24, 1647, married Joseph Parsons. 8. Experience, born August 4, 1650, married Zerubbabel Filer. 9. Samuel, born August 5, 1652. 10. Joseph, twin of Samuel, born August 5, 1652. 11. Mary, born October 26, 1654. 12. Sarah, born in 1656, married Joseph Barnard. 13. Hannah, born May 30, 1659, married William Clark. 14. Hester, born June 7, 1661. 15. Thankful, born in 1663. 16. Jerijah, born in 1665.

II. *Jedediah Strong*, son of Elder John and Abigail (Ford) Strong, was born May 7, 1637, and married (first), November 18, 1662, Freedom Woodward, baptized at Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1642, the daughter of Henry and Elizabeth Woodward. Jedediah Strong resided at Northampton, Massachusetts, until 1709, when, at the age of seventy years, he removed with his family to Coventry, Connecticut, where he lived for twenty-four years, and died there May 22, 1733, aged ninety-six. His first wife died May 17, 1681, and he married (second), December 19, 1681, Abigail (Bartlett) Stebbins, daughter of Robert and Ann Bartlett, and widow of John Stebbins; she died July 15, 1689, and Jedediah Strong married (third) Mrs. Mary (Hart) Lee, daughter of Stephen Hart, and widow of John Lee of Farmington, Connecticut; she died October 10, 1710, from injuries received by the fall of her horse. Jedediah and Freedom (Woodward) Strong were the parents of the following children: 1. Elizabeth, born June 9, 1664, married Ebenezer Wright. 2. Abigail, born July 9, 1666, married Thomas King. 3. Jedediah, Jr., of whom further. 4. Ford, born September 2, 1668, died in infancy. 5. A child, born in October, 1669, died young. 6. Hannah, born February 3, 1671, married Benjamin Carpenter. 7. Thankful, born April 15, 1672, married Deacon Thomas Root, Jr. 8. John, born November 15, 1673. 9. Lydia, born November 9, 1675, married David Lee. 10. Mary, born in May, 1677, died in infancy. 11. Experience, born August 19, 1678, died September 16, 1678. 12. Preserved, born March 29, 1680. 13. John, born May 10, 1681, died April 22, 1699. By his second wife, widow

LEONARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Abigail (Bartlett) Stebbins, Jedediah Strong had one child: 14. Mary, born in 1683, married Ebenezer Pixley.

III. Jedediah Strong, Jr., son of Jedediah and Freedom (Woodward) Strong, was born August 7, 1667, and married, November 8, 1688, Abiah Ingersoll, daughter of John and Abigail (Bascom) Ingersoll, born August 24, 1663, and died November 20, 1732, aged sixty-nine. Jedediah Strong settled, first, at Northampton, Massachusetts, removing to Lebanon, Connecticut, August 24, 1696, when there were but four white families in the settlement. His name is found on the early town records of Lebanon where he was an important member of the founders of this old town, and that he was a man of piety and education is shown by a letter written to his son on July 10, 1709, just a few months before his death. This letter, beautifully worded, expresses his great love for his wife and children and his deep and abiding faith in his God. He was a soldier in the early wars and was killed by Indians at Wood Creek, New York, October 12, 1709, age forty-two. Jedediah and Abiah (Ingersoll) Strong were the parents of eight children: 1. Azariah, born October 7, 1689, died soon. 2. Stephen, born November 24, 1690, married Abigail Buell. 3. David, born June 19, 1693, died in 1712. 4. Eleazer, born September 7, 1695. 5. Supply, born October 10, 1697. 6. Jedediah, born January 15, 1700. 7. Ezra, of whom further. 8. Freedom, born May 16, 1704, married John Buell.

IV. Ezra Strong, son of Jedediah, Jr., and Abiah (Ingersoll) Strong, was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, March 2, 1702, and married there, January 12, 1731, Abigail Caverley, daughter of Philip and Hannah Caverley. The first six children of this marriage were born in Lebanon, where the family lived until 1743, at which time Jedediah Strong removed to Colchester, and in 1752, to Marlboro, where he died March 7, 1785, aged eighty-three. His widow, Abigail (Caverley) Strong, died July 3, 1788, age seventy-three. They were the parents of the following children: 1. Ezra, born March 4, 1733, married Temperance Phelps. 2. Jabin, born August 12, 1734. 3. Philip, of whom further. 4. Eben, born March 30, 1738. 5. Abigail, born January 24, 1741, married Darius Hills. 6. John, born December 7, 1743. 7. Freedom, born November 13, 1745, married Ezra Carter. 8. Lucy, born October 4, 1748, married Aaron Hosford. 9. David, born June 6, 1751. 10. Hannah, married Samuel Kellogg. 11. Ruby, married William Bowles, of Marlboro. 12. Lydia, married (first) Samuel McCall, (second) a Mr. Murray, of Guilford, Connecticut.

LEONARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

V. *Philip Strong*, son of Ezra and Abigail (Caverley) Strong, was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, February 9, 1736, and married, in Kent, June 13, 1759, Rhoda Payne, of Warren, Connecticut, born in 1739. Rhoda (Payne) Strong was a woman of remarkable physical strength which she used most generously for the benefit of her neighbors and friends, during the Revolutionary War, performing the labor of a man as well as the duties of a mother, carrying on her broad shoulders the more helpless members of her community; she survived her husband thirty-eight years, dying in Warren, Connecticut, March 10, 1825, aged eighty-six years, the mother of eleven sons and four daughters. Philip Strong was a soldier in the Revolution, enlisting August 12, 1776, from Kent, Connecticut, in Captain Joseph Carter's company, 13th Regiment of Connecticut Militia ("Connecticut Men in the Revolution," p. 467). He died September 13, 1787. The children of Philip and Rhoda (Payne) Strong, born in Warren (then called Kent) were: 1. Philip, born May 8, 1760, married Phebe Phipany. 2. Eben, born in 1761. 3. Caverley, born in 1763. 4. Amasa, of whom further. 5. Rhoda, born in 1768, married Heman Stone. 6. Stephen, born January 28, 1770. 7. Jedediah, born September 24, 1771. 8. Lydia, born in 1773, married Abraham Dunning. 9. Ezra, died young. 10. Ezra, born August 21, 1777. 11. Epaphroditus, born April 8, 1778. 12. Sally, born October 13, 1782, married Lyman Culver. 13. Lorenzo, died in infancy. 14. Mary, died young. 15. John, born in 1784, died, unmarried, September 25, 1836, age fifty-two.

VI. *Amasa Strong*, son of Philip and Rhoda (Payne) Strong, was born in Warren, Connecticut, June 3, 1766, and married, April 6, 1789, Lydia Rockwell, daughter of Joseph Rockwell of Kent, Connecticut, born March 30, 1769. They resided in Warren, Connecticut, until 1831, when they removed to Darien, New York, where he died December 12, 1831, his widow surviving him eight years, dying August 14, 1839. Amasa Strong served in the War of 1812, in Captain Seth Comstock's company of Connecticut Militia. ("Connecticut in the Revolution and War of 1812," p. 122.) The children of Amasa and Lydia (Rockwell) Strong were: 1. Amasa, born April 24, 1790, married Patience Fuller. 2. Lysander, born May 18, 1791, married Harriet Keith. 3. Cyrus, born April 21, 1794, died January 11, 1799. 4. Patty, of whom further. 5. Amanda, born December 7, 1799, married William Calkins. 6. Laura, born September 20, 1801, died unmarried. 7. Cyrus, born June 1, 1803, married Thirza Shove. 8. Homer, born May 19, 1808, married (second) Mehitable Everdon, and in 1871 was living in Cleveland, Ohio.

LEONARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

VII. Patty Strong, daughter of Amasa and Lydia (Rockwell) Strong, was born April 17, 1796, married, in Warren, Connecticut, November 2, 1820, Nicholas Goodrich, of Sharon. (Goodrich VI.)

(The Webster Line).

Arms—Argent, a fesse gules, between three crosses crosslet fitchée azure.

Crest—The sun rising out of the sea, proper.

Motto—*Emergo*.

The surname Webster is of ancient origin. John Webster was a resident of Bolsover, Derbyshire, in the reign of Henry IV, who granted him large estates in 1400. The Scotch family doubtless are descended from this early John, and also the English and American branches. The name of Webster is a distinguished one in the annals of New Hampshire, forever perpetuated by the patriot and statesman, Daniel Webster, and furnishing many of this name in their struggle for liberty.

I. Thomas Webster, first known ancestor of the New Hampshire families, resided with wife Margaret in Ormsby, Norfolk, England, where he died in April, 1634. His widow subsequently married William Godfrey, with whom she came to America, bringing her son by her former marriage with her.

II. Thomas Webster, son of Thomas and Margaret Webster, was born in Ormsby, England, November 20, 1631, and came to Watertown, Massachusetts, with his mother and step-father. He removed, with the pioneers, to Hampton, New Hampshire, where he died January 5, 1715, aged eighty-three years. He married, November 2, 1656, Sarah Brewer, daughter of Thomas Brewer, of Roxbury, Massachusetts, by whom he had the following children: 1. Mary, born December 19, 1658, married William Swain. 2. Sarah, born January 22, 1661, married William Lane. 3. Hannah, born December 27, 1663, died in 1664. 4. Thomas, born January 20, 1665. 5. Ebenezer, born August 1, 1667 (grandfather of Daniel Webster). 6. Isaac, of whom further. 7. John, born February 16, 1674, married Abiah Shaw. 8. Joshua, born November 8, 1676. 9. Abigail, born January 1, 1679, married John Nay.

III. Isaac Webster, son of Thomas and Sarah (Brewer) Webster, was born in Newbury, Massachusetts, April 12, 1670, and married, April 1, 1697, Mary Hutchins. He lived in Newbury until 1706, and then removed to Hampton, New Hampshire, and later to Kingston, where he died February 1, 1718. His children, baptized in Hampton, were: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Jonathan, born May 21, 1699. 3. Hannah, born February 22, 1702. 4. Elizabeth, born April 16, 1704.

LEONARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

IV. John Webster, son of Isaac and Mary (Hutchins) Webster, was born in Kingston, New Hampshire, June 27, 1698, and married, December 1, 1719, Sarah Stuart, of Rowley. Among the children of John and Sarah (Stuart) Webster, born at Kingston, New Hampshire, was Isaac, of whom further.

V. Isaac Webster, son of John and Sarah (Stuart) Webster, was born in Kingston, New Hampshire, April 23, 1727, and married, December 29, 1747, Sarah Downing, daughter of Captain John Downing. Isaac Webster was a member of the Colonial Militia, and a soldier in the first engagements in the Revolutionary War. He died at Kingston January 2, 1791. Among his children was Gideon, of whom further.

VI. Gideon Webster, son of Isaac and Sarah (Downing) Webster, was born at Kingston, New Hampshire, June 7, 1758, and married (first) Sarah Carter, daughter of Ezra and Ruth (Eastman) Carter, of Rumford, New Hampshire. Gideon Webster served in several enlistments during the Revolution, as a member of the Massachusetts militia, with whom many New Hampshire soldiers enlisted. He died in April, 1823, at Kingston. Gideon and Sarah (Carter) Webster were the parents of Sally, of whom further.

VII. Sally Webster, daughter of Gideon and Sarah (Carter) Webster, was born at Kingston, New Hampshire, March 8, 1791, and died at Pembroke, July 19, 1872. She married, December 25, 1817, James Carr. (Carr XI.)

(The Yale Line).

The name and fame of Yale is world-wide. Inscribed in England among the oldest and noblest families in the realm, it is shown by historians to have descended directly from the Plantagenet kings of England.

In America the name is associated with one of our earliest benefactors and with one of the best known educational institutions in the world.

I. Doctor David Yale, D. C. L., Chancellor of Chester, a distinguished member of this ancient family in Wales, lived at the family estate Plas Gromo, near Wrexham, and married there, about 1612, Ann Lloyd, daughter of the Bishop of Chester (George Lloyd) and his wife, Ann Wilkenson, of Norwich, England. David Yale died in 1617, leaving his young widow and the following children: Thomas, of whom further, David, and Ann. Widow Ann (Lloyd) Yale married (second) Theophilus Eaton, a wealthy merchant (afterwards Governor of Massachusetts) and came to America, bringing her three children.

LEONARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

II. *Thomas Yale*, son of David and Ann (Lloyd) Yale, was born in England in 1616, and came to New England with his mother and step-father, Theophilus Eaton, in 1637. He removed to the New Haven Colony, where he married, in 1645, Mary Turner, daughter of Captain Nathaniel Turner. Captain Turner was lost at sea with all of his crew, in the ship "Phantom," which sailed from New Haven, in January, 1646, never to return.

Thomas Yale died May 27, 1683. He was one of the principal men of the colony, a signer of the Plantation Covenant, at New Haven, and filled with honor many offices of trust. His widow, Mary (Turner) Yale, died October 15, 1704. Their children were: 1. John, born in 1646. 2. Thomas, born in 1647. 3. Mary, born October 26, 1750. 4. Nathaniel, born January 3, 1652. 5. Martha, born May 6, 1655. 6. Abigail, born May 5, 1660. 7. Hannah, born July 6, 1662. 8. Elizabeth, of whom further.

III. *Elizabeth Yale*, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Turner) Yale, was born January 29, 1667, and married, January 30, 1688, Joseph Pardee. (Pardee II.)

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(Carr)—Burks: "Landed Gentry," Vol. I, p. 294. Carr: "Carr Family Records." Carter: "Pembroke, New Hampshire," Vol. II, p. 27. Currier: "Ould Newbury," pp. 55-78. Cutter: "New England Genealogies," Vol. III, p. 1518. Hoyt: "Salisbury Families," Vol. I, p. 84. "New Hampshire Genealogies," Vol. III, p. 1477.

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(Deane)—"American Ancestry," Vol. VI, p. 88, N. E. H. G. Reg. Vol. III, p. 375.

(DeLamater)—"Descendants of Claude LeMaiter," pp. 1-192. "American Ancestry," Vol. VIII, p. 22. N. E. H. G. Vol. XIV, pp. 41-47.

LEONARD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

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(Goodrich)—Case: “Goodrich Memorial.” Stiles: “Wethersfield, Connecticut,” p. 372. Weeks: “Goodrich of Watertown,” p. 63.

(Hall)—Hall: “Genealogy of the Hall Family.” Emery: “Taunton, Massachusetts.”

(Henshaw)—Sewell: “Woburn, Massachusetts,” pp. 616-618. Brookfield: V. R. Cleveland Gen. p. 103.

(Humphrey)—Clap: “Dorchester, Massachusetts,” p. 56. Brown- ing: “Americans of Royal Descent,” Vol. II, p. 718.

(Pardee)—Andrews: “The Hamlin Family,” pp. 76, 137. Sedg- wick: “Sharon, Connecticut,” p. 143.

(Strong)—Dwight: “Elder John Strong.” Vital Records of War- ren, Connecticut. Bible records of Amasa and Lydia (Rockwell) Strong.

(Webster)—“Massachusetts Genealogies,” Vol. III, p. 1374. “New Hampshire Genealogies.” Lancaster: “History of Gilmantown,” p. 288.

(Yale)—“Yales and Wales”; S. A. R. (Whitmore) p. 112.





HOME OF HENRY DENISTON AT THE TIME OF HIS DEATH

Deniston and Allied Families

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



THE Deniston family is one of the pioneer families of the State of Pennsylvania, and the members of this family have contributed in large measure to the growth, advancement and progress of that great commonwealth by their beneficent, constructive and most useful labors during the past two centuries. In the past hundred and fifty years the family has watched the metamorphosis of a great city emerging almost magically from hills of virgin timber and fields of waving grain; and has been eye-witness to a steady demonstration of the development of Pennsylvania from extensive forests sparsely dotted with farms, cleared by indomitable pioneers, to a thickly populated industrial State, and now in the place of grain and fruits and growing things, there spring up row on row tall and wide-spreading steel and iron mills, with their allied industries. Much of this has happened within the memory of the late Henry Deniston. The Denistons' own acres have shared in this amazing transformation, as also have the thousands of acres which make up the panorama of hills and valleys from the windows of the old homestead. Henry and James Deniston, bachelor sons of a pioneer, remained on the old farm. They became true progressives, however, growing with the community and keeping a commanding and influential position in business and social life, until their respective deaths. Another brother married, as did several of the sisters, and all became foremost citizens, prominent in social, business, and civic circles, which prestige is being continued by their children. It is due to sturdy, upright and progressive families like the Denistons that the present successful and highly satisfactory condition of the State of Pennsylvania is directly due.

John Denniston, who may have come from Scotland, was probably the founder of the Deniston Family in Pennsylvania. His name appears on the records of Philadelphia, September 27, 1738, when he received a warranty for two hundred and fifty acres of land in Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania. On February 5, 1739, he received a warranty for two hundred and three acres in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. No record of his wife is found, and no family record, but the following appear to be his children, born in what was then Lancaster County, Pennsylvania: 1.

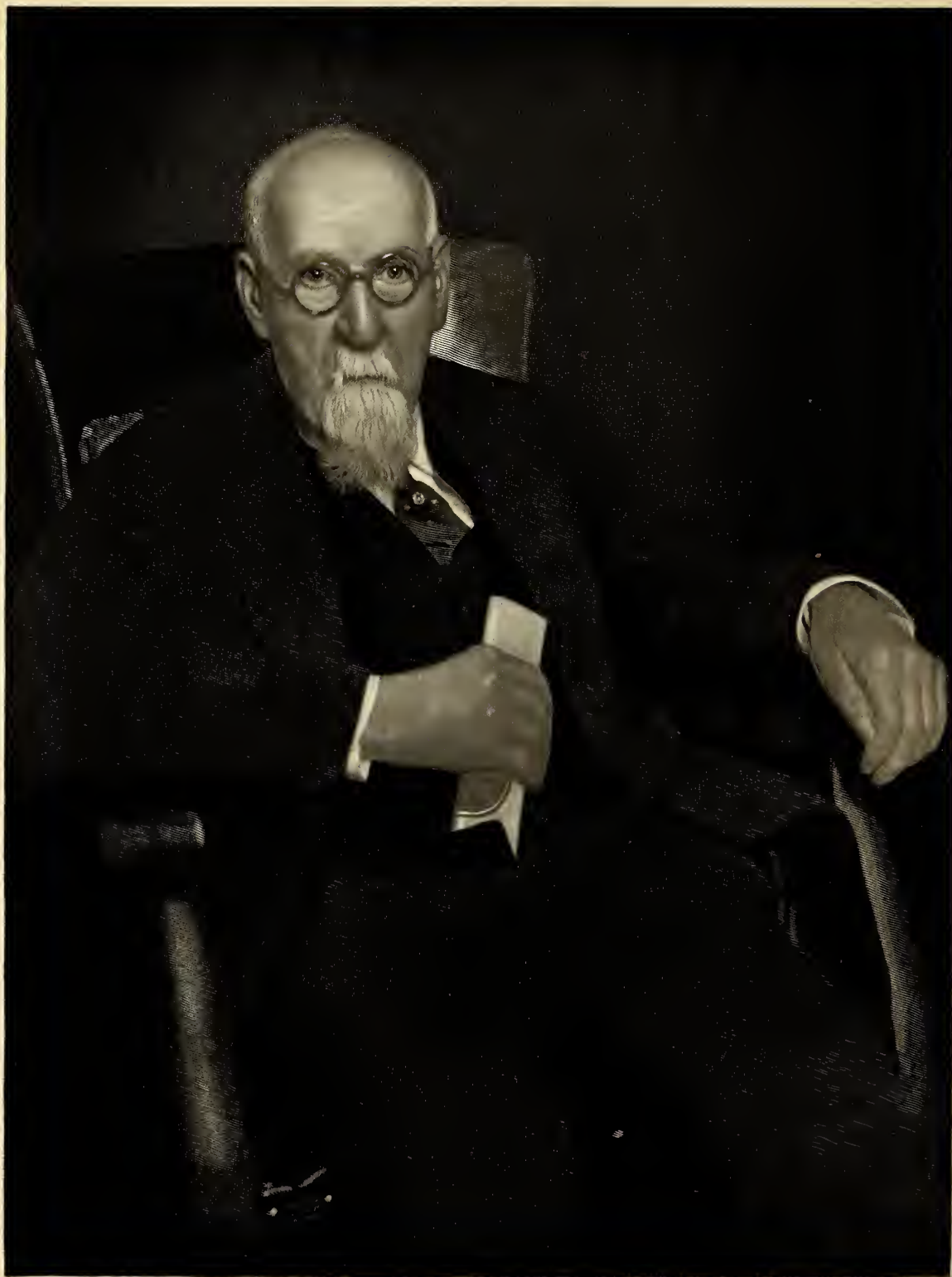
DENISTON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

John, Jr., who received a warranty for three hundred acres of land in Westmoreland County, July 2, 1784. 2. William, who received two hundred and fifty acres, same county, February 23, 1785. 3. Alexander, who received three hundred forty-seven acres, February 23, 1785. 4. Andrew, of whom further. 5. Samuel, who received a warranty for land in 1793.

Andrew Deniston, probably the son of John Denniston, and of ancient Scotch ancestry and distinguished lineage, was born in 1750. (See Pedigree of Dennistoun of Renfrew.) Out of the very heart of the wilderness he carved and hewed for himself and family a habitation and a home. He married, March 3, 1772, Ann Barclay.

Samuel Deniston, son of Andrew and Ann (Barclay) Deniston, was born at Greencastle, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, in 1798, and died on September 13, 1856. As a young man, Samuel Deniston removed to Pittsburgh; married there; then went to Petersburg (now Addison), Somerset County, Pennsylvania, where he conducted a tavern or hotel for approximately ten years. As a side business or avocation, he owned several teams, which were engaged in hauling merchandise from Pittsburgh and Wheeling to Baltimore, Maryland. He then returned to Pittsburgh, where at first he lived on a rented farm in what is now the Squirrel Hill Section of that vast city. A few years later he purchased river bottom lands across the river from the present site of Munhall, Pennsylvania; and from time to time he added other parcels of land by purchase, so that at the time of his death in 1856 he was the owner of some two hundred and thirty valuable acres in the so-called Deniston Homestead. He had previously married in Pittsburgh, Letitia Sturgeon, a daughter of Jeremiah (2) Sturgeon, who had married a Mr. Kuhn. (See Sturgeon II and III.) Samuel Deniston and his wife were the parents of eleven children, as follows: 1. Jeremiah, who died in young manhood. 2. Mary Ann, who married (first) a Mr. Boyd; after his death she married (second) a Mr. Hunter. 3. Agnes, who married Jacob Goehring. 4. Robert, who married Vina Funk. 5. James R., of whom further. 6. Susan, who married Samuel Shannon. 7. Amanda, who married Harry Harbaugh. 8. Ellen, who became the wife of Peter Donaldson. 9. Elizabeth, of whom further. 10. Henry, of whom further. 11. Letitia, who never married.

Elizabeth Deniston, ninth of the eleven children of Samuel and Letitia (Sturgeon) Deniston, married Andrew Goehring, and they lived in Glenwood, a suburb of Pittsburgh. They were the parents of Ella D. Goehring, who was born in Glenwood on May 10, 1862. She was mar-



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Henry Deniston

DENISTON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

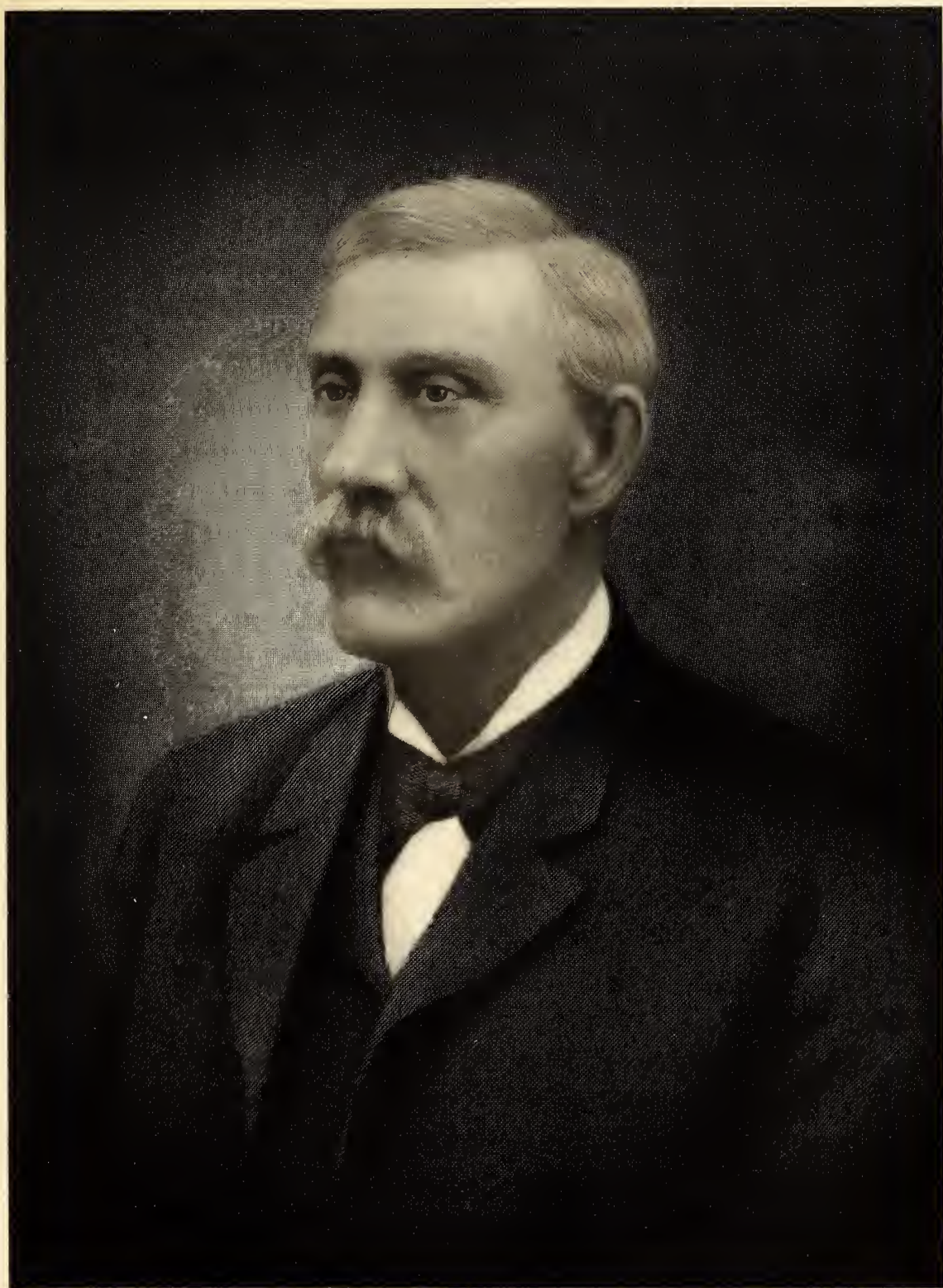
ried (first) to Elmer Reynolds, a native of Pittsburgh, and a son of Daniel and Nancy Reynolds. He was an electrician in the employ of the Westinghouse Company and was killed while at his work in Wilmerding, on July 15, 1898. The children born to this marriage are: Harry; Daniel; Lottie; Elmer, now a resident of Wilmerding, Pennsylvania; and Raymond Reynolds, a resident of Phoenix, Arizona. Mrs. Ella D. (Goehring) Reynolds was married (second) in the year 1906, to William Vaughan, whose death occurred in Buffalo, New York, in 1912. Three years later, in 1915, Mrs. Ella D. (Goehring-Reynolds) Vaughan went to live with her aged uncle, Henry Deniston, with whom she remained, nursing and attending to his every want until his death in 1925. Mrs. Vaughan survives her uncle and continues to reside in the homestead of her ancestors in Swissvale, Pennsylvania.

Henry Deniston, tenth of the eleven children of Samuel and Letitia (Sturgeon) Deniston, was born in the log cabin on his father's farm on the Monongahela River, on April 10, 1839. The homestead was about eight miles from Pittsburgh and opposite the present site of the United States Steel Corporation Mills at Homestead, Pennsylvania. Here Mr. Deniston passed all of his eighty-seven years. Like the majority of the youth of that pioneer day, he received a scant and often interrupted education in the local public schools, which functioned only when the pupils were not needed for work on the farm. As Henry Deniston grew older he performed a man's work on the farm, which began to supply food to the constantly growing city of Pittsburgh. When his father died in 1856, Henry Deniston received a part of the homestead, and many years ago sold to the McClintock-Marshall Construction Company some of his river frontage, which they in turn sold to the Carnegie Steel Company, which erected large blast furnaces upon the property. Thus the peaceful old farm with its quiet air and restful outlook is now the scene of hectic, hurrying and clanging industry, and the old homestead perched on a bluff overlooking the river commands a view of the workshop of the world: Homestead, Munhall, Duquesne, Rankin and Braddock—all teeming industrial centres crowded with gigantic manufacturing plants. Henry Deniston and his brother James (a review of whose life and labors follows this account of his younger brother) never married, but were chiefly responsible for the financial interests of the Deniston heirs. These two old men, representing a fine type of American gentlemen of a bygone era, remained on the old homestead until the death of James in 1915, and that of Henry ten years later. They remembered the primitive wilderness

DENISTON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

of the surrounding country in their childhood, and the time when the Poor Farm of Pittsburgh stood on the present site of a vast and roaring steel mill with its ruddy furnaces and belching chimneys. In 1902, James and Henry Deniston purchased ground in Homewood Cemetery, Pittsburgh, and there built the beautiful Deniston Mausoleum, where were re-interred the remains of those of the family who had been buried in the old family burying-ground on a corner of the old homestead. Politically, Mr. Deniston was a staunch member of the Republican party; while his religious affiliation was given to the Presbyterian Church of Swissvale, of which he was a regular attendant and a most liberal supporter. Henry Deniston passed to his eternal rest on November 23, 1925. He had dedicated his life to works of enduring benefit, and he was greatly mourned by his surviving relatives and by a large circle of true friends. His remaining days were spent in comfort and security, under the indefatigable care of his niece, Mrs. Ella D. (Goehring-Reynolds) Vaughan, who had come to take charge of the venerable old mansion and its kindly master in 1915. Mrs. Vaughan, an extremely efficient woman, took complete charge of the home, and looked after the health, personal wants and needs of her aged uncle during the remaining ten years of his life. There is no doubt that the loving and watchful care of Mrs. Vaughan helped to prolong the life of Mr. Deniston, for during the years of her stay at the old homestead there were times when illnesses came to Mr. Deniston from which he recovered principally through the careful nursing and loving care of this niece of his, of whom it can be truthfully said that surely God in His Goodness and Mercy raised Mrs. Ella D. Vaughan to watch over and to guard lovingly this man in the declining years of his busy and useful life.

James R. Deniston, fifth of the eleven children of Samuel and Letitia (Sturgeon) Deniston, and elder brother of Henry Deniston, was born in Squirrel Hill, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the year 1832. In early childhood he went with his father and family to the homestead farm on the banks of the Monongahela River, and lived there continuously with his brother, Henry, until his death on January 6, 1915. When his father died in 1856 he shared with his brother Henry in the division and management of the Deniston estate, and in addition had many other business interests, among which was a directorate in the Braddock National Bank. As a member of the Swissvale Presbyterian Church, he was among the influential and substantial citizens of the vicinity, which had known and respected him for eighty-three years. Mr. Deniston never married.



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James Derriston

DENISTON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

This, then, is the story of the lives and labors of several of the Deniston name—a family which has been closely identified with the growth and progress of the State of Pennsylvania for two hundred years, and members of which family are still to be found bending their shoulders to the wheels of progress not only in their native State, but in various commonwealths throughout this great Nation. Good citizens, loyal patriots, and true Americans, all—an honor and a credit to their native land.

Pedigree of Dennistoun (Deniston) of Renfrew.

Dennistoun of Renfrew Arms—Argent, a bend sable.

The surname Dennistoun is an abbreviated form originating from Danzielstoun, County Renfrew, Scotland (for Danyelstoun).

I. *Sir Hugh de Danzielstoun*, of that ilk, with the other Scottish gentry, submitted to Edward I of England, in 1296. He had a son John, and a daughter Joanna or Janet, who married Sir Adam Mure, and was the mother of Elizabeth Mure, who married King Robert II of Scotland, and was ancestress of the long line of Stuart kings.

II. *Sir John de Danzielstoun*, son of Sir Hugh de Danzielstoun, for many years sheriff of County Dumbarton, and governor of Dumbarton Castle, was one of the lords of Parliament, who concurred in the settlement of the crown upon the descendants of his niece, Elizabeth Mure. He married Mary, daughter of Malcolm, first Earl of Wigton and had sons Robert, Walter, William, of whom further, Hugh, and Malcolm. Sir Robert had two daughters only, and the estates devolved upon his brother William.

III. *Sir William de Danzielstoun*, son of Sir John and Mary de Danzielstoun, acquired the estates of Colgrain, and Camis Eskin, County Dumbarton, before 1377.

IV. *Robert Danzielstoun*, of Colgrain, direct descendant of Sir William de Danzielstoun, carried on the line which existed as Dennistoun of Colgrain until 1828, when James Dennistoun, of Colgrain, was allowed to resume the original title and arms, and selling in 1835 his estates in Dumbartonshire, he acquired a part of the original family property in the barony of Danzielstoun, Renfrewshire, and made Dennistoun his seat. He was succeeded in 1855 by his nephew, whose son, James George Dennistoun, is the present holder of the title.

(The Sturgeon Line).

Arms—Azure, three sturgeons naiant in pale or, fretty gules.

Crest—A sturgeon fretty gules.

Tradition indicates that the Sturgeon family originated in the Netherlands under the name "Steerjon," and that various members emigrated

DENISTON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

to England about the 12th century and settled in Northumberland where they became known as Sturgeons. The head of the family was ennobled for distinguished services to the crown, and especially during the past century, several of the name have become eminent as scientists, Henry Sturgeon being known throughout the world as the discoverer of the electro-magnet.

The Sturgeon family were always staunch supporters of Protestantism, and during the religious persecutions of the 16th century the American ancestors migrated from England to Derry in the north of Ireland, where, at the famous siege of that place by the Royal forces in 1689, one of the Sturgeon brothers was killed. The other survived and came to Philadelphia with William Penn, in 1693.

(The Family in America).

I. *Jeremiah Sturgeon* came with two sons and settled with the Ulster (Ireland) immigrants in 1720, near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. He received a grant of two hundred acres of land in Paxtang, Dauphin County, March 22, 1753. Among his sons were Samuel, Henry, and Jeremiah, the line going through Jeremiah. Samuel died at Paxtang in March, 1750, leaving a wife and children: Jean, Thomas, and Sarah. His executors were his brothers, Henry and Jeremiah. He had a son Robert, who married, in 1751, Jane Robinson; daughters: Sarah, married, in 1759, Jacob Awl; Jean, married, in 1760, George Crain.

II. *Jeremiah (2) Sturgeon*, son of Jeremiah (1) Sturgeon, died in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He owned considerable property on Wood Street, between what is today Fifth Avenue and Diamond Street, where he conducted a large hotel. He was still in Dauphin County with wife and daughters in the census of 1790, but was in Pittsburgh, 3d district, in 1798. It is a matter of record which has been authenticated, that at the first anniversary of the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson as President of the United States, March 4, 1802, dinner was served in his honor by the leading citizens of Pittsburgh, in the tavern of Citizen Jeremiah Sturgeon, at the "Sign of the Cross Keys." He is in the Pittsburgh Directory of 1812-13 (Killikelly, Pittsburgh, p. 150). He married Jane Moorhead.

III. *Letitia Sturgeon*, daughter of Jeremiah (2) and Jane (Moorhead) Sturgeon, was born in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. She married, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Samuel Deniston, son of Andrew Deniston. (See Deniston Line.)

DENISTON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

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Augustus Pollack

By S. G. SCOVILLE, NEW YORK CITY

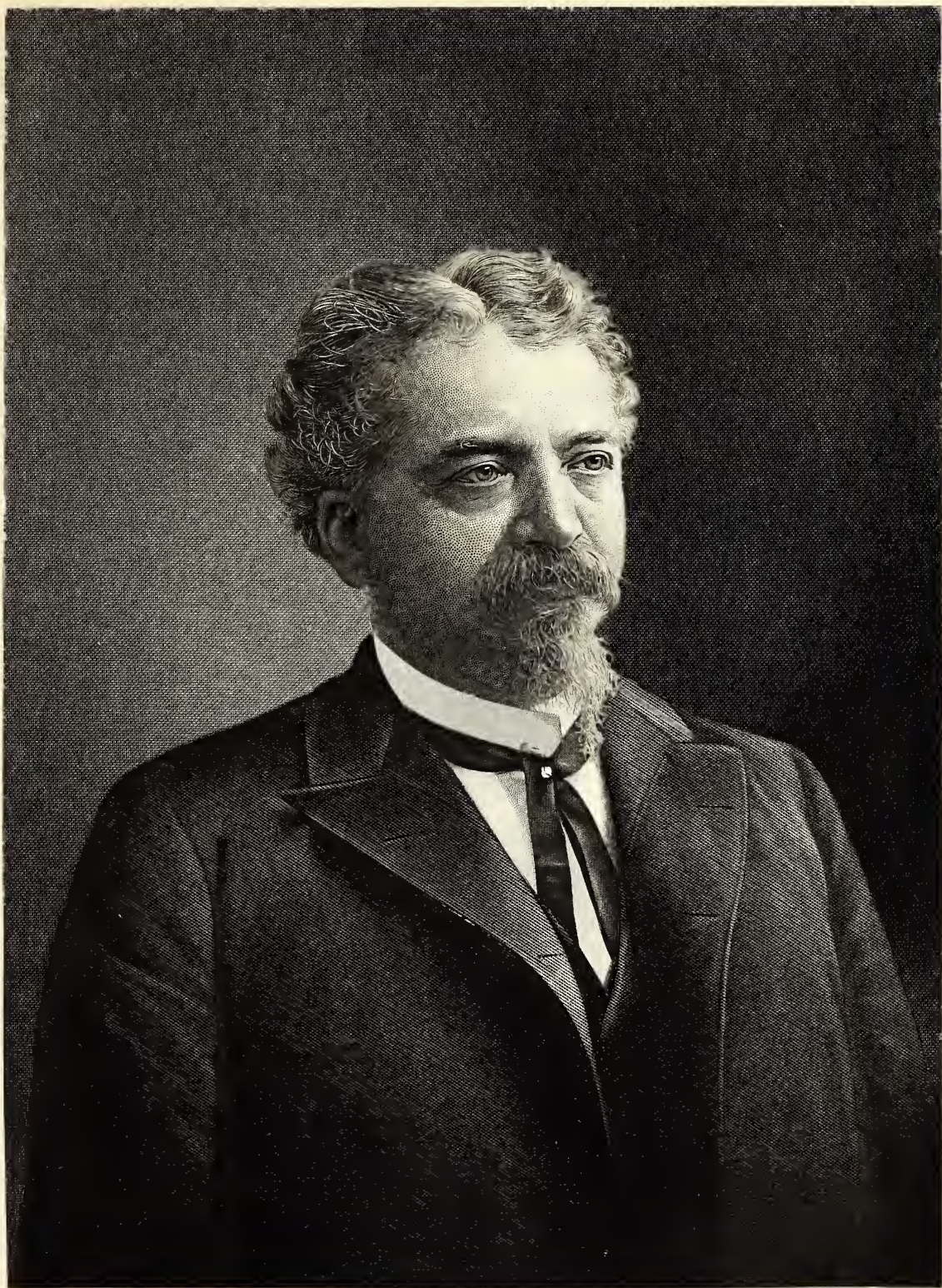


NE of the most notable events in the history of the industrial progress in the United States was the unveiling of a monument at Wheeling, West Virginia, on Decoration Day, 1916, to the honor and memory of the late Augustus Pollack, tobacco manufacturer and loyal patriot. Mr. Pollack is one of the greatest men whose history is written in the annals of West Virginia. While Mr. Pollack was not a native born American, yet his loyalty to the United States exceeded, in many ways, that of native sons. He was one of the great men of Wheeling, who built the city to enduring prosperity, and whose example will be held up as that of a model citizen as long as the city stands.

Augustus Pollack was born July 5, 1830, on a country estate near the outskirts of Bunde, in the beautiful valley of Westphalia, Germany. He was the son of Joseph and Bertha Pollack. His father was a farmer and a dealer in and importer of horses and Holstein cattle. At the age of fourteen years, Augustus entered the Bunde gymnasium or high school. After three years of study in this institution, he was apprenticed in the commercial house of Edward Gerson of Soest. This was done in accord with the methodical and thorough system which prevailed in Germany to prepare youth for all trades and professions.

In 1848, a revolutionary condition in Germany unsettled young Pollack's plans, and when he had an opportunity to get a position with Hamilton & Sons, wholesale notion house, of Baltimore, Maryland, he took advantage of it, and on April 5, 1849, set sail from Bremerhaven in the London bark, "Margaret," arriving in Baltimore, May 18, 1849.

In 1852, Mr. Pollack began business for himself, in the sale of notions and fancy goods at Baltimore. But later, through the solicitation of friends, he moved his business to Wheeling. This was in 1854. In 1859, when the Northwestern Virginia Railroad was completed, Mr. Pollack purchased property at Grafton and there erected a dwelling and store house and conducted a general store, at the same time holding a position as agent for the Adams Express Company. In Wheeling he owned and operated the first iron-front building, and where, in 1860, he established a wholesale notion business. He continued in this line until 1871, in



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Augustus Pollack

AUGUSTUS POLLACK

which year Mr. Pollack founded his cigar and tobacco factory on Water Street. Many hundreds of hands were regularly employed in making the famous "Crown Stogie" cigars which have been popular with smokers for two generations, and one of the most widely distributed and widely used brands of stogies.

It was not long after he established his wholesale notion business in Wheeling that the conflict between the North and the South tore the country asunder by the Civil War, and no American of native birth could have been more loyal to country than was Mr. Pollack. Immediately on the outbreak of war, Mr. Pollack tendered his buildings at Grafton to the Federal Government. This act was acknowledged by the Secretary of War in the following letter:

WAR DEPARTMENT.

WASHINGTON, June 7, 1861.

AUGUSTUS POLLACK, ESQ.,
WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA:

DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th ult., addressed to the President and by him referred to this department, tendering the use of your property to the service of the government; and in reply beg leave to return to you the thanks of the department for the patriotic and liberal offer, and would refer you to the officer in command at or near Grafton.

Very Respectfully,

SIMON CAMERON,
Secretary of War.

Imbued with a spirit of loyalty to his adopted government, Mr. Pollack encouraged the organization of the first German company of Wheeling volunteers in the Union Army. He, himself, enlisted in the Home Guards and contributed liberally of his means to establish a German newspaper. This paper was known as "The Patriot," and Mr. Pollack was made president of the company that published it. He did much to encourage loyalty to the Federal Government in those dark days of civil strife.

Augustus Pollack was the highest type of public spirited citizen, but never sought office from popular suffrage. The only public office he ever held was that of a member of the board of education from the Third Ward of Wheeling. However, he never refrained from taking active part as a leader in every movement that had for its object the development of the business interests of his city. He was also active in promoting financial, industrial and educational organizations. He was president

AUGUSTUS POLLACK

of the German Bank; director of the Aetna Iron & Nail Company; and a director of the German Insurance Company. He was trustee of the Wheeling Female College, trustee of the Linsly Institute, and president of the West Virginia Tobacco Company.

In his broad humanitarian concept of the sufferings of the widows and orphans of the German soldiers who were slain during the Franco-Prussian War, he officiated as chairman of the aid committee for their relief. A large contribution forwarded by him November 5, 1870, was acknowledged by Minister George Bancroft at Berlin, who said: "All honor is given here to the generous efforts of the people of Wheeling." Mr. Pollack was elected president of the German Peace Celebration held in Wheeling in 1871.

In 1875, Mr. Pollack fostered the movement to aid the establishment of the German Seminary at Milwaukee and was elected president of the Wheeling organization. He presided at the Garfield ratification meeting at the Wheeling Opera House July 30, 1880. He was president of the movement that resulted in the mass meeting at the Opera House November 30, 1880, when the Hon. A. W. Campbell was presented with a massive oil painting commemorative of the independent position he took in the Chicago convention of that year. In such acts as this one can clearly see that Mr. Pollack not only refrained from seeking personal honors, but was a leader in bestowing honors on his fellow-citizens whom he knew should be recognized. But others did choose to bring to him the laurels which he so richly deserved. He was the president of the first Saengerfest celebrated in Wheeling in July, 1885, from the twentieth to the twenty-fifth of that month. He was president of the German memorial services in Wheeling which commemorated the death of Emperor William, March 22, 1888. An engrossed copy of the resolutions adopted on that occasion was sent to the Court of Berlin.

Mr. Pollack established and managed two great stogie factories which bore his name. It is said that during the more than thirty-five years in which he was engaged in business he never experienced a strike or difficulty with his thousands of workmen. A few years prior to his death, he felt the time had come when he should retire from active business. He offered his business for sale and received a most profitable offer which he refused, on the grounds that the parties making the offer would not consent to maintain the same working conditions and personal relations with his workmen which existed under his management. His business career, distinguished for its long period of uninterrupted harmonious

AUGUSTUS POLLACK

relations with his workmen brought him into prominence throughout the manufacturing world, and he was frequently called upon to serve as arbitrator in other industries where differences between employers and employees needed to be adjusted. One notable instance of such service was in the strike of the Pittsburgh and Wheeling glass workers. Mr. Pollack showed at this time his genius in understanding both sides of the controversy and brought about a settlement satisfactory to all.

Mr. Pollack was a sincere believer in the dignity of progressive toilers, and no effort to help this progress was too irksome for him to make. Those who came in personal contact with Augustus Pollack enjoyed the influence of one whose object and life's work was a desire to witness the day when capital and labor would clasp hands in recognition of true equality and brotherhood. There is not space enough in this present work available to recount the many deeds of kindness and acts of human sympathy done by this man whose greatness shall be known to generations yet unborn. His chief characteristics were fidelity to principle and industry. He made many large contributions to organized labor irrespective of craft. His ideals for accord in industry were not personal nor were they local, but broad and far reaching to all places where the employer and employee come together to complete organization.

His last tribute to the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly was when by his will he left a trust fund of many thousands of dollars to be invested in city or county bonds, the interest from which is to be applied to educating a workingman's son each year, and to defray the expenses of treatment of worthy cases in hospitals; also a part of this interest to be applied to educating the masses, by lectures and literature, to understand the principles and purposes of trade unionism.

Mr. Pollack aided materially in the construction of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis, and the Cleveland, Lorain & Wheeling railways to Wheeling. He accepted, though with reluctance, the unanimous nomination for the position of elector-at-large on the Harrison and Morton presidential ticket of West Virginia, and contributed materially to the success of the campaign of 1888.

No man in all West Virginia ever commanded a more general respect from all classes, business associates and working men than did Augustus Pollack.

On March 31, 1855, at Baltimore, Maryland, Augustus Pollack married Rosalie Weinberg, who was a native of Germany. Children:

AUGUSTUS POLLACK

1. Bertha, married Benjamin Baer. 2. Adelia P., married Dr. John McColl, of Wheeling. 3. Augusta, secretary and treasurer of the company. 4. Blanche, married Henry G. Polson, of New York City. 5. Flora, married J. Kent Boyd, and they reside in Chattanooga, Tennessee. They have one son, Augustus Pollack Boyd, married Gertrude Llewellyn, of Chattanooga, and they have two children: Barbara Ann and Augustus Pollack Boyd, Jr. Mrs. Boyd died at Atlantic City, November 21, 1921. 6. Joseph, married Clara Leggett, of Wheeling, and they have two children: i. Josephine, married Joseph S. Jefferson and has a son, Joseph Pollack Jefferson. ii. Augustus Pollack, who married Esther Carlson, of Seattle, Washington, now residents of San Francisco, California. Joseph Pollack died September 21, 1906. 7. Grace Taylor, married John F. Rogers, of New York City; she died March 18, 1925; no issue.

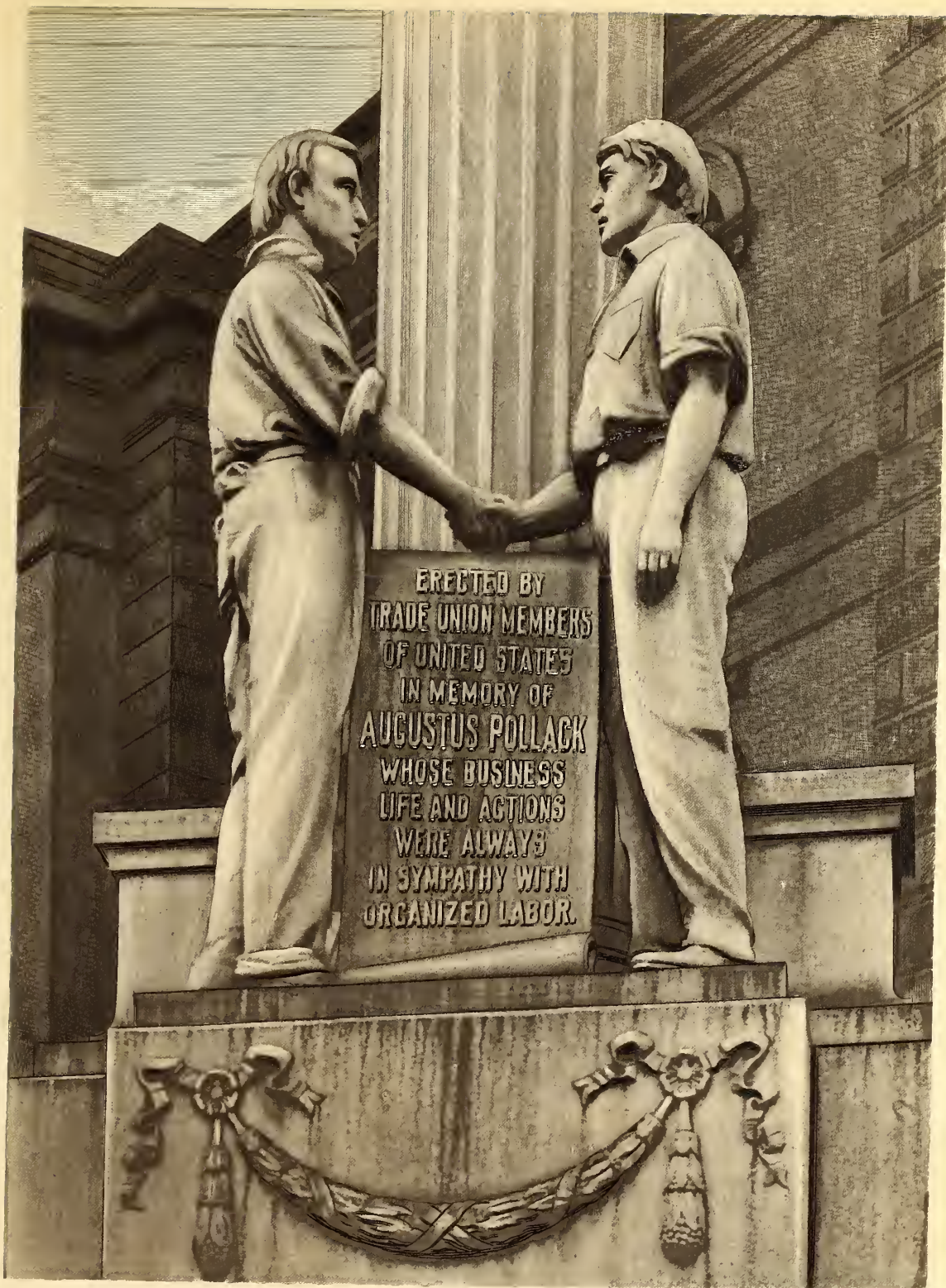
Augustus Pollack died April 23, 1906. Ten years later there was erected to his honor a monument in the city he helped so decidedly to build, Wheeling, West Virginia. This monument is said to be the only one ever erected by union labor in memory of an employer and is unique in many respects. That it bears testimony of sincere admiration is evidenced by the fact that it was erected ten years after the death of Augustus Pollack and was the untiring and unrelenting work of a committee appointed by a resolution of the National Stogie Makers League instructing the delegates to the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly to present to that body a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee to devise ways and means for the purpose of having a public monument erected in honor of Augustus Pollack. That such a resolution should come before a body of this kind, there must have been good cause: the cause was Augustus Pollack himself.

In order that this man should not be forgotten, the committee organized to devise ways and means to erect a monument to his memory to which there would be accepted no contribution except from organized labor, worked through ten long years, at times so discouraged that it seemed hope would be turned to despair. At last, the final amount needed was attained, and a monument to fittingly express the appreciation of organized labor for this friend and benefactor could be erected. This committee was composed of six men, one of whom had passed over the great divide before the purpose was accomplished. They were all well known in Wheeling and their sincerity to the cause of organized labor made them fitted to serve in this true labor of love. They were: H. B. Wessel, M. Mahoney, H. P. Corcoran, W. F. Welch, L. W. Selvey (deceased), and J. G. Minkemeyer.



ENGRAVED BY T. AMBELL, N.Y.

MONUMENT ERECTED IN MEMORY OF
AUGUSTUS POLLACK
WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA



ENGRAVED BY CAMPBELL N.Y.

MONUMENT ERECTED IN MEMORY OF
AUGUSTUS POLLACK
WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA

AUGUSTUS POLLACK

Nothing that can be said or written about this great man can equal this practical and enduring testimony of love and admiration that has been erected by his friends. The monument is a work of art and craftsmanship bearing testimony to those who conceived it and to those who fashioned it. It is a massive Corinthian column thirty-seven feet in height, mounted by an American eagle, while carved on the pedestal at its base are the sculptured figures with hands that represent labor united to paying honor and tribute to Augustus Pollack.

The inscription on the base is as follows:

Erected by Trades Union members of United States in Memory of Augustus Pollack, whose business life and actions were always in sympathy with organized labor.

The architect for this monument was the late Fred F. Faris, noted West Virginia designer; the sculptor was S. Abejornsen; and the contractor was Edward C. Kreutzer. The concept of the design was that of the committee and the designer only carried out their beautiful and fitting ideas. The monument was unveiled Sunday, May 28, 1916, and for the occasion the mayor of the city of Wheeling issued a proclamation making that day one on which all citizens should pay tribute to Augustus Pollack.



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published Quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for April 1, 1928.

State of New York, }
County of New York, } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Marion L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Vice-President and Manager of the American Historical Society, Inc., publisher of Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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MARION L. LEWIS, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 15th day of March, 1928.

(Seal.)

F. M. KELLER,

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(Commission Expires March 30, 1928.)

1928

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The American Historical Society, Inc.



DR. PETER BRYANT

(Miniature in the possession of the New York Historical Society)

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AMERICANA

October, 1928

The Pala Tile

A STORY OF THE PADRES

BY CHRISTINE EMERY, PASADENA, CALIFORNIA



ICH in her possessions and rash in her negligent disregard of them, the opulence of America has constantly been a marvel and a moral to other Nations less lavishly endowed. Stranger still, this heedless attitude has manifested itself most flagrantly along the coastal strip of California where Mission grants and princely private holdings marked the development of our constructive colonization. Here the debasement of treasure that never can be duplicated has been carried on at so unparalleled a rate that the simile of casting pearls before swine fades into the mist of mediocrity when contrasted with the epic story of the Tile of the Padres, for it is a tale that subtly unites the poignant past with the progressive present as evidenced in the revitalization of historic Rancho Santa Fé, in northern San Diego County.

The story had its beginning in the long ago when the Padres were seeking sites for the lengthening chain of their missions, and these links, located exactly one day's journey apart, were to follow the curves of the coastline from San Diego to San Francisco. In their critical survey they came, in the year 1795, to Pala, the fertile little valley that lies so richly enshrined at the base of Palomar Mountain. Agua Tibia, the out-thrust arm of this mountain was, according to Indian mythology, acclaimed as the only spot of earth not inundated by the seething waters of the flood, and, so firm were the red men in their belief that it was there Noah's dove plucked the verdant olive branch that brought the promise of release to the weary occupants of the Ark, that they ascribed a most beneficent influence to this lofty peak and considered themselves fortunate to dwell in its protective shadow.

Regretfully, the Padres decided that, attractive though it undoubt-

THE PALA TILE

edly was, the Valley of Pala was too remote from the well-defined route of El Camino Real, the favored Highway of the King, and a more convenient location twenty miles nearer the seacoast was accordingly selected. Although this newer site was established as the center of the district, early clerical records indicate that Pala and its people were not forgotten, for, in 1810, the Mission Fathers supervised the erection of a granary in that productive area, but despite this possessive interest, it proved well-nigh impossible to induce the Pala Indians to attend the services of the Mother Mission. So, in 1816, several years after the majestic Mission of San Luis Rey was completed and its groves, gardens and grain fields were flourishing and the industrious Indians with their allied handicrafts had made it so supremely the King of the Missions, resolute Padre Peyri felt that the time had come for the immediate Christianization of the Indians of Pala and, imbued with true missionary zeal, he set forth upon that long-planned crusade.

Pala presented enticing possibilities to this practical Padre and, quickened by his fervor, the placid rancheria soon became the scene of intense activity. A ramada of brush was hastily constructed in which the daily mass might be celebrated until the "Asistencia" or auxiliary chapel was ready for use. Well trained Indians came from the Mission to assist in the all important task of assembling materials and to guide the Pala neophytes in the approved course of Christian living.

They taught the youthful Indians of Pala to make and dry and lay the adobe bricks that were cleverly fashioned from wet clay and coarse litter and, while they were thus employed, groups of older and more robust men were sent up the shelving slopes of Palomar to bring from its high elevation the huge timbers of oak, cedar and pine that plethoric oxen ploddingly dragged down the steep inclines for the beams and sturdy roof supports that were needed to hold the heavy tonnage of tiles that, materializing so surprisingly from the earth and carefully molded on the shapely thighs of the women workers, were to crown the structure. Considering all of this individual activity and interest it was quite natural that when the thousands of warmly tinted tiles were securely in place, the enraptured natives proudly proclaimed the little structure the most magnificent building they had ever seen!

It was an eventful day when all of the construction work was satisfactorily completed and a corps of still more talented Indians were privileged to paint upon the dim, interior walls of the narrow adobe chapel the crude but symbolic decorations in their primitive red, blue, green, and



ROOFLESS AND FORLORN, THE RUINS OF THE OLD MISSION BUILDING SHOW THE HAVOC WROUGHT BY DESPOLIERS.
RESTORED, THE MISSION IS NOW, AS IN THE DAYS OF THE PADRES, THE CENTER OF COMMUNITY INTEREST.
(Photo by Harold Parker).

THE PALA TILE

yellow colorings that, unfaded and unaffected by age and abuse, were to triumphantly survive the travail of a turbulent century.

Splendid as the small "Asistencia" seemed to inexperienced Indian eyes, prudent Padre Peyri skillfully led his new converts to a far more noteworthy attainment, for it was imperative that a suitable bell tower must be forthcoming. This fondness for bells was not an affectation on the part of the Padres. Their indomitable purpose was to raise the cross in the wilderness and, close beside this uplifted symbol of salvation, they placed their massive bells in so strategic a position that their vibrant tones could be heard on distant hillsides and in quiet, far off canyons and call the curious Indians to the hallowed services of the Church.

And so the Campanile was built. Separate and apart from the chapel, it rose in the sublime simplicity that will forever be in inspiration in the architectural annals of the world. High above its own broad adobe base, in two deep and sheltering embrasures, secure in their rawhide thongs, the clear-toned bells were hung and, impressively surmounting all else, the enthusiastic Indians reverently raised the great rustic cross in whose generous shade the birds of the air soon built their mud lined nests. In one of these, a tiny cactus seed sprouted and spread so unrestrainedly over the summit of the awe-inspiring arch that it formed a luxuriant hanging garden and came to be accepted as a most illuminating illustration that, to those who abide in the shadow of the cross, spiritual abundance sets at naught the law of material limitation.

With truly magical swiftness all of these good things came to pass and the thousand Indians of Pala eagerly welcomed the orderly, interesting and amply satisfying mode of Mission life. They took no toll of the happy years until the searing scourge of secularization swept over the land and the Missions, pillaged and forsaken, were left to decay in their own abysmal desolation.

The Indians of Pala were more enviably situated than most of their aboriginal neighbors as, for a time, their comparative isolation from the regular route of travel provided some slender means of protection when, temporarily disorganized and like sheep without a shepherd, they mourned the passing of their Padres. Neither were they left to wander and stray aimlessly from their own village for, shortly after the decree of devastation went into effect, Manuelito Cota, an intelligent and forceful young Indian, took charge of his bewildered people and, encouraging frugality and industry, sought to bring about their return to their former vocations of hunters and husbandmen.

THE PALA TILE

With the blood of the Aztec conquerors surging in his veins, and the wisdom and aptitude for command intensified by his contact with the Padres, Manuelito, while still in his twenties, was made Chief of all the Luisanos, as the Indians of the many San Luis Rey appanages were descriptively known. Historians accord to Manuelito the distinction of being the only important leader the Indian tribes of Southern California ever produced. Fortunately for the cause of American conquest, he was sufficiently powerful to align the people of Pala and the inhabitants of half a dozen nearby Indian villages aggressively against the resisting Mexican Army. Had he failed to exert his tribal strength and friendly aid it is more than probable that Kearny's dauntless expedition would have met irretrievable disaster in that gallant overland march into stubbornly contested territory.

With the coming of the Americans, other laws became operative and the Pala Mission property, which had suffered severely from minor Indian battles and the prolonged encampment of Mexican cavalry, was in disreputable ruin. The walls of the outbuildings had fallen and from their grass-grown pyramids of broken adobe the wood doves sent forth their mournful call, while all about them the time mellowed tiles lay scattered like crumpled autumn leaves upon the ground. Only the Chapel and the Campanile escaped the leveling process of final destruction.

Stirred by the sight of this general havoc, Manuelito was seized with the impulse for honorable salvage and decided to build himself a home of more than ordinary dimensions. High up on Agua Tibia, that invitingly outstretched arm of Palomar that reveals so matchless a vista of the surrounding region, Manuelito elected to spend his declining days and once again Indian laborers climbed from the valley of the Mission chapel to the highlands of the Mountain of the Dove, bringing with them in their ascent all of the loosened timbers and unbroken tiles necessary for constructing the spacious seven-room adobe manor house that was so essential for furthering the impressive administration of Manuelito, purposeful Chief of the Luisanos.

Profiting by the lessons learned from the Padres, the Indian workmen built this gubernatorial structure so staunchly that it would, in all probability, be in existence today had not some incoming rancher with a penchant for the shiny surface of mill lumber and odorous cedar shingles, torn it away to make room for a more modern dwelling. Meanwhile Manuelito was destined to see the enforcement of still more drastic laws than those that had already announced the operating program of the American Government for, in the subsequent opening of the land under



WHEN THE FAMOUS HAND-MADE TILES OF THE PADRES WERE USED AS A ROOF
FOR THE PIG PENS OF PALA.

THE PALA TILE

the Homestead Act, the Mission property passed into the possession of a white man, and the Indians, driven from their homes, sought shelter in caves and brush ramadas in the hills. But, through all the upheaval of those disheartening days, Manuelito remained unfaltering to his allegiance and, so amicable were his dealings with the white settlers, and so absolute was his control over his wandering tribesmen, that ranchers in need of vaqueros, sheep shearers, harvest hands and vineyard laborers, constantly applied to him as the man best qualified to bridge the unprofitable void between importunate employer and reluctant employee.

Thus, in the details of their daily life and through all of their tribal encounters with their ancient and implacable enemies, the Cahuillas, Manuelito guided his people victoriously and, despite their peregrinations and his own increasing years and autocratic proclivities, he continued to hold his power and prestige as Chief of the Luisanos until his death, which occurred in 1871.

Deprived of his leadership, the Pala Indians fled still farther into the mountains and the fruitful Valley of the Dove was left entirely in the control of homesteaders who, like their Indian predecessors, found it a most desirable place in which to live. The calm current of their monopolistic tenure came to an abrupt end in 1903 when, after considerable agitation, the United States Government purchased the three thousand four hundred and thirty-eight acres of land in and around the Valley as a reservation for the various tribes that were to be evicted from Agua Caliente and other adjacent rancherias that had been the habitation of the Indians centuries before the foot of alien white men made its imprint upon the American continent.

Whatever her other vacillations may have been in the ruling of her New World domain, Spain had rigidly respected the rights of the Indians and they expected equally fair treatment under American occupation. Consequently they were entirely unprepared for the edict of the Supreme Court of our country, when all established tribal ownership was determinedly disregarded and, in an eviction infinitely more tragic than the sorrowful story of Evangeline, the stricken Luisanos from the outlying rancherias obediently left their homes, their hillsides and the hallowed graves of their ancestors and, with their few pitiful belongings hurriedly piled into Government wagons, were callously jolted over the intervening miles to the "Reservation" in the valley they had never seen.

There they camped in tents until the advent of cold weather accelerated the Government's care for its submissive wards, and then hideous houses of flimsy portable construction were hastily set up for their occu-

THE PALA TILE

pancy. In the interim, through the efforts of the Landmarks Club, the Pala chapel was restored and, together with the Campanile and the Campo Santo, or Holy Ground of the Dead, were deeded back to the Church to be held in trust for the Indians. Because of this, these dispossessed people again responded to the balm of spiritual comfort, finding therein the incentive uncomplainingly to follow the restricted, routine life that lay before them.

So thoroughly did they overcome all thought of self, suffering and resentment that very soon after their arrival at Pala, at the little school-house where an assembly was held and a young Indian girl capably played our National anthems on a wheezy old cottage organ, the elders of the tribes stood in respectful silence while the wavering treble of untrained children's voices extolled the brotherly equality and racial freedom in "My Country, 'Tis of Thee, Sweet Land of Liberty." Surely, in the history of the entire universe, there never was so great and soul-stirring an example of loyalty and patriotism as this!

Always proud, peaceful, and willing to work under sympathetic direction, the Luisanos, while longing inexpressibly for their own ancestral acres, wasted no time in futile lamentation and, after a blessedly brief interval, it became increasingly evident to them that in Pala, The Place of Water, they had come to a much better land whose fertile soil and adequate irrigation produced bountiful crops, and they cheerfully adapted themselves to their new environment.

And so the years have passed. Fertility is still the saga of their fields and in the friendly intimacy of this picturesque pastoral valley, close beside the beloved "Asistencia" chapel where the loyal Luisanos faithfully gather for devotional service, the basket weavers, pottery manufacturers and lace makers ply their craft as industriously and as happily as though no darkened period separated them from the glamorous days of the past. In this sheltered, sun-loved area, they are astonishingly free from the encroachment of ultra-modernism that has wrought such wretchedness and disillusion in other less fortunate tribes, for, in the sanctuary of Pala, the San Luisano Indians maintain the natural dignity and the interpretive arts that are so emphatically their aboriginal heritage.

High above their humble habitations, where the grey-green leaves of the ancient olive trees extend in solid phalanx up the outspread arm of Agua Tibia, a startling discovery was recently made and, as a result, another careless wrong has been righted for, with changing times, a new owner has come to the house that watches over the welfare of the valley. On making a more analytical inventory of his newly-acquired



HISTORIC OLD OSUNA HOME, RANCHO SANTA FÉ, CALIFORNIA, WITH THE ROOF OF TIME-SCARRED TILES THAT ONCE COVERED THE PICTURESQUE OLD MISSION AT PALA.

THE PALA TILE

property, this observant landowner was incredibly amazed to find a quantity of admirable old tile serving as a roof for his antiquated pig pens. Investigation revealed the still more astounding fact that it was the once venerated tile that had originally covered the beloved little "Asistencia" at Pala and proved beyond question that, even in this era of avowed conservation, treasures of greater antiquity and historical value than pearls have been heedlessly sacrificed on unworthy altars.

Where and how this lichen-covered tile could be most advantageously used was the problem that confronted the appreciative and conscientious owner of Agua Tibia. The Mission Chapel of Pala, long since restored to its former usefulness, had no need of them, but down at Rancho Santa Fé, in the delightful Valley of the San Dieguito, the despoiled adobe casa of a Spanish Don was also emerging from the bondage of that reign of ruthlessness. And so it came about that through careful retrieval, fifteen hundred of these precious tiles of the Padres were brought without breakage from their servile obscurity at Pala that they might fittingly cover the old, hospitable home of Don Juan Maria Osuna, the alcalde who performed so prominent a part in the settlement of California, and make in very truth an authentic Spanish-Colonial homestead preëminently worthy of perpetuating the desired motif for future homebuilding.

From the crest of the sun-warmed hills this regal grant of the Rancho spreads afar, the boundaries of its nine thousand acres of woodland, mesa and gently rolling hillsides defined only by the towering mountain peaks and the equi-distant ocean. The lesser slopes and fertile floor of the alluvial valley reveal the recent handiwork of man for they are covered with the growing greenery of productive plantings of luxuriant subtropical fruits, and from flowery knolls and lovely landscaped gardens the white-walled homes with their vivid red tile roofs and pleasant patios invite the seeker for tranquillity and artistic enrichment.

The quietude, charm and pervading sense of infinite well-being have caused the Rancho to be heralded as the most beautiful rural community in America, if not in the entire world. And how could it be otherwise when, in the very heart of this happy homeland, the historically rich home of the Osunas again extends its full measure of neighborliness and proverbial hospitality? Where, crowning glory of all, the mellowed old tiles that so adequately insure its continuance tell, beneath the exquisite tracery of lichen with which comforting nature has so delicately covered the scars of time, the eloquent story of the Padres and their wonderful work at Pala, that modest little mission once so far from the King's Highway.

The Ancestry of William Cullen Bryant

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RICHARD HENRY DANA, writing to William Cullen Bryant concerning his residence in the Bryant homestead among the Cummington hills, exclaimed: "What a continuity of lives that must give you, or rather what a continuity of life running through so many individuals, and pervading yourself, yet, in this unity, not making you less a self . . . and in the stream of continuity bearing you by a secret influence, on, and on!"¹ Dana was not sufficiently familiar with the ancestry of his friend to realize how accurate was this intuitive judgment. In reality, it is difficult to conceive of a descent more significant than that which events and personalities in early colonial Massachusetts shaped for Bryant.

William Cullen Bryant was, first of all, a son of the Pilgrims. Of the sixty-four members of the generation of his forebears contemporary with the first settlement of New England,² fifty-two are now known.³ Of these individuals, fifty reached New England by 1645—twenty-three years after its first colonization and a century and a half before Bryant's birth.⁴ There was, therefore, in later generations, little opportunity for the introduction of new blood into the circle. When a Scotchman⁵ and a tardy Puritan⁶ arrived in 1662, the group of Bryant's ancestors was complete. Clannishly self-sufficient, his known forebears made no marriages with later immigrants from England, with the Irish, or with the scattered wanderers from continental Europe who found their way into New England.

Bryant was, furthermore, the descendant of notable pioneers. In

¹Cape Ann, August 29, 1866. Dana MSS deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society.

²This generation was composed of W. C. Bryant's great-great-great-grandparents.

³The names and the places of residence of the descendants of the twelve unidentified individuals—the ancestors of Ruth Staples and of Mehitable, wife of Stephen Bryant the younger—suggest that they also were probably British.

⁴Thirty were present or represented by descendants in Massachusetts by 1632 and thirty-six by 1638.

⁵Reverend James Keith.

⁶Thomas Snell.

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every new movement of the population of the colony, his ancestors were prominent. Ten years after the first migration from England, "the people began to grow in their outward estates;" and the hardier colonists pushed along Kingston Bay to establish a new frontier in the town of Duxbury.⁷ In this second migration, every member of the earliest generation of Bryant's progenitors left the old settlement at Plymouth. To Duxbury went his distinguished ancestors John Alden and Priscilla Mullins of the "Mayflower"; Experience Mitchell and Jane Cook of the "Anne" (1623); John Washburn, first secretary of the Council of Plymouth in England, his wife, and their son John; John and Alice Shaw; their daughter Abigail and her husband, Stephen Bryant.⁸

The third migration began within another decade. In 1645, certain restless souls were led, by congestion of population in Duxbury, to purchase a plantation twenty miles to the westward.⁹ Of the fifty-six proprietors of this tract, only eighteen actually went into the wilderness to build the town of Bridgewater. Of these eighteen, ten men were Bryant's ancestors;¹⁰ only three of his forefathers resisted the call of this new frontier.¹¹

Two contrasted strains of ancestry contributed most directly toward shaping the character of William Cullen Bryant, namely, the heritage of the Snells and that of the Bryants. These families met for the first time in Bridgewater. Stephen Bryant's days of pioneering were ended; but his son, Stephen the younger,¹² had gone out from Duxbury, not as a member of a well-financed group such as that which settled Bridgewater, but as a solitary colonist. Near Middleborough, he settled and married;¹³ here was born Ichabod,¹⁴ grandfather of the poet's father. Ichabod, in turn, made his way, alone, into the undeveloped north precinct of Bridgewater, courageously immigrating when that section was considered "almost unfit for cultivation." Meanwhile, after the original set-

⁷Justin Winsor, "A History of the Town of Duxbury, Massachusetts" . . . Boston, 1849. pp. 9, 10.

⁸Stephen Byrant the elder was born in England and died in Duxbury.

⁹Nahum Mitchell, "History of the Early Settlement of Bridgewater." . . . Boston, 1840. p. 10. The purchase price was "7 Coats, a yard and a half in a coat, 9 Hatchets, 8 Hoes, 20 Knives, 4 Moose Skins, 10 Yards and a half of Cotton" (*idem*, p. 12.)

¹⁰*Idem*, p. 26. With them, of course, went their families.

¹¹Among this trio was Stephen, first of the Bryants in America. A respected figure in the colony, he was chosen constable in Duxbury. In his later years, he was highway surveyor and constable in Plymouth ("Genealogical and Family History of Connecticut," ed. Cutter. New York, 1911. I, 857).

¹²Stephen Bryant the younger was born in Plymouth, February 2, 1658, and died in Duxbury, *post* 1691.

¹³Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 123; Bradford Kingman, "History of North Bridgewater." . . . Boston, 1866. p. 448.

¹⁴July 5, 1699.

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tlement at Bridgewater had become an assured success, the astute Thomas Snell, grandfather of the poet's mother,¹⁵ came in from Plymouth. By skillful use of his capital, he soon became the largest landowner in the region,¹⁶ while the Bryants, although respected as citizens, were unsuccessful as business men.¹⁷ Here, for two generations, the courageous and independent Bryants lived side by side with the industrious and practical Snells, each family maintaining its own standards and its own traditions. Only in politics did they possess sufficient community of interest to unite with their kindred, the Packards, the Haywards, the Howards, and the Willises, in controlling public affairs in Bridgewater.¹⁸

The final migration of Bryant's forebears carried them well across Massachusetts into the wilderness of the eastern Berkshires. In 1762, by order of the General Court of Massachusetts, ten townships in the western part of the colony were sold at auction. Township number five, the present town of Cummington, was purchased by Colonel John Cummings, for £1800.¹⁹ Four years later, only seven families had settled in the new community, all from the vicinity of Worcester. The majority of the Bryant ancestry were at length too substantially rooted for further pioneering; Philip Bryant, grandfather of the poet, in particular, was firmly held in North Bridgewater by his wide practice as a physician.²⁰ However, in 1773 or 1774, John and Barnabas Packard and their families, their niece Sarah, her husband, Ebenezer Snell, and their six-year-old daughter, Sarah,²¹ with other inhabitants of Plymouth County, broke away from the clan for this last frontier at Cummington.²² In the new community, two parties developed: the "Tunkers" from Worcester and

¹⁵Thomas Snell was born in England and died in Bridgewater.

¹⁶Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

¹⁷Parke Godwin, "A Biography of William Cullen Bryant, with Extracts from His Private Correspondence." New York, 1883. I, 52-54.

¹⁸Thomas Haywood, Junior, John Haward [later Howard], and Samuel Packard were the first military officers of Bridgewater; Deacon John Willis and Thomas Haywood were its first magistrates; of the fifty terms served by its deputies in the House of Representatives prior to 1738, twenty-four were filled by the known forebears of Bryant (see Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 36). The poet's eight great-grandparents were now resident in the parishes of Bridgewater.

¹⁹J. G. Holland, "History of Western Massachusetts." . . . Springfield, 1855. I, 197, 198; II, 189.

²⁰Kingman, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

²¹Sarah Snell was born in North Bridgewater, December 4, 1768, and died in Princeton, Illinois, May 6, 1847.

²²Kingman, *op. cit.*, pp. 587, 591; Godwin, *op. cit.*, I, 57. The date is uncertain. Bryant in "An Autobiography of Mr. Bryant's Early Life" (a fragment written in 1874-75 and printed by Parke Godwin, *op. cit.*, I, 1-46) dated the arrival "about the year 1774, or perhaps a little earlier." Godwin stated (*idem*, I, 57) that the daughter Sarah was six years old at the time; this would place the migration late in 1774 or even in 1775. (Bryant's uncompleted account of his boyhood will hereafter be cited as "Autobiography.")

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the "Whickaneers" from Plymouth County.²³ When the first town meeting was held, in 1779, the Whickaneers, as had been their custom for generations, were leaders; Deacon Barnabas Packard acted as moderator and was elected town clerk, while Deacon Snell was chosen selectman and assessor.²⁴ In 1792, their party was strengthened by the arrival, from North Bridgewater, of the adventurous young physician, Peter Bryant, father of William Cullen.²⁵ The pioneer impulse which had led Bryant's ancestors from frontier to frontier now brought the young doctor to the side of his childhood acquaintance, Sallie Snell. They immediately married.²⁶

Three persons destined to exert lasting influence on William Cullen Bryant were now inhabitants of Cummington: his maternal grandfather, his mother, and his father. Without a knowledge of these three figures, no one can hope to understand their son and grandson. Ebenezer Snell, the grandfather, was a person of remarkable vigor. In politics, he was active throughout his life. Chosen as Cummington's first justice of the peace, he retained his justiceship until his death twenty-seven years later;²⁷ in 1800, 1802, and 1804 he was elected to the state House of Representatives;²⁸ he served intermittently as selectman and assessor.²⁹ In religion, Deacon Snell was a violent Calvinist. As a member of the peculiar school of Reverend Samuel Hopkins, he pressed upon his neighbors the dogma that "regeneration consisted in the eradication of selfishness to such a degree that the true Christian should be willing to suffer eternal misery for the good of the whole universe."³⁰ He was, nevertheless, able to meditate without a tremor on the Judgment Day, which

²³When a Tunker injured his finger, he had "squatted" it; when a Whickaneer injured the same member, he had "jammed" it. In politics, therefore, the Packards and Snells as Whickaneers rallied to the watchword of "Jam"; and their opponents, to "Squat". (J. H. Bryant, "Century Poem", in "Life and Poems of John Howard Bryant". n. p., n. d. p. 205).

²⁴Jacob Porter, "Some Account of Cummington, in Hampshire County, Massachusetts," in "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society," Second Series, X, 44 (1823).

²⁵Peter Bryant stated: "At the age of twenty-five . . . I launched out . . . and established myself where I now reside." (quoted in Godwin, *op. cit.*, I, 54). He was born August 12, 1767, and was in Cummington to marry Sarah Snell in 1792.

²⁶"The New England Historical and Genealogical Register," XXIV, p. 316 (1870). The church record at Cummington has not been preserved for 1792.

²⁷"Fleet's Pocket Almanack." Boston, 1788-93. "A Pocket Almanack." Boston, 1794-96. "Fleet's Pocket Almanack." Boston, 1797. "Fleet's Register and Pocket Almanack." Boston, 1798-1800. "Massachusetts Register." Boston, 1801-13.

²⁸"Massachusetts Register." Boston, 1801, 1803, 1805.

²⁹The records of the town of Cummington are so incomplete that dates cannot be given.

³⁰"Autobiography," p. 9.

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he considered imminent.³¹ The deacon was not without wit; but naturally "a joke from Squire Snell was like a comic cherub carved on one of your old time mica-slate tombstones."³² Finding his negro woodchoppers Liph and Aleck asleep, he set the latter to chopping the log in which Liph still reposed (unknown to Aleck); as a result, after each had been terrified by seeing "de Debbil suah," both displayed the desired industry.³³ On another occasion, when a farmer noted for his coarseness informed him: "Today I'm going to kill the biggest hog in town;" the deacon exclaimed: "Hold, hold! don't talk of self-murder!"³⁴

As might be expected, the boys of the neighborhood (as one of them stated in old age) were "dreadfully afraid" of this "Revolutionary veteran,³⁵ stern and severe . . . austere and authoritative."³⁶ Grandson Cullen was to share their fear. Writing at forty-six, he managed to put a kindly interpretation on the deacon's didacticism:

One such I knew long since, a white-haired man,
Pithy of speech, and merry when he would;
A genial optimist who daily drew
From what he saw his quaint moralities.³⁷

At eighty-two, however, Bryant set down frankly his actual boyish reaction to the deacon:

My grandfather was a disciplinarian of the strictest order, and I can hardly find words to express the awe in which I stood of him—an awe so great as almost to prevent anything like affection on my part. . . . If a favor was to be asked of my grandfather, it was asked with fear and trembling; the request was postponed to the last minute, and then made with hesitation and blushes and a confused utterance.³⁸

Ebenezer Snell, it appears, inherited many of the substantial but unattractive traits of his Puritan forebears.

³¹Ebenezer Snell to Moses Hallock, Cummington, 1797: "Watchman, what of the night? Is it not the latter part? How long, think, ere the day will break, and the shadows flee away?" Cyrus Yale, "The Godly Pastor." New York, n. d. p. 335.

³²Edwin K. Brown, "Memorial Address," in "Bryant Centennial, Cummington, August the Sixteenth, 1894." Springfield, 1894. p. 27.

³³H. Elmer Miller, "Sketches and Directory of the Town of Cummington." West Cummington, 1881. p. 18.

³⁴"Autobiography," p. 9. Bryant in the same connection recounts two similar anecdotes (p. 10).

³⁵Ebenezer Snell served five days in the company of Captain William Ward, August 17 to 22, 1777. ("Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War." Boston, 1896-1908. XIV, 591).

³⁶A. J. Symington, "William Cullen Bryant." New York, 1880. p. 16.

³⁷"The Old Man's Counsel," in "The Democratic Review," VII, 112-14 (February, 1840). The old man is identified as Ebenezer Snell in "Poetical Works," I, 356.

³⁸"Boys of My Boyhood," in "St. Nicholas Magazine," IV, 99 (December, 1876).



SARAH SNELL BRYANT

(Miniature in the possession of the New York Historical Society)

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The daughter, Sarah, had much in common with Deacon Snell; but her Puritanism was more agreeable. This mellowing was possibly due to the good influence of her mother, whom Bryant recalled as a woman "of a mild, affectionate nature," and one who "cared tenderly for her grandchildren." For the latter, she was accustomed to draw in chalk on the floor, "Old Crooktail," as she called him—a human figure with tail, hoofs, and horns.³⁹ Sarah Snell, herself, was in person an ideal pioneer type, erect, tall, strong, and active;⁴⁰ in riding horseback, she was accustomed to spring unaided into the saddle from the ground.⁴¹ Her education at the academy⁴² was limited by circumstances to "the ordinary English branches;" but this knowledge she supplemented by considerable reading.⁴³ Her son recalled, for example, that as a child he heard his mother speak contemptuously of Alexander Pope because, although she reluctantly admired his ability, she considered his "Epistle on the Characters of Women" a libel on her sex. Sarah Snell was a notable economist and, according to her son, the possessor of "excellent practical sense."⁴⁴ Her great-great-grandfather Thomas, it will be recalled, had been the largest landholder in early Bridgewater;⁴⁵ succeeding generations had left their names in Snell Meadows and Snell Plain;⁴⁶ and now Deacon Ebenezer was one of the most successful farmers in Cummington.⁴⁷ As befitted such ancestry, Bryant's mother was a thrifty woman.⁴⁸ The easy generosity of Doctor Peter Bryant toward the destitute of the community so distressed her that, even after her husband's death, she wrote with irritation to her son Cyrus: "Your father lost more than little by attending on the poor."⁴⁹

Sarah Snell was, of course, distinctly religious. Her moral judgment appears to have been intuitive and ready: her son observed that she was prompt in condemnation of injustice and impatient of deceit;⁵⁰ and an

³⁹"Autobiography," p. 11.

⁴⁰Brown in "Bryant Centennial," p. 30.

⁴¹Arthur Bryant in "The Bryant Celebration of the Chicago Literary Club." Chicago, 1875. p. 14.

⁴²Henrietta S. Nahmer, "Bryant's New England Home," in "New England Magazine," XII, 74 (March, 1892).

⁴³Unidentified associate of Bryant in "The Evening Post," June 12, 1878. See also Mary J. Lamb, "William Cullen Bryant in History," in "Magazine of American History," XXIII, 4 (January, 1890).

⁴⁴"Autobiography," p. 4.

⁴⁵Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

⁴⁶*Idem*, pp. 295, 296; "Autobiography," p. 8.

⁴⁷This is evidenced by his large holdings in land.

⁴⁸Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁴⁹Letter to Cyrus Bryant, Cummington, May 8, 1832, in the possession of Miss Grace Bryant, of Princeton, Illinois.

⁵⁰"Autobiography," p. 4.

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acquaintance likewise noted that "her loathing for a drunkard was equalled only by her detestation of a liar."⁵¹ The militant nature of her Christianity was evidenced one militia day when she and four other women rode on a rail one Christopher Coulson, a notorious wife-beater.⁵² In Sarah's speech, there appeared at times her father's acidity. For example, she made this entry in her diary: "Mr —— pretended to preach."⁵³ On leaving Cummington for the last time, she declared: "I desire to leave the place to their own destruction."⁵⁴ Her piety and her severity, however, did not render her wholly unattractive. As a lover, Peter Bryant was able to term her "Sweet Sallie Snell."⁵⁵ After her death, her son, likewise, wrote of her smile brighter than the May sun, of her hand fairer than the "fair white blossom of the wood," and of her voice sweeter than the "small bird's mingled notes."⁵⁶

The temperament of Sarah Snell Bryant and the conditions of her life were reflected in the diary which she maintained from 1794 to her death. The first volume was an elegant leather-bound diary for ladies;⁵⁷ the fifty-two succeeding volumes were mere pamphlets, cut from brown paper and bound with her own hands. Through these years, she recorded, without a single hiatus, the items which she considered memorable: the direction of the wind, the weather, her daily labors, illnesses and deaths, an occasional visitor, comings and goings of the family.⁵⁸ Persistent, plodding, and unimaginative, she revealed herself as the perfect housewife for a rigorous frontier community.

Wife and husband were, in personality, diametrical opposites, a difference perhaps induced, certainly increased, by unlike parentage and early environment. Placed by an amiable but somewhat ineffectual father with a miserly uncle, Peter Bryant, after six years of heavy labor, ran away to his own home. There he found his stepmother a more severe taskmaster than the uncle. Thus circumscribed in opportunities and

⁵¹Unidentified associate of Bryant, in "The Evening Post," June 12, 1878.

⁵²Recollections of Austin Bryant, cited by Brown in "The Bryant Record." Princeton, 1898. pp. 16, 17.

⁵³Cited in "Life and Poems of John Howard Bryant," Introduction, p. 9.

⁵⁴Letter to Cyrus Bryant, Cummington, May 8, 1832, in the possession of Miss Grace Bryant, of Princeton, Illinois.

⁵⁵J. G. Wilson, quoted in Symington, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁵⁶"Lines," in "The Knickerbocker" . . . , XXXIX, 447 (May, 1852). Bryant stated to J. G. Wilson: "The verses were . . . suggested by the death of my mother." (James Grant Wilson, "Bryant, and His Friends." . . . New York, 1886. p. 104.)

⁵⁷The volume is now in the possession of Mr. William Cullen Bryant, of Kirkwood, Illinois.

⁵⁸These volumes were for many years preserved by her descendants in Princeton, Illinois. Passages have been printed in various journals; unpublished extracts made by J. H. Bryant are in the possession of Mrs. Frances Bryant Bannister, of Phoenix, Arizona.

NOVEMBER 9, 1794.	
Paid.	MEMORANDUMS and REMARKS.
	M. 3 Stormy wind N.W. Churned - Dinnell. seven at Night a Son Born Mamma & Mrs Shawhere.
	Tu. 4 Clear wind N.W. got up. Mamma's Cobb Come. Mamma went home. ~~Mamma went~~
	W. 5 Clear wind N.W. sat up all day. went into the kitchen Mr Javes died - Buried at nine in the evening. nothing done
	Th. 6 Clear wind N.W. mamma come & baking done. Snowing & freezing sat up all day. Mamma went to Mr
	F. 7 Clear wind N.W. mamma went to Mr Shaw - Capt Baten Child died. Capt Baten died.
	Sa. 8 Clear wind N.W. Mamma's Child died
	Su. 9 Clear wind N.W. Cold windy. Mrs Shaw here at noon

PAGE FROM DIARY OF SARAH SNELL BRYANT,
RECORDING BIRTH OF WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT,
NOVEMBER 4, 1794

(Original in the possession of William Cullen Bryant,
of Kirkwood, Illinois)

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thwarted in his aspirations, the youth still managed to acquire the foundations of a liberal education, as well as a substantial professional training in medicine.⁵⁹ Furthermore, these arduous years not only sharpened his keen, acquisitive mind, but also intensified his love of beauty. Peter Bryant once made himself a base viol, he played pleasingly on the violin, and he liked music of all kinds.⁶⁰ Although dancing was viewed with suspicion by the serious-minded, he defended it on sound aesthetic grounds.⁶¹ His son records that he "delighted in poetry" and knew most of the eminent English poets.⁶² Finally, Peter Bryant was himself a not unskillful versifier. His effusions of 1787 to 1791 are preserved in manuscript in two small volumes, which their author seriously termed his "Poetical Works."⁶³ The verses written in 1789-90 at Norton are chiefly amatory; among them, a spirited "Invocation to Cyder" is a refreshing variant. A few lines will indicate the extent of the young gentleman's ability and the masters whom he followed:

Hail October! grateful juice,
Long barrell'd for the Farmer's use!
Come gurgling from thy dark recess
And aid thy votary in distress!
Come let thy subtle fumes arise,
And brighten all my faculties.
Let thy afflatus all divine
Equal Apollo's or the Nine!

.

O Cyder, good as Rum or Gin!
Let one *hiatus* take thee in;
Give me a portion of that fire,
Which erst did Hudibras inspire,
When he invok'd his mug of Ale
Descriptive bard! and told his tale!⁶⁴

⁵⁹For an account of Peter Bryant's youth, see his autobiographical letter, discovered about 1880 by John Howard Bryant and printed in Godwin, *op. cit.*, I, 52-54.

⁶⁰"Autobiography," p. 3.

⁶¹Eight-page manuscript essay on dancing in the possession of Miss Grace Bryant, of Princeton, Illinois.

⁶²"Autobiography," p. 2.

⁶³"Poems Miscellaneous and Marceau," Vol. III (pp. 1-46, 57, 58) contains what appear to be preliminary versions. "Poems Miscellaneous and Marceau" (pp. 1-56) contains, in the main, carefully transcribed final versions. Its contents include twenty-seven poems, nineteen of which appear in earlier forms in "Poems Miscellaneous and Marceau," Vol. III. The two volumes are in the possession of Miss Grace Bryant, of Princeton, Illinois.

⁶⁴"Poems," III, 21, 22. A second version appears in "Poems," 35-37, 55, 56. The poem has never before been printed.

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Three poems of the seventeen written at Norton were published, unsigned, in "The Massachusetts Magazine" during 1790.⁶⁵ The verses of 1790-91, written after Peter's return to Bridgewater, are wider in range, touching not only on love, but on education and politics, life and death.⁶⁶ His models were obviously the poems of Pope, Shenstone, and Thomson. After Peter Bryant's marriage in Cummington, his muse limited herself to satirical and patriotic efforts, usually on local themes.⁶⁷

Peter Bryant is revealed in his early poems as a gallant admirer of the fair sex. Leaving "Delia"⁶⁸ in Bridgewater, he journeyed to Norton and was enraptured by a fair stranger, "Laura," whom he "squired to the ball on the Green,"⁶⁹ addressed in a verse epistle,⁷⁰ and wooed in charming "Verses addressed to Miss P. L.":

The Bard has seen a virgin cheek,
With Nature's dye as richly glow;
Has seen a bosom that like her's [*sic*]
Rivall'd in whiteness virgin Snow:

But he had never yet beheld a belle who

Can shew so exquisite a form
Where Nature so distinctly tells—
"In this fair shrine, the gift of Heaven
A fairer, gentler *Spirit* dwells."⁷¹

"Laura," according to the evidence of one of the young gentleman's acrostics,⁷² was a certain Miss Prudence Leonard, of Taunton.⁷³ In the following year, Peter addressed further amorous verses to "Julia" or

⁶⁵"The Complaint" in "The Massachusetts Magazine," II, 375, 376 (June, 1790); "Thoughts Upon a Young Lady's Elopement," in *idem*, II, 375; "Song" in *idem*, II, 503 (August, 1790).

⁶⁶"An Ode Sung by a Society for Promoting Knowledge," "Poems . . .," III, 38, 39; "Poems . . .," pp. 40, 41; "Ode Composed for the Anniversary of American Independence," "Poems . . .," pp. 42, 43; "Lines to Content" in "The Massachusetts Magazine," III, 246 (April, 1791); "Elegy Sacred to the Memory of Mehitabel Snell," "Poems . . .," pp. 29, 30. Mehitabel was cousin to Sarah Snell (Kingman, *op. cit.*, p. 643).

⁶⁷A satirical poem on a fellow physician was printed in "The Hampshire Gazette," November 16, 1803, and a second ode on the Fourth of July appeared in the same journal, July 10, 1811, and in "The Columbian Centinel," July 13, 1811.

⁶⁸"Delia—Ode," "Poems . . .," III, 31-33; "Poems . . .," pp. 30, 31.

⁶⁹"Song to Miss P. L. of Taunton," "Poems . . .," III, 16-18; "Poems . . .," pp. 10-12.

⁷⁰"Epistle to Miss P. L.," "Poems . . .," III, 25-30; "Poems . . .," pp. 21-23 [incomplete].

⁷¹"Poems . . .," III, 19; "Poems . . .," pp. 8, 9. The references to "Miss P. L." do not appear in the revised drafts.

⁷²"Poems . . .," III, 24.

⁷³She was probably Prudence Leonard, born May 17, 1773, daughter of Solomon Leonard (Manning Leonard, "Memorial . . . of Solomon Leonard." . . . Southbridge [1896]. p. 113). For "The Ancestral Line from Adam and Eve [*sic*] to James Leonard" [first ancestor of Prudence in America], see Fanny L. Koster, "Annals of the Leonard Family." [New York], 1911. pp. 198-203.

Addressed to L. H.

*Pro omnino
Effusus labor* — Hor —

When Davius did his studies undertake,
And vainly thought he should a Scholar make,
The expectations of all Men were raised,
Some were surpris'd — and others were amazed.
All were concerned, though differently affected,
Some laugh'd, some scold'd, — others were displeased.
Some thought he would in scholarship excel: —
While others thought — forgive me if I tell! —
They thought — and spoke deliberately cool, —
Shall Davius learn? — pho! Davius a fool! —
They deem'd him void of Charity, of sense,
A very dolt, a block head, and a dunce. —
But the more liberal wish'd he might succeed,
And hop'd at last the dunce would learn to read.
For Pedagogues, and eke Divines agree,
That Idiots should be taught their A. B. C. —
The good Philanthropist thus pray'd with tears
"O Lord prolong his life a thousand years!
"For naught but the all-forming hand of Jove,
"The sovereign power of him who reigns above,
"Can ever refine, and purge his sickly brain,
"The rules of Speech and Grammar to retain.
"But time (perhaps) how long we cannot tell
"May equal him with reverend Senior Snell
"Come, Davius, then, come listen to my lore,
"And murder Virgil's sacred page no more!"

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"Miss L.,"⁷⁴ apparently the same Miss Prudence. She was now betrothed to another: and the young medical student was in anguish. Had he but arrived earlier, he might have been more successful; now, he must depart:

Alas! I must—'tis Prudence bids me go.⁷⁵

In a few months, however, he was able to compose with much the same ardor in honor of "Amanda"⁷⁶ (Miss Jane Orr, of Bridgewater)⁷⁷ and "Eliza," who honored him with a lock of her hair.⁷⁸ Finally, the poet devoted himself to a certain "Stella," to whom, on August 20, 1791, he addressed the poem, "Stella of the West." His new flame, it appears, was a young lady of great sensibility:

How shall I paint her lovely mind
Where thousand beauties meet;
Taste, sense, and elegance refin'd,
A temper mild and sweet
Touched by the story of distress
Soft pity heaves her breast;
Large as her soul, may heaven bless
Fair *Stella* of the *West*!

If Peter Bryant's verses spoke the truth, he was deeply attached to Stella:

While in her soul each virtue shines
And *truth* and *honour* move;
An heavenly "innocence refines
The tenderness of love"
O, were this lovely charmer mine
In all her beauties drest;
I'd freely every Fair resign
For *Stella* of the *West*!⁷⁹

Since "Stella" was the last sweetheart to appear in Peter Bryant's verses, and since there is a tradition that Sarah Snell was in Bridgewater not long before young Doctor Bryant left for Cummington,⁸⁰ it is possible that "Stella" may have been Sallie Snell. This attractive hypothesis

⁷⁴"The Complaint," *op. cit.*, II, 375, 376; "Written extempore upon seeing The Amiable Miss L. Dance," "Poems . . .," III, 34, 35; "Poems . . .," pp. 15, 16.

⁷⁵"The Farewell," "Poems . . .," III, 12-14; "Poems . . .," pp. 18-20.

⁷⁶"The Rose," "Poems . . .," III, 15; "Poems . . .," pp. 4, 5.

⁷⁷Her identity was revealed by Peter Bryant in his "Acrostic Unmodish," "Poems . . .," III, 23. She was probably Jane Orr born in 1768, daughter of Robert Orr (Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 251).

⁷⁸"Inscription on a Lock of Hair," "Poems . . .," III, 46; "Poems . . .," p. 12; "Ode II," "Poems . . .," pp. 13-15.

⁷⁹"Poems . . .," pp. 46, 47. The poem has not heretofore been printed.

⁸⁰Tradition records that Peter Bryant migrated from Bridgewater to Cummington for love of Sarah Snell. This would, of course, require a meeting subsequent to her departure from Bridgewater at the age of six. (See Symington, *op. cit.*, p. 16.)

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is strengthened by the fact that Peter Bryant, in later revising his poems, was careful to delete the initials "P. L." from titles and dedications, and to substitute the name of "Stella" for "Laura" and "Julia."

Once at Cummington, the young gentleman became ardently devoted to his profession and to politics. Peter Bryant was untiring in meeting the demands of a large country practice.⁸¹ uncommonly expert as a surgeon,⁸² constant in his study of medicine,⁸³ active in the Massachusetts Medical Society,⁸⁴ and successful in directing the young men who studied medicine with him.⁸⁵ Typical of his attitude was his early and continuous advocacy of inoculation for small-pox.⁸⁶ Recognition came in 1806 when Williams College granted him the degree of Master of Arts,⁸⁷ and again in 1815 when Harvard University granted him a degree in medicine.⁸⁸ Hoping that he might train a son to succeed him, Peter Bryant named his second child William Cullen,⁸⁹ after an eminent Scottish physician;⁹⁰ but the father's profession was to have but little further effect on the boy. Peter Bryant's interests were so catholic that he inevitably participated in public affairs. A conscientious Federalist, he was sent by his townsmen to the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1806 to 1809 and from 1811 to 1813,⁹¹ and by Hampshire County to the state Senate in 1817.⁹² Nor is it without significance that, although a professional man, he was appointed justice of the peace from 1809 to 1816.⁹³ In 1812, Doctor Bryant was a delegate to a conference at Northampton which protested (July 22) to the President of the United States against the embargo and against war with Great Britain.⁹⁴ These activities were to influence his son, Cullen.

⁸¹Porter, *op. cit.*, Second Series, X, 45; "Autobiography," p. 3.

⁸²Professor Amos Eaton of The Rensselaer School of Troy, quoted in *idem*, p. 2.

⁸³Lamb in "Magazine of American History," XXIII, 4.

⁸⁴"Medical Communications of the Massachusetts Medical Society," II, vi (1813); III, 2 (1822). He regularly attended the meetings in Boston (Symington, *op. cit.*, p. 18).

⁸⁵Jacob Porter, *op. cit.*, Second Series, X, 45.

⁸⁶"Dr. Peter Bryant advertises that having provided a hospital and other suitable accommodations for inoculation, *any person wishing to take the small-pox* will be attended to." ("Hampshire Gazette," September 12, 1794.) See also four learned and carefully documented articles on small-pox by Dr. Bryant in the same journal (August 10, 24; November 16; December 7, 1803).

⁸⁷"Records of the Doings of the Corporation of Williams College [in manuscript], September 2, 1806.

⁸⁸First recorded in "Catalogus Harvardianus." Cambridge, 1830. p. 67.

⁸⁹Symington, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁹⁰Born in 1710, William Cullen died four years before his namesake was born. ("D. N. B.," XIII, 279-282).

⁹¹"Massachusetts Register," Boston, 1807-10; 1812-14.

⁹²*Idem*, 1818.

⁹³*Idem*, 1809-16. Justices tried petty cases and were considered men of authority and standing in the community.

⁹⁴"Hampshire Gazette," July 15, 22, 1812.

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In manner, this Federalist physician was as kindly as his father-in-law was brusque. Gentle in voice and reserved in bearing, he never sought but keenly enjoyed social intercourse. A Cummington farmer delighted to recall that Squire Bryant always had a bow and a kind word even for the youngest; his patients he allowed to pay what they liked; his son found him possessed of "a mild and indulgent temper."⁹⁵ Toward his servants, both white and black, he was democratic, for he seated them at dinner with his family.⁹⁶ His scrupulousness in dress equalled Sarah Snell's scrupulousness in morals; he wore blue broadcloth cut in the Boston fashion and carried himself with an air which led observers to conclude him a city gentleman visiting in the Berkshires. He was never an exponent of frugality. In fact, Cullen was to be impressed by his "want of attention to the main chance," as contrasted with his wife's economy.⁹⁷ Due to this carelessness in money matters, he left his estate financially involved.⁹⁸ A picturesque and attractive figure, the Doctor was beloved in the community. "His funeral," stated his neighbor and one-time pupil, Jacob Porter, "was attended . . . by the largest collection that I recollect to have been seen in the town on any similar occasion."⁹⁹ His son recorded:

. . . and, therefore, when the earth
Received thee, tears were in unyielding eyes
And on hard cheeks, and they who deemed thy skill
Delayed their death-hour, shuddered and turned pale
When thou wert gone.¹⁰⁰

Such were the men and women whose "continuity of lives" richly endowed William Cullen Bryant. The first forebears at Plymouth and Duxbury were strikingly uniform in character—prosperous, God-fearing pioneers of substantial English stock. Moving westward, their children began to separate into two distinct types. The Bryant men, numerically a pronounced minority in the group, were not so successful in the affairs of this world as were the Packards, the Howards, the Snells, and their kin; but they were freer in spirit and more individualistic. These divergencies became acute in the last representatives of the two trends, Sallie

⁹⁵"Autobiography," p. 3.

⁹⁶"Life and Poems of John Howard Bryant," Introduction, p. 7.

⁹⁷"Autobiography," p. 3; Symington, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁹⁸"Life and Poems of John Howard Bryant," Introduction, pp. 12, 13.

⁹⁹Jacob Porter, *op. cit.*, Second Series, X, 44.

¹⁰⁰"Hymn to Death" in "New York Review," I, 388-392 (October, 1825). "This poem . . . was interrupted by the death of the poet's father . . . to whom the solemn and tender lines at the close refer." ("Poetical Works." New York, 1883. I, 335.)

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Snell and Peter Bryant. Had these two been living in England a century and a half earlier, and had each been entirely consistent, they would have been foes divided by civil strife, she among the Puritan group and he among the Cavaliers. In reality, the sedate Sarah and the colorful Peter, as wife and husband, formed a highly efficient combination of opposites, each complementing the other. When the heritage of the two was united in the personality of William Cullen Bryant, there resulted a conflict of ideals which continued through his youth and early manhood, directing his sentiments and his actions, and bearing him "by a secret influence, on, and on."



American Genealogical Sources and Genealogical Limitations

BY JOEL N. ENO, A. M., BROOKLYN, N. Y.



GENEALOGY, in any proper and true sense, is dependent upon the existence of family and vital records, of births, marriages and deaths of consecutive generations, verifiable by dates and places; these records are the genealogical sources; and the lack of such records is the chief genealogical limitation.

The main racial element of the early settlers of the thirteen American colonies which became the United States, is known by the general name Anglo-Saxon, or more exactly is Norse-Saxon, from England and the Lowlands of Scotland.

The Britons in the vicinity of London in 449 A. D., called in the Jutes, said to be from Jutland in the south of Denmark, to aid them in repelling the Picts and Scots of the present Scotland, who were rushing for the rich plunder of the valley of the Thames River, the best cultivated part of old Britain.

The invaders having been repelled, the Britons attempted to compound with the Jutes by granting to them the little island of Thanet, which the Jutes considered a very inadequate reward; and they retained a part of Kent also, from which the Britons tried in 455 to expel them; but the Jutes, collecting greater forces, conquered Kent in 473; their allies, the Saxons from Holstein and northern Hanover, having invaded the southern coast of Britain in 455. In 477, the Saxons besieged the fortress of Andreda, now Pevensey in Sussex, took it, and in 479 were in possession of South-Seaxe, now Sussex with a large part of Surrey. Other Saxons about the same time crossed the Thames and settled East-Seaxe, now Essex.

A larger body of Saxons in 495 were in Hampshire, pushing northward to the Thames, and westward to Bristol Channel, and nearly to Cornwall; forming the kingdom of West-Seaxe, or Wessex. In 556 they had won all the lands south of the Thames westward to Salisbury and Marlborough Downs; and their final push gave them Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Worcestershire, and western Gloucestershire. Their conquest was the most thorough and complete of Germanic conquests.

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Gildas, himself a Briton, gives no hint of the existence of a Briton on the conquered territory, reduced to servitude, as was the custom in those times, for disposal of captives taken in war; except in one surrender. (J. R. Green, "The Making of England," pp. 130-40.)

The Angles from Sleswick, where there is still a district Angeln, first appear on the east coast of England about 455. They established the kingdom of East Anglia in 519; later divided into two provinces: Northfolc (Norfolk), and Suthfolc (Suffolk). Other Angles spread northward nearly to the Firth of Forth in Scotland, and westward to the borders of Wales; forming the kingdom of Mercia south of the Humber River, and the kingdom of Northumbria north of the Humber. From the fact that the Angles of Northumbria first developed a literature, the literary name of the whole country was Engla-land (England), and the language Aenglisc (English). The Cymri or Welsh still retained the kingdom of Strath-Clyde, the southern part of which was taken over by the Norman kings in 1100 as County Cumberland. Hordes of Danes, 874-878, gained a foothold in the eastern part of the Anglian territory, as far north as the Tees River, and obtained by treaty from Alfred the Great nearly half way across England westward: called the Danelagh; and a Norman layer overlaid all England and the Scottish Lowlands, beginning in 1066 A. D.

Nearly all of the forty counties of England were represented among the early settlers of the thirteen American colonies; but chiefly those parts not far from ports or navigable rivers. In America they spread from two chief nuclei: from the Massachusetts Bay Colony into Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Long Island, and northern New Jersey; later, from New England into New York and Vermont. These settlers were of good stock, mainly from the English middle class, few being particularly wealthy, and few abjectly poor; Puritan in religion, supporters of general public elementary education, and of Harvard College, especially for providing an educated ministry as intellectual and moral leaders of the people; most of the immigrating ministers of the first generation being graduates of Cambridge in England, which was largely under Non-Conformist influence, as Oxford University was under Church of England influence.

The Puritans originally did not propose to leave the Church of England, but to reform it from within from excessive ceremonialism and ecclesiastical compulsion to minute conformity to episcopal decrees; and their records of christening, marriage and burial were in the parish registers.

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Before 1538, except for a few fitful parish entries, especially of burials, parish registers were almost unknown in England, as on the Continent. Of forty registers alleged to be of earlier date, close scrutiny reduces them to eighteen; several of the alleged dates being due to mistakes in reading dates; as 1516 for 1576, and 1530 for 1570. Of the eighteen, Tipton, 1513, and Altham in Lancashire, 1518, are the oldest. The plan of a parish register for each English parish, we owe to Thomas Cromwell, lord privy seal to Henry VIII, whom he in 1535 appointed his vicar-general, after Henry had assumed the headship of the Church of England. Cromwell's registration order, dated September 5, 1538, is "that you and every person, vicare and curate . . . shall for every church kepe one boke or registere wherein ye shall write the day and yere of every weddyng christenyng and buryeng made within yor parish for your tyme, and so every man succeedyng you lykewise. And there shall these insert every persons name that shalbe so weddid christened or buried. . . . And for every tyme that the same shall be omytted, the partie that shalbe in the fault thereof shall forfeit to the said Church III s. IIII d. to be employed on the reparation of the same church." The first registers appear to have been written upon paper, for cheapness; but on account of the perishability of the paper and the ink, it is very rare to find an undoubted original register beginning as early as 1538. Ninety-five per cent. of the existing old registers are transcripts made toward the end of Elizabeth's reign, or under James I, on parchment or vellum; and the majority of the early registers are in Latin, which was abandoned for English under the Commonwealth.

The foregoing shows a general time-limitation as to tracing the genealogy of untitled families in public records; and we must not forget that parish registers contributed greatly to the retention and permanence of surnames or family names; for though surnames were introduced by the Norman nobles and owners of estates, hereditary surnames were uncommon even in the twelfth century; and it was not until the fourteenth century that the non-landholding classes took fixed surnames; the lack of which renders their genealogy impossible.

A good beginning has been made in the publication of English parish registers; the largest collection being W. P. W. Phillimore's parish register series; part of those of Berkshire; Bucks (9 Vols.), Cambridgeshire (8 Vols.), Cheshire (17 Vols.), Cornwall (25 Vols.), Cumberland (2 Vols), Derbyshire (15 Vols), Devonshire (2 Vols.), Devonshire and

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Cornwall Record Society (10 Parts), Durham and Northumberland Parish Register Society (36 Vols.), Dorsetshire (7 Vols.), Essex (4 Vols.), Gloucestershire (17 Vols.), Hampshire (16 Vols.), Hertfordshire (6 Vols.), Huntingdonshire (1 Vol.), Kent (2 Vols.), Leicestershire (12 Vols.), Lincolnshire (11 Vols.), London (4 Vols.), Middlesex (1 Vol.), Norfolk (12 Vols.), Northamptonshire (2 Vols.), Nottinghamshire (23 Vols.), Oxfordshire (2 Vols.), Somersetshire (15 Vols.), Suffolk (17 Vols.), Wiltshire (14 Vols.), Worcestershire (2 Vols.), Warwickshire (3 Vols.).

The Bucks (Buckinghamshire) Parish Register Society has published 19 Vols.; Durham and Northumberland Parish Register Society, 36 Vols.; Lancashire Parish Register Society, 64 Vols.; Shropshire Parish Register Society, 47 Vols.; Staffordshire, 36 Vols.; Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 81 Vols.; Surrey Parish Register Society, 16 Vols.; Harleian Society Publications, Register Series, London churches, 51 Vols. (All the foregoing are in N. Y. Public Library, Room 328.)

The possession of a permanent family name dignified the common man, who by it became in a degree titled; and gave him the honor of his family name to preserve; and showed him that he was a unit, a real individual, at least in the parish in which he lived, and also showed the same truth to the parish officers; and under the Puritan awakening showed further, that he was an individual in the sight of God, and a responsible one. In the absence of newspapers and communication, his parish became his world, both to officer and parishioner, and its government the epitome of government; in fact, the English parish government, transferred by congregations bodily to New England, became the town government, a local democratic self-government, the germ of general and national self-government. The combination of ecclesiastical and royal rule which had existed for centuries, increasingly monarchical and despotic, came to a head in the principle of James I, the first of the Stuart kings, "If they will not conform, I will harry them out of the kingdom"; this was the moving cause of the Puritan emmigration to New England, 1630 to 1642, and the Civil War in England beginning at the latter date; of the removal of Charles I, the son and successor of James I; and of the experiment of governing England without a hereditary king, by a temporary Protector, a House of Peers and a more powerful House of Commons, the whole foreshadowing the President, Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States. The opening of the Civil War in

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England revealed a geographical division of sentiment there, the North and West, royalist, supporters of kingly power, against the South and East, supporters of Parliamentary power. Before the test in war, the English people, naturally conservative and respectful of duly constituted authority, deemed that the only alternative to obedience to their rulers was exile; hence some 20,000 emigrated to New England; whence in the next century their star led them westward, first to the richer lands revealed to them in their advance against their French and Indian combined enemies in New York and Vermont; a second emigration, inspired by the same inducement led them after the Revolution into western New York and northern Ohio; whence by the Great Lakes and the Erie Canal, finished in 1825, they reached, about 1850, the Mississippi Valley and Michigan; so onward by stages to the Pacific.

Whence the New Englanders came in England, was determined in the main by their Puritanism. There were more Puritans in the East and South of England; hence naturally more emigrants from London, Norfolk and Suffolk; but the Puritans were in more danger in the West of England, hence emigration from Bristol, and the ports of Devonshire; Some in Winthrop's fleet, in 1630, came from this region and settled Dorchester; Weymouth, made a town in 1635, perpetuates the name of Weymouth in Dorsetshire; Dartmouth and Barnstable, Massachusetts, and Exeter, New Hampshire, commemorate Dartmouth, Barnstable and Exeter in Devonshire; Bridgewater and Taunton, towns in Somersetshire; Amesbury, Marlborough and Salisbury, towns in Wiltshire.

The main starting point for colonization of the southern colonies was Virginia. As the towns and the navy formed the strength of the Parliamentary party in England, and the largest landowners the strength of the royalist or Cavalier party, the colonization of Virginia, led by the Cavaliers, was characterized by the acquisition of great tracts of land, for aristocratic estates or manor-like plantations, to be worked by the labor class, which had been neutral in the Civil War; brought over at the expense of their masters, who acquired a headright to land for each immigrant so brought over; or as servants, indentured for a term of years for payment of the cost of their passage. The result of the working out of this principle and system, was the production of an upper or aristocratic class of society, and a lower class, or the poor whites. The introduction of slaves, beginning 1619, resulted in the substitution of a negro servant class, and finally left the "poor whites" stranded, as supernumeraries, for

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the most part out of any permanent job; had it not been that unsettled land was abundant, that the ambitious could easily obtain some land; and all freeholders being by charter entitled to vote, Virginia, though socially aristocratic, became politically republican. (Cooke, "Virginia.") Ecclesiastically, its policy, 1624-32, required conformity to the Church of England, and the taking of the oath of supremacy and allegiance to the king. The Commonwealth, on coming into power, recognizing the political republicanism of Virginia, in 1652, on the acceptance of the Commonwealth government, allowed its citizens the privileges of free-born Englishmen, confirmed the power of their Assembly, granted free trade, and compromised on the election of a Governor, who was Richard Bennet, an adherent of the Commonwealth.

Virginia included the present Kentucky, and also expanded southward into North Carolina; later into southern Ohio, Missouri, and westward. A considerable number of the great proprietors were from the north of England, especially Yorkshire. Their children might obtain education in private schools; but the lack of public education, the scattered location of the plantations, and the county system of government and the great size of the counties, all discouraged the deposit of public vital records; and the negligence as to the preservation of county records, left many to moulder into illegibility, and many of those preserved were destroyed in the field and in the track of the Civil War. Hence a great part of the South is barren of the material for family history.

The third nucleus or starting point for colonization of the United States, started after New England and Virginia had received most of their colonial immigrants, namely: Philadelphia, at first sharing with Newcastle, now in Delaware. This immigration began in 1682. William Penn, having acquired from the king of England the proprietorship of the province of Pennsylvania, in payment of a debt owed to his father, Admiral Penn, and adding by purchase West Jersey, corresponding mostly to the southern half of New Jersey, invited settlers from England, Ireland, and Germany. The English, mainly Quakers, settled in counties Chester, Philadelphia, etc.; a Welsh colony in the Welsh tract south of Philadelphia, and the Germans, called Palatines (because mainly from the County Palatine, or the Palatinate on the Middle Rhine), west of the Quakers. Thirty thousand, on taking the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania, arrived mainly from 1727 to 1773.

These last were, with rare exceptions, of the peasant class, having no

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estate and no history in Germany; compelled by poverty and famine following in the track of successive wars, to leave their country; and coming in response to the offer of free lands by Penn, and mostly in English ships; their family history, traceable no farther back than the passenger lists of those ships, and the date of their oath of allegiance on arrival in Pennsylvania.

The final wave of the Penn immigration, was the Presbyterian immigration from Ulster Province in the north of Ireland, more than nine-tenths of which came from Scotland in the seventeenth century. Arriving on the heels of the Germans, they found left the lands west of the Germans toward the Alleghany mountains; thence later pushing southward into western Maryland, the Shenandoah Valley, West Virginia and North Carolina, which then included Tennessee.

CHIEF AMERICAN GENEALOGICAL SOURCES.

STATE AND NATIONAL.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1847-1928, 82 Vols.; with Index to Vols. 1-50.

Savage, Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, 4 Vols.

Waters, Genealogical Gleanings in England, 3 Vols. Published first in the New England Historical & Genealogical Register.

Cutter, New England Families, 3 Series, 4 Vols. each.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Encyclopedia of Massachusetts, 13 Vols.

Pope, Pioneers of Massachusetts.

Cutter, Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Massachusetts, 4 Vols.

Putnam's Monthly Magazine, 7 Vols., continued as Genealogical Quarterly Magazine, 5 Vols.

Boston and Eastern Massachusetts, 4 Vols.

Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts (Bristol, Barnstable and Plymouth counties) 3 Vols.

Mayflower Descendants, 26 Vols.

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Essex Institute Historical Collections, 50 Vols.

Essex Antiquarian, 13 Vols.

Bailey, Early Massachusetts Marriages, 3 Vols.

GENEALOGICAL SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS

U. S. Census, 1790; Massachusetts. Names of Heads of Families.
Genealogical Advertiser, 4 Vols.
Heraldic Journal, 4 Vols.
Vital Records to 1850 of about two-thirds of Massachusetts towns.

CONNECTICUT.

U. S. Census of 1790.
Connecticut Records of Service of Connecticut Men in the Revolution, War of 1812, and Mexican War.
Cutter, Genealogical and Family History of the State of Connecticut, 4 Vols.
Bailey, Early Connecticut Marriages, 7 Vols.
Hinman, Catalogue of Names of the First Puritan Settlers of Connecticut.

PENNSYLVANIA.

U. S. Census of 1790.
Egle, Pennsylvania Genealogies.
Egle, Notes and Queries, 4 Series, 7 Volumes.
Egle, Historical Register, 2 Vols.
Egle, Annual Vols. 1896-99, 4 Vols.
Egle, Names of Foreigners (Germans) Who Took the Oath of Allegiance to Pennsylvania, 1727-73, and 1786-1804.
Rupp, Collection of 30,000 Names of Emigrants to Pennsylvania, 1727-76.
Jordan, Colonial and Revolutionary Families of Pennsylvania, 3 Vols.
Jordan, Genealogical and Personal History of Northern Pennsylvania, 3 Vols.
Jordan, Genealogical and Personal History of Western Pennsylvania, 3 Vols.
Pennsylvania Marriages, in Pennsylvania Archives, 2d Series, Vols. 8, 9.

VIRGINIA.

Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 36 Vols.
William & Mary College Quarterly, Series 1, 27 Vols.; Series 2, 7 Vols.; continued by Tyler's Historical & Genealogical Magazine, 8 Vols., to date.
Hayden, Virginia Genealogies.

GENEALOGICAL SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS

Greer, Early Virginia Immigrants.

Virginia County Records, 10 Vols. Vol. 8, Key to Southern Pedigrees (mainly Virginia families).

Boogher, Gleanings of Virginia History.

McAllister, Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War.

Burgess, Virginia Soldiers of 1776, 2 Vols.

Chalkley, Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish (Western Virginia), 3 Vols.

NORTH CAROLINA.

North Carolina Records, 30 Vols., of which Vol. 26 is the U. S. Census of 1790; also issued in the U. S. set.

North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register, 3 Vols.

Grimes, Abstract of North Carolina Wills, 1663-80.

Olds, Abstracts of North Carolina Wills, 1760-1800.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

U. S. Census of 1790.

South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, 1900-28, 29 Vols.

MARYLAND.

Calendar of Wills, 7 Vols.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

U. S. Census of 1790.

New Hampshire Genealogical Record, 6 Vols.

Stearns, Genealogical and Family History of the State of New Hampshire, 4 Vols.

MAINE.

U. S. Census of 1790.

Little, Genealogical and Family History of the State of Maine, 4 Vols.

Bangor Historical Magazine, 1885-95, 9 Vols.

Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder, 1884-98, 9 Vols.

RHODE ISLAND.

U. S. Census of 1790.

Arnold, Vital Records of Rhode Island, 21 Vols.

Representative Men and Old Families of Rhode Island, 3 Vols.

Rhode Island Historical Register, 7 Vols.

GENEALOGICAL SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS

Narragansett Historical Register, 9 Vols.
Austin, Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island.
Austin, Ancestry of Thirty-three Rhode Islanders.
Austin, One Hundred and Sixty Allied Families of Rhode Island.

VERMONT.

U. S. Census of 1790.
Hemenway, Vermont Historical Gazetteer, 5 Vols; and Index Vol.
Goodrich, Vermont Revolutionary Soldiers.
Carleton, Genealogical and Family History of Vermont, 2 Vols.

NEW YORK.

Bergen, Genealogies of the State of New York, L. I. Ed., 3 Vols.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, 1827-1928, 59 Vols.
Cutter, Genealogical and Family History of Central New York, 3 Vols.
Cutter, Genealogical and Family History of Northern New York, 3 Vols.
Cutter, Genealogical and Family History of Western New York, 3 Vols.
Reynolds, Genealogical and Family History of Southern New York, 3 Vols.
Pelletreau, Historic Homes and Institutions and Family History of New York, 4 Vols.
U. S Census of 1790; New York.
Fernow, New York in the Revolution.
Roberts, New York in the Revolution.
Talcott, Genealogical Notes of New York and New England Families.

NEW JERSEY.

Lee, Genealogical and Memorial History of New Jersey, 4 Vols.
N. J. Archives; Vol. 22, Marriages; 23, 30, 32, Abstracts of Wills.
Brumbaugh, Maryland Records, 2 Vols.

ALABAMA.

Saunders, Early Settlers of Alabama.

OHIO.

Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly, 15 Vols., 1898-1912.

GENEALOGICAL SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS

UTAH.

Genealogical and Historical Magazine, 1910-27, 18 Vols.

For recent genealogy, see county and town histories, and State biographical collections of western and southern States.

NATIONAL.

Mackenzie, Colonial Families of the U. S. A., 6 Vols. Vol. 7 by Rhoades.

Virkus, Abridged Compendium of American Genealogy, 2 Vols.

D. A. R. Lineage Books, 97 Vols. and Index to Vols. 1-40, 41-80.

American Ancestry, 12 Vols.

Appleson's Cyclopedia of American Biography, 6 Vols.

Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States, 7 Vols.

National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 19 Vols, with Index and 2 Current Vols.

Welles, American Family Antiquity, 3 Vols.

Browning, Americans of Royal Descent, 7th Ed. (with corrections).

Browning, Magna Charta Barons and Their American Descendants.

For genealogies of single families, consult Munsell's Index to American Genealogies, 5th Ed. and its Supplement.



Adams and Allied Families

By E. C. FINLEY, NEW YORK CITY.



AS a family, Adams, or Addams, can claim the distinction of having the oldest individual name on record. Adamah is the Hebrew for Adam, and means red earth or red. The name is variously spelled Adam, Adame, Adames, Adams, Adamch. The soft sound of "s" in the Anglo-Saxon was formerly not common, the more general form being a soft "ch" as Adamch. Hence the various spellings would seem to have the same pronunciation. The Adams pedigree is one to which genealogists have given much attention with the result that there are several points still under discussion.

Burke records in his "General Armory" some thirty-six coats-of-arms for various branches of the Adams family residing in London; in Counties Pembroke, Surrey, Carmarthen, Warwick, Northampton, Norfolk, York, Middlesex, Lincoln, Kent, and Devon; in Ireland, and in Wales. The disagreement of eminent genealogists concerning the English ancestry and relationship to each other of the various founders of Adams families in this country carries with it a problem for the heraldist. Matthews, in his "American Armoury" and "Blue Book," uses for various descendants of Henry Adams a coat-of-arms identical with the one described herewith, except that the lion of the crest is in profile instead of affrontée, and no motto is given. Several of the Adams families in this country make use of some one of the various mottoes of the English families. The coat-of-arms blazoned herewith is that recorded by Burke for Adams of County Carmarthen, and used with the motto by various branches of the family in this country.

Arms—Argent, on a cross gules five mullets or.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a demi-lion affrontée gules.

Motto—Aspire, persevere, and indulge not.

The family traced below is believed to be of Saxon origin, springing from Randall Adams, of Norwood, a small village in the town of Wem, Shropshire, England. Their ancestors in England were respectable, industrious men of firm religious principles, and were generally found on the side of the Puritans in all the religious and political persecutions from 1604 to 1640, and this determined character caused them and other families of the same name to leave their native land and flee to America.

ADAMS.

Arms—Argent, on a cross gules five mullets or.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a demi-lion affrontée gules.

Motto—Aspire, persevere, and indulge not.

CHAPIN.

Arms—Argent, two bars azure.

Crest—A hawk rising proper.

HARWOOD.

Arms—Azure, a fesse gobony gules and argent between three owls of the last.

Crest—An owl argent.

HANCOCK.

Arms—Or, a chevron cotised between three griffins' heads couped sable, the two in chief respecting each other.

SYBLY (SIBLEY).

Arms—Per pale azure and gules, a griffin passant between three crescents argent.

ADAMS

Stems—Argent on a cross gules five mullets or.
Crest—On of a shield surmount of a dragon rampant gules.
Motto—Aspire, persevere, and triumph.

CHANN

Stems—Argent, two bars azure.
Crest—A hawk passant proper.

HARWOOD

Stems—Azure a cross between three rays of
the last.
Crest—An owl argent.

HANCOCK

Stems—On a chevron crested between three grinnings heads compon
side, the two in chief, respecting each other.

SYBLY (SIBLY)

Stems—Per pale azure and gules a griffin passant between three cres
cents argent.



Adams



Chapin



Harwood



Hancock



Sybly
(Sibley)

ADAMS AND ALLIED FAMILIES

I. Randall Adams, a descendant of one of the old Saxon families which settled in England, had a son, Thomas, of whom further.

II. Thomas Adams, son of Randall Adams, was born in 1558. He married Margaret Erpe, and they had a son, William, of whom further.

(The Family in America).

I. William Adams, son of Thomas and Margaret (Erpe) Adams, was born in England, February 3, 1594, and died in Ipswich, Massachusetts, January 2, 1659. He came to America about 1628, among the original immigrants of the Massachusetts Colony, and settled first in Cambridge, but in 1642 removed to Ipswich, where he took up a large tract of land on the Ipswich River, on the site of what is now Hamilton, Massachusetts. The farm which he cultivated remained in the family, being handed down through will or inheritance for over two hundred and fifty years. He had four sons and, probably, other children: 1. William, born 1620, in England. 2. Nathaniel, born in 1622, in England. 3. Samuel, of whom further. 4. John, born in America, in 1632.

II. Samuel Adams, son of William Adams, was born in England, in 1624, and died in Ipswich. He married Mehitable Stacy, in 1646, and they had a son, Nathaniel, of whom further.

III. Nathaniel Adams, son of Samuel and Mehitable (Stacy) Adams, was born in Ipswich, December 8, 1647, died November 28, 1736. He married Mary Dickinson, and they had a son, Samuel, of whom further.

IV. Samuel Adams, son of Nathaniel and Mary (Dickinson) Adams, was born in Ipswich, March 8, 1676, and died August 31, 1747. He married Mary Burley, September 28, 1706, and they had a son, John, of whom further.

V. John Adams, son of Samuel and Mary (Burley) Adams, was born September 13, 1719, in Hamilton, Massachusetts, and died at Northbridge, Massachusetts, April 24, 1796. He was a Revolutionary soldier. He married Mary Hunt, of Concord, October 31, 1745, and they had a son, Andrew, of whom further.

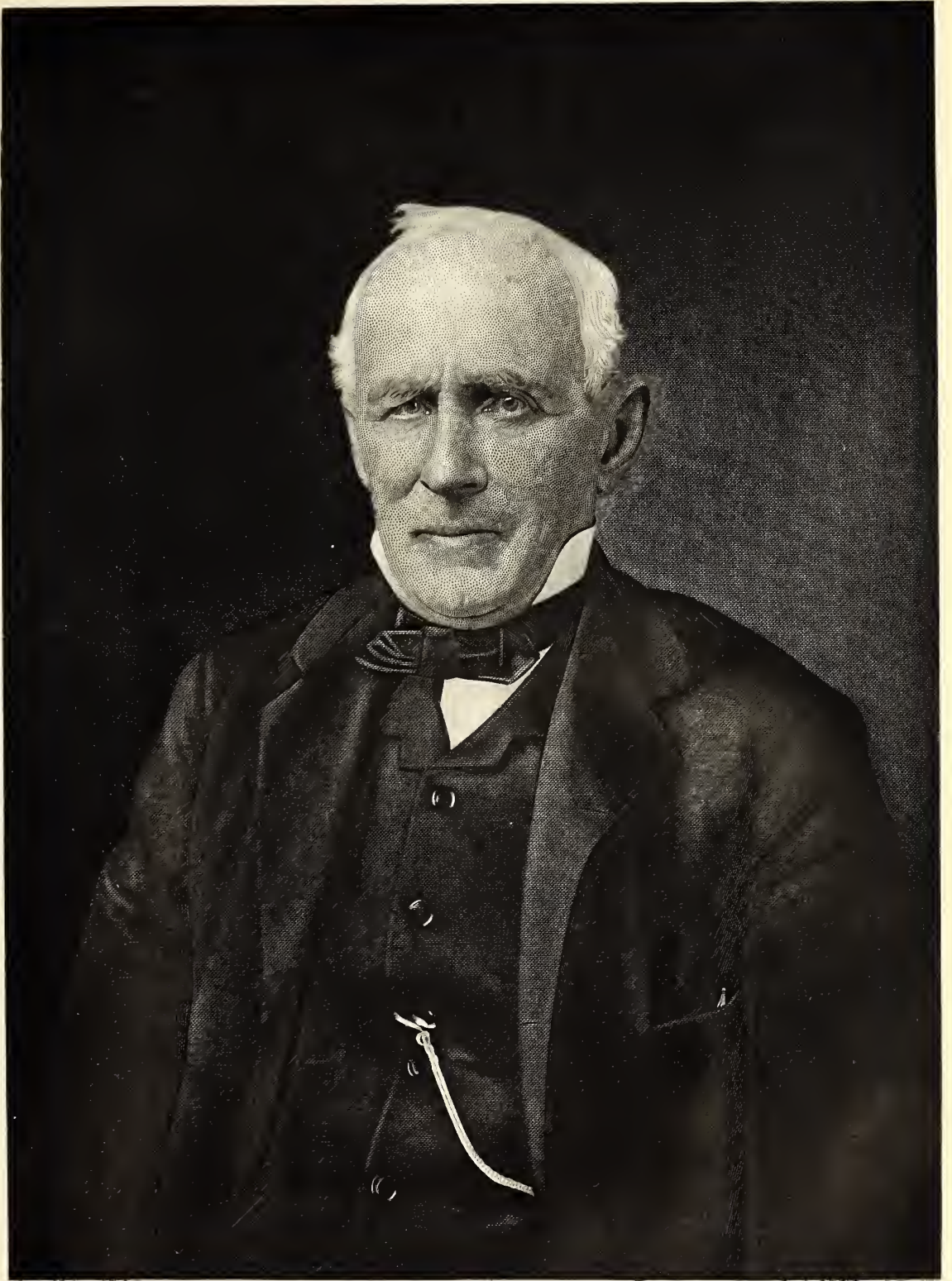
VI. Andrew Adams, son of John and Mary (Hunt) Adams, was born in Uxbridge, now part of Northbridge, Massachusetts, November 7, 1759, and died on the home farm June 30, 1822. He removed to Greenfield, in 1803, and purchased a tract of land in the Connecticut Valley and settled on the farm where his great-granddaughters now reside, living at that time in a log house. He built a portion of the road known as the Swamp Road, that ran from Greenfield to what was later

ADAMS AND ALLIED FAMILIES

the old Peleg Adams homestead. He took an active part in all community affairs, and was one of the leading citizens of his day. After the incorporation of Franklin County, in 1811, the first session of the court, the old Common Pleas, was held in March, 1812, at Greenfield, and Andrew Adams was foreman of the traverse jury. He attended the church at the old meeting house, which was the first in Greenfield.

Andrew Adams married (first) Molly Morse, of Southborough, December 10, 1780. They had a daughter, Martha, called "Patty." (See Probate Records of Franklin County, Greenfield, Massachusetts.) Martha ("Patty"), wife of William Remington, died June 11, 1822, aged thirty-seven years. She was buried in the Battey Cemetery, near Lake-wood, which is in the vicinity of Providence, Rhode Island. Andrew Adams married (second) Betsey Chapin, born April 21, 1763, at Mendon, Massachusetts; died at Greenfield, Massachusetts, January 3, 1846, aged eighty-three years. (See Chapin VII.) She was descended from Deacon Samuel Chapin, of Springfield, baptized in Paignton, England, October 8, 1598 (see the "Chapin Book," published by the Chapin Family Association, Hartford, Connecticut, 1924, p. 2), died 1675; through his son, Josiah Chapin, born in 1634, died September 10, 1726; through his son, Seth Chapin, born August 4, 1668, died April 1, 1746; through Joseph Chapin, born March 6, 1708, in Mendon, died July 1, 1788, at Milford; through his son, Gershom Chapin, born May 27, 1734, in Mendon, died August 23, 1801, in Uxbridge, who married Mrs. Deborah (Holbrook) Torrey, of Mendon, for his second wife. Gershom Chapin marched from Mendon, on the alarm at Fort William Henry, 1757, and he later served in the Revolutionary War. They were the parents of Betsey Chapin, who married Andrew Adams, above noted. Children, born in Northbridge: 1. George, born December 28, 1792. 2. Nahum, born June 14, 1795. 3. Eliza, born October 5, 1796. 4. Peleg, of whom further. (See Northbridge Vital Records.)

VII. Peleg Adams, son of Andrew and Betty or Betsey (Chapin) Adams, was born in Northbridge, Massachusetts, December 29, 1799, and died at the farm in Greenfield, September 8, 1887. He received a thoroughly practical education in the public schools of his day, his time between lessons being spent in working upon his father's farm, and on the completion of his studies continued on the farm until he reached the age of twenty-three years, when he began to work out by the month at farm labor. He continued in this mode of employment for the greater



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Peleg Adams

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part of six years, until 1831, when he purchased in the town of Greenfield the farm on which he later built the house in which he resided during the remainder of his lifetime. Besides cultivating his farm, he became a large dealer in cattle, and was so sagacious a business man that he won substantial success in all his dealings. He later, in 1877, purchased the Mansion House in Greenfield, and this property still remains in the family (1928). Subsequently he made extensive additions and improvements, turning it into a modern model hotel, which gained the reputation of being the best, as well as one of the oldest, in Franklin County. The value of the property is likewise enhanced by these improvements, and it stands today one of the most attractive spots in the State. Mr. Adams was active in the public life of his locality, and served as selectman and also as assessor, besides in other offices and capacities. He had always maintained a reputation for honor and strict integrity, and enjoyed the respect, confidence and esteem of all who knew him. Peleg Adams first attended the Congregational Church which was the faith of his parents, but later in life he was closely identified with the Universalist Society of Bernardston, where his last wife was an attendant, and he had contributed generously to the support of both churches. He passed from the scene of his labors loved and lamented by his fellow-citizens, whose interests had also been his interest and care.

Peleg Adams married (first), February 15, 1831, Lucinda Hancock, of Longmeadow, who was a descendant of the old Hancock family, which dates back to early Colonial times. (See Hancock VII.) She died September 30, 1840, aged thirty years. He married (second), June 16, 1841, Sarah B. Meriam, daughter of Joel and Sarah (Meriam) Meriam, of Greenfield, who died May 23, 1862, aged fifty-three years. He married (third), October 8, 1863, Jane W. Bascom, born July 21, 1813, and died in 1890. Children of first marriage: 1. Eliza Lucretia, born October 19, 1833; married Jeremiah Pratt Morgan. 2. Elizabeth Lucinda, born February 2, 1836, died March 10, 1853. 3. Ruth Alma, born December 5, 1837, died April 11, 1852. 4. John Andrew, of whom further. Children of second marriage: 5. Daughter, died in infancy, June 22, 1843, age seven days. 6. Sarah Lucy, born December 10, 1846, died July 17, 1847.

VIII. John Andrew Adams, son of Peleg and Lucinda (Hancock) Adams, was born at Greenfield, August 14, 1840, died there December 3, 1880. He received his early education in the common schools of the

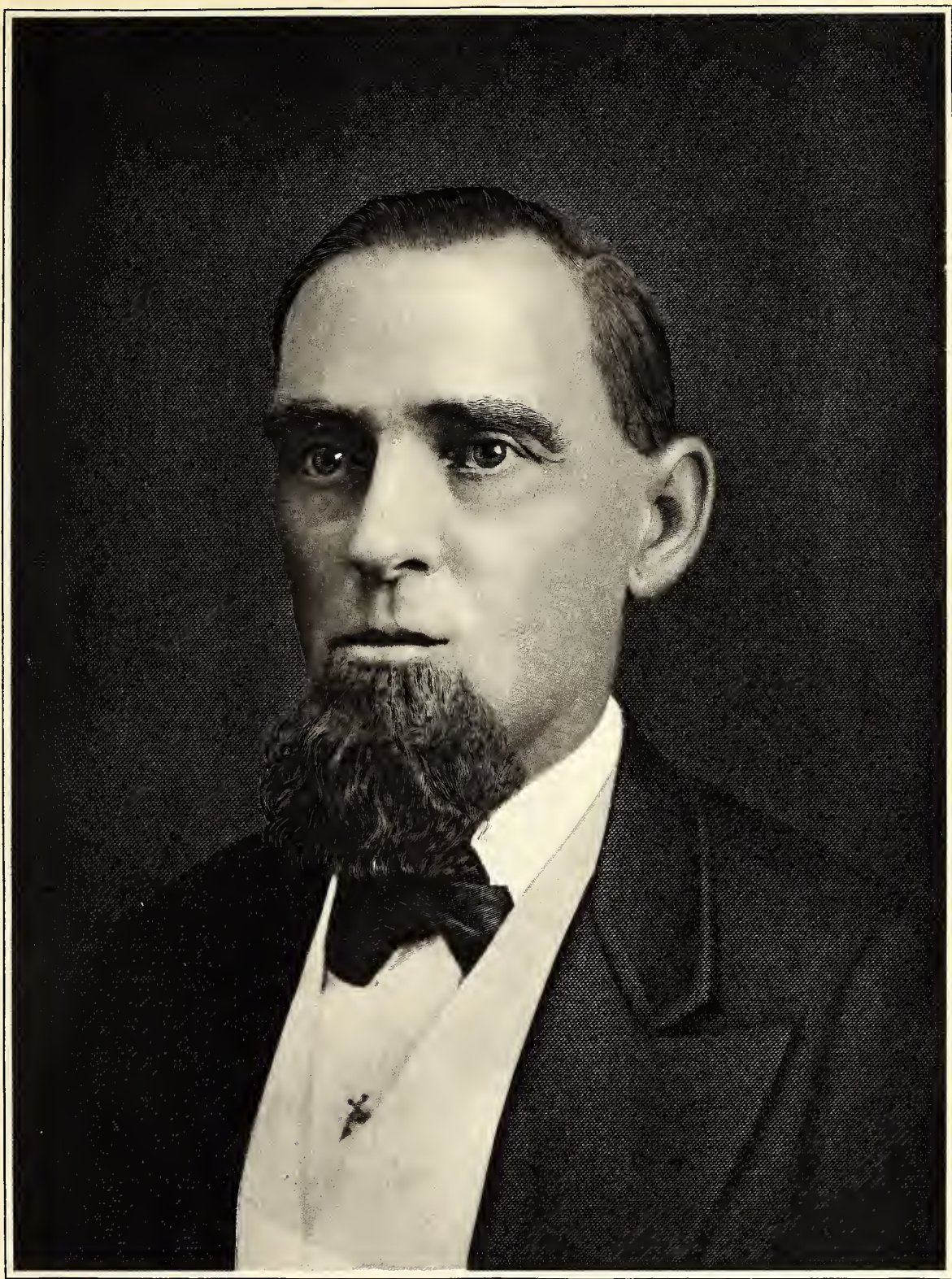
ADAMS AND ALLIED FAMILIES

day, and finished his studies at Shelburne Academy. On the completion of his course in the academy he gave his attention to farming, and was very successful in this line of activity. Except for two years spent in Bernardston, his whole life was passed in Greenfield, the latter years near the home of his father. He was active in the affairs of his community, and held the respect and esteem of his fellow-citizens.

John Andrew Adams married, June 29, 1864, Charlotte E. Meriam, who was born in Barre, Massachusetts, February 26, 1843, daughter of Jotham Addison and Charlotte (Harwood) Meriam. (See Meriam IX.) Mr. and Mrs. Adams were the parents of two daughters: 1. Ruth Charlotte, of whom further. 2. Elizabeth Leola, of whom further.

IX. *Ruth Charlotte Adams* was born in Bernardston, Massachusetts, September 27, 1865, and her sister, *Elizabeth Leola*, in Greenfield, March 25, 1867, daughters of John Andrew and Charlotte E. (Meriam) Adams. They were educated in the public and high schools of Greenfield, from which latter institution they were both graduated, and taught school for a time. For two hundred years the Adams and the Meriam names have stood for patriotism, honesty, high ideals and service to humanity, and these traditions the Misses Adams have accepted as a personal obligation and are meeting in full those duties which in the present day fall upon the women as well as the men. They have of late years devoted their time to their real estate and financial interests, as well as to extensive farming interests, being owners of the Mansion House of Greenfield, and looking after their farm lands themselves. They are noted as hostesses of the Mansion House throughout New England, and about this historical structure Miss Elizabeth L. Adams has written a voluminous history, covering a period of more than a hundred years. Part of this was embodied in excerpts in a paper that she read before the Historical Society of Greenfield on the history of the Mansion House site, and below is quoted an account that appeared in one of the Greenfield papers, the "Gazette and Courier," regarding this. She told:

Of the early days when the site was that of the old James Corse fort, where the first preaching was held in Greenfield. The log house was turned into a tavern, and finally burned. Afterward a wood building facing Main Street was put up, and conducted as an old stage coach tavern by quite a number of landlords. Calvin Munn was a famous tavern keeper about 1790. He was a natural landlord, and laid the foundation of the business. He was a Revolutionary soldier and pensioner. The tavern came into the hands of Asa Goodenough, who bought out the old



J. A. Adams

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Willard Hotel on the site across Federal Street, to get rid of a competitor, and when he sold the land it was with the restriction that no hotel be built there.

Miss Adams gave "a description of conditions in the old stage coach days, describing the original post office, book store and printing house of the early editions of the 'Gazette and Courier,' conducted in the Hart Leavitt Building on this site. At that time people came from twenty miles around to get their mail, and letters came once a week from Boston." Miss Adams recounted many of the historic scenes and associations clustering around this old building, where women met at the time of the Civil War to work for the soldiers. Peleg Adams bought the place in 1877, added a large ell with a dining room without pillars, installed the first passenger elevator seen around here, brought up the whole building to the same height, added a carriage repository, and made other changes. He left the building by deed to Mrs. Charlotte E. (Meriam) Adams, and the Misses Ruth C. and Elizabeth L. Adams. Miss Adams also wrote of the periods when the hotel was conducted by George T. C. Holden, by Thompson and Schoff, and later by W. E. Wood and the Wood family. The Mansion House is now (1928) conducted by Hermon L. Wood.

The sisters, who have inherited the estate of their forebears, are active in the community life, and hold in trust that inheritance that always brings with it a responsibility of service. They are rendering this service to their section and their associates and are held in high regard throughout a wide area, where they and their parents and grandparents have rendered service which has well-earned confidence and esteem. The Misses Adams are active in philanthropy, as well as in the social life, and they are carrying on those traditions of their family that stand for high honor, integrity, and progress. They are both members of the Dorothy Quincy Hancock Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, at Greenfield, Massachusetts.

(The Meriam Line).

This surname is derived from two ancient Saxon words—Mirige and Ham, meaning pleasant or merry home. The ancient spelling was Merryham, Merriham, Merihan. The family was formerly quite numerous in England in County Kent, but at the present time there are none of the name living there. A branch of the family was living in Pembrokeshire within a few years, but the name occurs but rarely in England now. As

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early as 1295 the name occurs in England in County Sussex, and frequently afterwards in County Kent.

Bulkeley, Hunt, Willard, Hosmer, *Meriam*, Flint,
Possessed the land which rendered to their toil
Hay, corn, roots, flax, hemp, apples, wool and wood;
Each of these landlords walked amongst his farm
Saying, "It is mine, my children's, and my name's—."

So wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson in an ode honoring the pioneers of Old Concord, Massachusetts, and so long as the Nation exists and history remains recorded, at least one spot of land which was the pioneer Meriam's will continue to bear his name. The British, driven back from the North Bridge, were outflanked by the pursuing "minute-men" at a corner of the Meriam farm where the roads forked, and were driven in the utter rout and confusion of retreat toward Boston.

Meriam's Corner is marked by a bronze tablet and shares equally in the victory of the day with the North Bridge, both having played their part in the famous "Concord Fight."

I. William Meriam, born in County Kent, England, was of Barn Street in Hadlowe, clothier, formerly of Tudley, was seized of lands in Hadlowe, Clouthurst, and Yalding, County Kent, and buried at Hadlowe, September 23, 1635. Married Sarah, possibly daughter of James Burgess, of Tudley, who mentions his son-in-law, William Merryam, in his will, dated 1590. William Meriam's will was dated September 8, 1635. Children (order of birth not known): 1. Joseph, of whom further. 2. George, born about 1603; settled in Concord and was admitted as freeman 1641; died December 29, 1675; married Susan or Susanna Raven, October 16, 1627, at Tonbridge. 3. Robert, born about 1613, devisee of lands in Hadlowe and sole executor of father's will; freeman of Massachusetts, March 13, 1639; died February 15, 1682; married Mary, daughter of Edmund Sheaf, of Cranbrook, baptized September 26, 1620; town clerk of Concord and deputy to General Court. 4. Susan. 5. Margaret, "already preferred," September 8, 1635. 6. Joan, married Thomas Day, of Breachley, who died in 1653; had issue. 7. A daughter, married Thomas Howe (?) and died before September 8, 1635, leaving issue.

II. Joseph Meriam, son of William and Sarah Meriam, was born about 1600 in England, and died at Concord, Massachusetts, January 1, 1641. He was the only one through whom the family name has

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descended. Like his father, he was a clothier and merchant. He helped charter the vessel "Castle" and came in it to America, arriving at Charlestown, Massachusetts, in July, 1638. He settled at Concord, Massachusetts. According to his father's will he was the eldest son and inherited from his father all of the goods in his house at Tudley, and to him and his heirs were bequeathed the lands at Yelding. He was a freeman of Massachusetts, March 14, 1639. He married Sarah Goldstone, daughter of John and (probably) Francis (Jeffrie) Goldstone, and sister of Robert Goldstone, of Tonbridge, England. She married (second) Joseph Wheeler, of Concord, Massachusetts, and died March 12, 1671. Children: 1. William, born in 1624, served as trooper in King Philip's War. 2. Sarah born in 1626. 3. Joseph of whom further. 4. Thomas. 5. Elizabeth, married Thomas Henchman. 6. Hannah. 7. John, posthumous, born in Concord, Massachusetts, July 9, 1641.

III. Joseph Meriam, son of Joseph and Sarah (Goldstone) Meriam, was born in England, about 1628 (see "History of Lexington," p. 422), and died at Concord, Massachusetts, April 20, 1677. His gravestone in the Hill Burying-ground at Concord, Massachusetts, is still standing, and is the oldest tombstone in Concord. He came with his father's family to Concord, Massachusetts, where he lived, and where he was made freeman May 22, 1650. He was successful in his affairs, and like his father, accumulated a considerable estate. He married, at Concord, July 12, 1653, Sarah Stone, who died at Lexington, Massachusetts, April 8, 1704, aged seventy-one (see Hudson's "History of Lexington," p. 422), daughter of Deacon Gregory Stone, of Cambridge. Children: 1. Sarah, born at Concord, August 2, 1654; married (first) Eleazer Ball; (second), June 7, 1699, Samuel Fletcher, of Chelmsford. 2. Lydia, born August 3, 1656, died December 29, 1690. 3. Joseph, born in Cambridge, May 25, 1658 ("Vital Records," p. 492). 4. Elizabeth, born at Cambridge, May 20, 1660. ("Vital Records," p. 492); married Isaac Wood. 5. John, of whom further. 6. Mary, born at Cambridge, June 11, 1664 ("Vital Records," p. 492); married Isaac Stearns. 7. Robert, born February 17, 1667. 8. Ruth, born in 1670; married, December 3, 1690, Nathaniel Stow. 9. Thomas, born in 1672.

IV. John Meriam, son of Joseph and Sarah (Stone) Meriam, was born at Cambridge, Massachusetts ("Vital Records," p. 492), August 30, 1662, died May 21, 1727 (see "History of Lexington," p. 423). He resided at "The Farms" and was made deacon of the church at its organi-

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zation, October 21, 1696. He acquired large amounts of land in various surrounding towns, and served as assessor, selectman and other positions of trust. He married, in 1688, Mary Wheeler, of Concord (see "History of Lexington," p. 423), who died December 20, 1745, aged seventy-five years. Children, born in Cambridge, Massachusetts ("Vital Records" of Cambridge, p. 492): 1. Mary, born January 6, 1689. 2. Sarah, married Phillip Russell. 3. Lydia. 4. John, born July 26, 1696. 5. Ruth, baptized November 6, 1698. 6. Benjamin, born January 6, 1700; baptized March 4, 1706; married Mary Preston. 7. Jonas (Cambridge church records record this name as John), born February 13, 1702-03; baptized January 12, 1704. 8. Ebenezer, of whom further. 9. Joshua, born February 21, 1707-08, died May 7, 1795. 10. William, born September 24, 1712, died June 21, 1735. 11. Amos, baptized July 25, 1715; married, November 9, 1738, Hannah Danforth.

[Lexington, Massachusetts, was taken from Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1712. Prior to that date the birth, death and marriage records were in Cambridge "Vital Records."]

V. Ebenezer Meriam, son of John and Mary (Wheeler) Meriam, was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, March 2, 1706 ("Vital Records of Cambridge," p. 492), and died in Oxford, Massachusetts, August 20, 1761. As his father had done before him, he waited only to reach manhood when he left the parental roof and started out to make his own way in the world and establish his own homestead. Since the days when his own ancestors had helped establish the first inland town in the colony, Concord settlers had gradually moved west and had taken up land in the middle and southwestern part of the now Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and it was therefore, in this direction that Ebenezer Meriam looked for a homesite to his liking. He was accompanied on his quest by his cousins, Jonathan and Hezekiah, and the trio eventually selected Oxford as offering the most advantages. Ebenezer Meriam bought eighty-eight acres in the section of the town known as "The Gore," the record of the land transfer being dated April 14, 1729.

He married (first) Esther Gleason, who was born at Framingham, Massachusetts, April 6, 1711, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Mellen) Gleason. Esther Meriam died December 8, 1740. He married (second) Elizabeth Locke, baptized at Lexington, June 19, 1720, says "Book of the Lockes," p. 26, daughter of Ebenezer and Elizabeth (Poulter) Locke, intention of marriage being published September 17, 1747. Eliza-

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beth (Locke) Meriam died May 1, 1797 (see "Book of the Lockes," p. 42). Children by first wife: 1. Ebenezer, of whom further. 2. Mary, born September 14, 1735, died October 30, 1749. 3. William, born June 16, 1737, died young. 4. Esther, born April 11, 1739; married, October 15, 1767, Dr. Isaac Burnett, of Warwick, Massachusetts, and Dummerston, Vermont. Children by second wife: 5. Elizabeth, born June 1, 1748; married Benjamin Tewell (Tuel). 6. Jotham, born August 26, 1749; was a soldier in the Revolution; he enlisted from Warwick and marched with a company of minute men from Northfield, Massachusetts ("Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution," Volume 10, page 641); married Sarah Burnap, of Sutton, July 8, 1777. 7. Phebe, born June 21, 1751. 8. Jonathan, born March 22, 1753. 9. Ephraim, born July 8, 1755. 10. Sarah, born February 3, 1760.

VI. Ebenezer Meriam, son of Ebenezer and Esther (Gleason) Meriam, was born March 28, 1734, at Oxford, and died July 16, 1795. He remained in Oxford throughout his life, and was a brickmaker by trade. Daniel's "History of Oxford" (p. 214) says: "The oldest inhabitant remembereth not the time when bricks were not made on the Ebenezer Meriam farm at North Oxford, and it is believed that the manufacture was begun by the first Ebenezer, who died 1761." It also states that Charlton, Leicester and Oxford were all more or less supplied from this source for many years and the business was continued by the Meriams up to 1854. He married Phoebe Locke, intention dated April, 1752 ("History of Lexington," p. 423), sister of his father's second wife. (See Locke IV.) She died October 27, 1802. (Hudson's "History of Lexington," p. 423). Children: 1. Mary (Molly), born October 5, 1753; married Reuben Eddy. 2. Jesse, born June 4, 1755; married Deborah Pratt, November 6, 1779. 3. Phebe, born September 11, 1759; married Jonathan Pratt, September 8, 1785. 4. Rachel, born March 7, 1762; married Joel Clark. 5. Ebenezer, born December 4, 1764; married Phebe Stockwell, November 29, 1789. 6. Esther, born May 10, 1767, died November 24, 1790. 7. William, born April 7, 1769; married (first) Ruth Eddy; (second) Lucy Hatstat. 8. Rhoda, born May 19, 1771, died unmarried at Dummerston, Vermont. 9. Joel, of whom further. 10. Abigail, born April 1, 1777; married Wilkins Burnett, of Dummerston, Vermont.

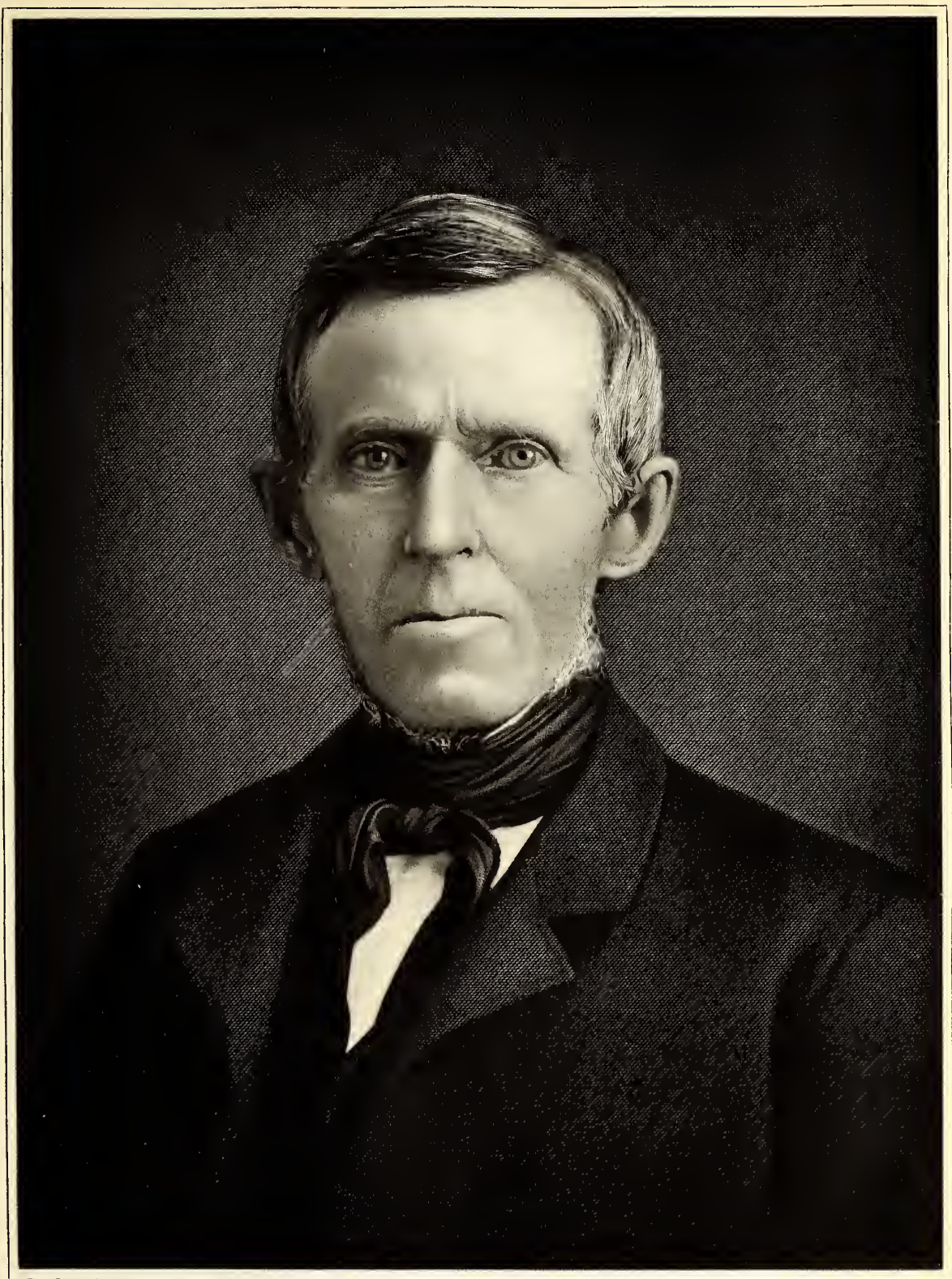
VII. Joel Meriam, son of Ebenezer and Phoebe (Locke) Meriam, was born in Oxford, Massachusetts, April 9, 1775, and died in Green-

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field, Massachusetts, January 4, 1846. He was a farmer by occupation, and resided (first) in "The Gore," in Oxford, but removed to New Salem in 1818, and later to Greenfield, where he purchased land which he cultivated and where he made brick, and where he died. He married (first), December 7, 1800, Sarah Meriam, born at Oxford, June 16, 1778, a cousin, daughter of Jotham and Sarah (Burnap) Meriam. She died December 24, 1822, at New Salem. He married (second), May 23, 1833, Phebe Pratt, daughter of Stephen and Phebe (Meriam) Pratt. Children: 1. Eliza, born November 18, 1802, died June 4, 1820, in New Salem ("Book of the Lockes," p. 85). 2. Almira, born September 28, 1804; married Obed Taylor, and removed to Dexter, Michigan. 3. Erastus, born July 17, 1806; married Caroline M. Hitchcock and settled in Boston. 4. Sarah Burnap, born June 13, 1809; married, June 16, 1841, Peleg Adams, of Greenfield, died May 23, 1862. 5. Joel Wilkins, born January 25, 1811; married Freedom Holton. 6. Jotham Addison, of whom further. 7. Lysander, born March 18, 1816; married, June 26, 1864, Mrs. Mary Anne (Pratt) Case, of Ypsilanti, Michigan, born September 2, 1831. 8. Lucy Ann, born July 27, 1818; married David S. Hastings, of Shelburne Falls, Massachusetts; she died May 25, 1863, at Eau Claire, Wisconsin.

VIII. Jotham Addison Meriam, son of Joel and Sarah (Meriam) Meriam, was born February 25, 1813, in Oxford, and died at Greenfield, Massachusetts, June 24, 1887. He was naturally a student, and made good use of such opportunities as were to be found in the district schools of his native town, and in New Salem and Greenfield, to which place he removed with his father's family. When he reached manhood he purchased land and settled in Barre, Massachusetts. He was a man of remarkable attainments, a great reader and a scholar; he taught school for a time in his early years, and, although never admitted to practice law at the bar, was well versed in legal lore, and was a wise counsellor, whose advice was sought and followed by his neighbors. He was a successful farmer, a man of substance, and a leading citizen of Barre. He married, May 3, 1841, at Barre, Charlotte Harwood. (See Harwood VII.) Children: 1. Charles Addison, born in Greenfield, Massachusetts, February 8, 1842, died at Greenfield, August 25, 1877; married, at New Salem, August 28, 1872, Ellen M. Porter, daughter of Elijah and Sally Porter. 2. Charlotte Eliza, of whom further.

IX. Charlotte Eliza Meriam, daughter of Jotham Addison and Charlotte (Harwood) Meriam, was born in Barre, Massachusetts, February



Eng'd by Campbell N.Y.

J. Addison Meriarn

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26, 1843, and died in Greenfield, Massachusetts, April 21, 1909. She was educated at Barre and New Salem Academy. She was a school teacher, a woman of refinement and of good executive ability. She married John Andrew Adams, of Greenfield, Massachusetts. (See Adams VIII.)

(The Locke Line).

The English surname, which is local, derived from residence "at the lock" a hatch or wicket, should not be confused with the Gaelic *lock*, meaning a lake. The name Geoffrey Loc or Lock appears upon the records of County Suffolk as early as 1273, that of Richard the Loke, upon the Fines Roll of the eighteenth year of the reign of Edward II, and numerous other forms of the name are found between 1273 and 1600. The Locke family has long been prominent in England, and the name is also a familiar one in Scotland and Ireland. The American line traced below is of English origin.

I. Deacon William Locke, son of William and Elizabeth Locke, was born in Stepney Parish, London, England, December 13, 1628, and came to this country in the ship "Planter" in 1634. He married, December 27, 1655, Mary Clarke, daughter of William and Margery Clarke, of Woburn, Massachusetts. Children: 1. William, born December 27, 1657, died January 9, 1658. 2. William, of whom further. 3. John, born August 1, 1661. 4. Joseph, born March 8, 1664. 5. Mary, born October 16, 1666. 6. Samuel, born October 14, 1669. 7. Ebenezer, born January 8, 1674. 8. James, born November 14, 1677. 9. Elizabeth, born January 4, 1681.

II. Deacon William Locke, Jr., son of Deacon William and Mary (Clarke) Locke, was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, January 18, 1659. He lived in Woburn, Massachusetts, where he was deacon in 1709, selectman, 1703-04, and in 1732; and held many other offices. He married (first), May 29, 1683, Sarah Whittmore, daughter of Francis and Isabel (Park) Whittmore, of Cambridge. He married (second), June 8, 1698, Abigail Hayward. Children: 1. William, born June 28, 1684. 2. Francis, born July 25, 1690. 3. Daniel, born July 9, 1693. 4. Ebenezer, of whom further. Children by second wife. 5. Abigail, born June 22, 1710.

III. Ebenezer Locke, son of Deacon William, Jr., and Sarah (Whittmore) Locke, married Elizabeth Poulter, born February 13, 1694-95, daughter of Jonathan and Elizabeth Poulter. (Hudson's "History of

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Lexington," pp. 367, 545-46). Children: 1. Ebenezer, baptized April 28, 1717, died March 22, 1720. 2. Elizabeth, baptized June 19, 1720; married, September 17, 1747, Ebenezer Meriam, of Oxford (see Hudson's "History of Lexington," p. 367). 3. Sarah, baptized August 11, 1723. 4. Hannah, baptized June 13, 1725. 5. Abigail, baptized April 28, 1728. 6. Phoebe, of whom further. 7. Ebenezer, baptized March 2, 1735. 8. Joanna, baptized March 2, 1735. (See Hudson's "History of Lexington," p. 367.)

IV. Phoebe Locke, daughter of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Locke, was born at Lexington, Massachusetts, March 7, 1731. She married Ebenezer Meriam, Jr. (See Meriam VI.)

(The Harwood Line).

Arms—Azure, a fesse gobony gules and argent between three owls of the last.
Crest—An owl argent.

The name of Harwood is of Saxon origin, and was anciently spelled Herward, Horwade, and Whorwood. According to the "Domesday Book," Hereward had lands in the counties of Lincoln and Warwick previous to the Conquest. He was a son of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Lord of Bowme, in Lincolnshire, and the marshes adjoining, and was chosen by the prelates and nobility who retired to the Isle of Ely after the Conqueror's invasion, to be the general of their forces. He was the last Earl of Mercia who resided at Bowme, and was buried in the Abbey there. Sir Robert Harwood, of County Cambridge, in the time of Edward I, according to Burke in his "General Armory," bore arms on which three eagles appeared as principal charge, and that coat-of-arms was used by the family who, at that time, were seated in the counties of Stafford, Oxford, Berks, etc. At a later period the Harwoods of counties Stafford and Berks altered the ancient bearings and carried arms showing as principal charges a chevron between three stags' heads.

It is interesting to note that of the ten coats-of-arms recorded by Burke for Harwood, all but one show as principal charges either three eagles, three stags' heads, three martlets, or three owls. The armorial bearings blazoned herewith are those recorded for Harwood without designation of locality.

Among those who came to this country at an early date was Henry Harwood, mentioned below.

(The Family in America).

I. Henry Harwood, born in England, died in Charlestown, Massachusetts, about 1635. He, with his wife, Elizabeth, came from England

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to Massachusetts with Governor Winthrop in 1630. It is probable that they had one or more children at the time of coming. They lived for a little time in Boston and were members of the church there, but were dismissed in 1631 to help found the church in Charlestown. Henry Harwood took the oath of freeman March 4, 1633. He married Elizabeth, surname unknown. Children: 1. Henry. 2. John, of whom further.

II. John Harwood, son of Henry and Elizabeth Harwood, was born probably in Boston, about 1630, and died at Salem in 1690. He resided in that part of Salem now called Peabody, where he was a farmer. An inventory of his property was taken November 20, 1690. An agreement was made between his widow and her children, John, Jonathan, David, and Alice, to allow the estate to remain undivided during her lifetime. She was living in 1700, when she testified that "from the year 1649 to the year 1653 she lived with Thomas Flint upon a farm in Salem," etc. Her testimony was concerning the ownership of some land. John Harwood married Emma, surname unknown. Children: 1. John, born January 10, 1660, died young. 2. Jonathan, born April 16, 1662, lived only a few days. 3. John, born April 28, 1664. 4. Jonathan, born June 18, 1666. 5. David, of whom further. 6. Alice, born November 28, 1672.

III. David Harwood, son of John and Emma Harwood, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, June 23, 1668, and died in Sutton, Massachusetts, before 1744. About 1729 he removed to Sutton, leaving most of his children living in Salem. Mr. Harwood was by occupation a weaver. He married, January 15, 1701, Mary Walcott, daughter of Jonathan and Mary (Sibley) Walcott, of Danvers. Children, all born in Salem: 1. Mary. 2. Emma, born about 1705. 3. Hannah. 4. David, of whom further. 5. Elizabeth, born about 1711. 6. Ezra. 7. Alice, born about 1720. 8. Absalom, born about 1723. 9. Solomon, born about 1725.

IV. David Harwood, son of David and Mary (Walcott) Harwood, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, about 1708, and died in Sutton, Massachusetts, August 22, 1781. He was a carpenter, also a weaver. On December 22, 1748, while of Salem, he bought of Jonathan Elliott, of Sutton, land on Mauchog Pond, in the southwestern part of Sutton, it being part of the land sold by the General Court to twenty of the inhabitants of New Sherburne, so-called. On the same day he bought of Richard Waters fifty acres on the same pond, and he shortly after removed to Sutton and took possession. He sold this land to Stephen Harwood, January 1, 1772. His will, dated February 24, 1772, gives to his wife

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Margaret, the negro girl "Nance"; to his son, Daniel, five shillings, he having already received his portion; and to his son, David, the rest of his estate. He married, about 1729, Margaret, surname unknown. Children: 1. David, born January 3, 1733. 2. Daniel, of whom further.

V. *Daniel Harwood*, son of David and Margaret Harwood, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1736, and died in Barre, Massachusetts, February 28, 1823. Mr. Harwood served in the Revolution in Captain Benjamin Richardson's company, Colonel Nicholas Dike's regiment; pay abstract for mileage from home to Dorchester Heights, dated September 4, 1776, also same company and regiment; pay abstract for travel allowance and mileage from Dorchester Heights home, dated November 28, 1776. "Said Harwood" is also "credited with two days' allowance; mileage (50 miles) also allowed"; also Captain Bartholomew Woodbury's company, Colonel Jacob Cushing's regiment; enlisted August 13, 1777; marched August 16, 1777; was in the battles of Bemis Heights and Saratoga; discharged November 29, 1777; service three months, twenty-seven days, in Northern Department, including ten days' (200 miles) travel home. About 1800 Mr. Harwood removed with his family to Barre, Massachusetts, where he died. He married, March 28, 1758, Lydia Gould, born August 27, 1742 (see "Harwood Families," Vol. II, p. 14), daughter of Ebenezer and Lydia (Marsh) Gould, of Sutton. (See "Sutton History," p. 652.) Children, all born in Sutton, Massachusetts: 1. Daniel, born April 7, 1759. 2. Mary, born March 21, 1761. 3. Peter, born February 23, 1763. 4. Jesse, born February 14, 1765. 5. Simeon, born March 2, 1769. 6. Lydia, born September 1, 1773. 7. Abner, born January 8, 1776. 8. Huldah, born January 22, 1778. 9. Caleb, born May 13, 1780. 10. Wilcut, of whom further.

VI. *Captain Wilcut Harwood*, son of Daniel and Lydia (Gould) Harwood, was born in Sutton, Massachusetts, February 13, 1783, and died in Barre, Massachusetts, January 15, 1866. "In military affairs Mr. Harwood had the title of Captain." He married, in 1806, Sally Sibley. (See Sibley VI.) He occupied the first frame house built in Barre, as his father had done before him. Children, all born in Barre, Massachusetts: 1. Hiram, born December 19, 1806. 2. George, born October 24, 1809, lived to be one hundred years old in Barre, Massachusetts. 3. Charlotte, of whom further. 4. Samuel, born December 5, 1816. 5. Wilcut, born January 29, 1819. 6. Caleb, born February 25, 1823. 7. Daniel, born February 22, 1826.

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VII. Charlotte Harwood, daughter of Captain Wilcut and Sally (Sibley) Harwood, was born in Barre, Massachusetts, November 5, 1814, and died at Barre, Massachusetts, October 16, 1878. She married, at Barre, Massachusetts, May 3, 1841, Jotham Addison Meriam, son of Joel and Sarah Meriam. (See Meriam VIII.)

(The Hancock Line).

Arms—Or, a chevron cotised between three griffins' heads couped sable, the two in chief respecting each other.

In French patronymics this surname appears as Balcoq, Billecoq, Velcoq, etc. Its first syllable is derived from the given name John through Hans, the Flemish nickname for Johannes (John), with the diminutive cock added. The family has long been a distinguished one in England, where several branches are armigerous.

Several persons of this name settled in Massachusetts in early Colonial days, including Nathaniel Hancock, mentioned below, from whom was descended the distinguished patriot John Hancock.

I. Nathaniel Hancock, one of the "first company," was in Cambridge as early as 1634, and resided on the easterly side of Dunster Street, between Harvard and Mount Auburn streets. He died early in life, about 1648, and his widow, Joanna, was appointed, fifteen years afterward, in 1663, administratrix of this estate. Children: 1. Mary. 2. Sarah. 3. Nathaniel. 4. John. 5. Elizabeth Lydia. 6. Solomon. 7. Thomas, of whom further.

II. Thomas Hancock, son of Nathaniel and Joanna Hancock, was born about 1647, or 1648, but the exact date is not recorded. He appears in Farmington, Connecticut, in 1670, and was then about twenty-five years of age. He was one of the original proprietors of the town, and was a prominent citizen in both civic and ecclesiastical affairs. The church records state that "Thos. Hancock was one of those who sat in the first seat, in the square body of the church." In 1691 he removed to Hartford, where he kept the jail. He married, March 17, 1684-85, Rachel Leonard, daughter of John and Sarah Leonard, of Springfield, Massachusetts. Children: 1. Thomas. 2. John, of whom further. 3. William. 4. Rachel. 5. Daniel. 6. Abel. 7. Jonathan. 8. Mehitable.

III. John Hancock, second son of Thomas and Rachel (Leonard) Hancock, was born August 1, 1688, and died July 10, 1775. He moved to Springfield, where he passed most of his life. He married (first), November 19, 1713, Anna Webb, who died July 6, 1771. He married

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(second), May 1, 1773, Martha Olmstead, of Belchertown. At his time he was eighty-five and she seventy-four years old. She died in 1776, aged seventy-seven. Children: 1. Mary, born February 22, 1716. 2. John, born May 20, 1717. 3. Anna, born July 14, 1719, died 1740. 4. Abel, born January 19, 1721, died November 29, 1807. 5. Abner, born August 9, 1722. 6. Jonathan, born August 4, 1724. 7. Mabel, born February 2, 1726, died 1806; married George Cooley. 8. Thomas, born May 10, 1727, died 1804. 9. Jabez, born July 29, 1728. 10. William, born October 26, 1729. 11. Experience, born November 2, 1730, died 1780. 12. Daniel, of whom further. 13. Abigail, born January 12, 1734; married Jabez Cooley. 14. Mercy, born August 25, 1735; married David Bonner.

IV. Daniel Hancock, of Longmeadow, son of John and Anna (Webb) Hancock, of Springfield, was born about 1732, and died July 18, 1784. He married, October 12, 1754, Lucy Long, of Windsor. He served in the Revolution. Children: 1. Abiel, born December 5, 1755, died young. 2. Lucy, born October 26, 1757. 3. Abiel, of whom further. 4. Lucy. 5. Lucretia, born February 12, 1764. 6. Sybel, born September 7, 1766. 7. Lovisa, born September 28, 1768. 8. Daniel, born December 24, 1770. 9. Azariah, born 1773. 10. Ariel, born 1779. 11. Jonathan.

V. Abiel Hancock, son of Daniel and Lucy Hancock, was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, September 27, 1761, died June 24, 1829 (Longmeadow Centennial, p. 68, genealogical appendix). He settled in Longmeadow, six miles south of Springfield, where he was a blacksmith, and proverbially called the "honest blacksmith." He married, September 7, 1781, Margaret Baxter, daughter of Francis Baxter. (See Baxter II.) Margaret, wife of Abiel Hancock, died September 12, 1808, aged forty-five years (see gravestone record in Brookside Cemetery, East Longmeadow; also Longmeadow deaths.) He served in the Revolution. Children (Longmeadow Records): 1. Ethan, born June 13, 1786. 2. Levi, of whom further. 3. Ariel, born February 21, 1802. 4. Zenas, born October 13, 1784. 5. Abiel, Jr.

VI. Levi Hancock, son of Abiel and Margaret (Baxter) Hancock, was born in Longmeadow, Massachusetts, September 2, 1787, and died intestate, September, 1827. He married, April 3, 1808, Ruth Baxter, who died April 11, 1824, aged thirty-six years, daughter of Benjamin and Mabel (Brown) Baxter. The marriage note (Longmeadow Records) "both of this town." (See Baxter IV.) Children: 1. Lucinda,

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of whom further. 2. Lucretia, married Theodore Bliss (?). 3. Loisa, born in Longmeadow, November 3, 1814; married ——— Buck. 4. Levi, born January 8, 1817; married Betsey Park, of Bernardston, Massachusetts. Children: George Cyrus, Levi, and Augusta. 5. Infant, died March 12, 1820.

VII. Lucinda Hancock, daughter of Levi and Ruth (Baxter) Hancock, was born in 1809 or 1810, and died, according to the gravestone record in High Street Cemetery, Greenfield, Massachusetts, September 30, 1840, aged thirty years. She married Peleg Adams. (See Adams VII.) Lucinda Hancock Adams' death is also given in the Vital Records of Greenfield, Massachusetts.

(The Baxter Line).

The occupation of the baker is responsible for this surname, which is derived from the word *bakester*, meaning a female baker, which became Backster and finally following the sound, came to be spelled Baxter. The family was prominent in several sections of England, and was early represented in this country.

I. Francis Baxter, born in England, came to this country early in the seventeenth century and purchased a farm at Enfield, Connecticut. He met his death by accident. The name of his wife is not known, but records of the children are preserved: 1. Francis, of whom further. 2. William. 3. Mary.

II. Francis Baxter, son of Francis Baxter, lived at Enfield, Connecticut, and died at the age of eighty-eight years. He married (first) Sarah Machfield, from Scotland. He married (second) ——— Saxton. He was a Revolutionary soldier. Children by first wife: 1. Francis. 2. Mitty. 3. Moses. 4. Marian. 5. Alexander. 6. Benjamin, of whom further. 7. Thomas. 8. Molly. 9. David. 10. Margaret, married Abiel Hancock (see Hancock V.) Children by second wife: 11. Sally. 12. William.

III. Benjamin Baxter, son of Francis and Sarah (Machfield) Baxter, lived in several places in Northern Connecticut and Southern Massachusetts, finally removing to Butternuts, New York, where he died at a ripe age. He was a Revolutionary soldier. He married (first), December 28, 1780, Mabel Brown. She died August 6, 1793. He married (second), January 22, 1794, Hannah Hale. Children by first wife: 1. Benjamin, born August 23, 1781. 2. Alexander. 3. Hervy, born May 16, 1785. 4. Ruth, of whom further. 5. Simeon, born November 21,

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1789. 6. Mabel, born August 21, 1791. 7. Patty, born July 22, 1793. Child by second wife: 8. Seth, born September 29, 1794.

IV. Ruth Baxter, born in Longmeadow, September 23, 1787 (see Longmeadow Centennial, p. 5; also Town Records of Longmeadow), daughter of Benjamin and Mabel (Brown) Baxter, married Levi Hancock. (See Hancock VI.)

(The Chapin Line).

Arms—Argent, two bars azure.

Crest—A hawk rising proper.

The family name Chapin may be from the old French person name Chopin, which Larchey's "Dictionnaire Des Noms," says is a name for a cripple, but Harrison, "a small shopkeeper."

I. John Chapin, of Paignton, County Devon, England, married, September 14, 1590, Philippe Easton. Children, born in Paignton Parish, Devonshire: 1. Joane, baptized at St. John Baptist Church, June 26, 1591; married, July 9, 1611, James Narracot. 2. Thomas, baptized March 8, 1596. 3. Samuel, of whom further. 4. Margaret, baptized November 16, died December 11, 1600.

II. Samuel Chapin, son of John and Philippe (Easton) Chapin, was baptized at Paignton, Devonshire, October 8, 1598, died at Springfield, Massachusetts, November 11, 1675. He came to Roxbury, Massachusetts, probably with his father and family in 1635. (See Chapin Book, published at Hartford, Connecticut, 1924, by the Chapin Family Association.) A record of early date shows that he possessed twenty-four acres of land there, and had in his family himself, wife, father, and five children. In 1641 he bought a house and lot of James Howe. He became a freeman. He was an acquaintance and a neighbor for a short time in Roxbury, of William Pynchon, who led about a dozen families to found Agawam, soon named Springfield, and followed him, apparently during the winter of 1642-43. He held the office of selectman continuously from 1644 to 1652, and in 1661 and 1664, and later was town auditor. He is called deacon in the records of February 21, 1650, and conducted the Sabbath services, including preaching, for several years when the church lacked a pastor. In 1652 he, with Captain John Pynchon and Lieutenant Elizur Holyoke, were by the General Court commissioned magistrates, allowing them the power of a County Court. He held the office until 1664, and also laid out land grants, and the plantations that became Northampton and Hadley. His first home lot was at the corner of the

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present Main and Pyncheon streets, but in 1664 he appears to have been living in Chicopee, with his son, Japhet.

He married, at Paignton, Devonshire, February 9, 1623, Cicely Penney, baptized February 21, 1601, died at Springfield, Massachusetts, February 8, 1682-83, daughter of Henry and Jane Penney, of Paignton. Children, first five born at Paignton, England: 1. David, baptized January 4, 1624, died August, 1672, at Boston, Massachusetts. 2. Catherine, born before April 6, 1630, died February 4, 1712, at Springfield, Massachusetts. 3. Sarah, born before April 6, 1630, died August 5, 1684, at Springfield, Massachusetts. 4. Josiah, of whom further. 5. Henry, died August 15, 1718, at Springfield, Massachusetts. 6. Japhet, baptized at Roxbury, Massachusetts, October 15, 1642, died February 20, 1712, at Springfield, Massachusetts. 7. Hannah, baptized December 2, 1644, died at Springfield, Massachusetts.

III. Josiah Chapin, son of Deacon Samuel and Cicely (Penney) Chapin, was born in Paignton, Devonshire, in 1634, died September 10, 1726, at Mendon, Massachusetts. He first settled in Weymouth, Massachusetts, and later removed to Braintree. His father transferred to him lands in Mendon, Massachusetts, granted by the Massachusetts Colony to Deacon Samuel for services rendered to it. Josiah Chapin removed to Mendon between 1680 and 1682, and spent the rest of his life there; he was selectman there for many years, and for eleven years chairman of the Board of Selectmen. He was also justice of the peace, and in 1689 was the first elected Representative to the General Court, being again chosen Representative in 1720, when he was eighty-six years old. He was for successive years the largest taxpayer in Mendon.

He married (first), November 30, 1658, Mary King, born June 15, 1639, died in Braintree, May 30, 1676, daughter of John and Dorothy King. He married (second), September 20, 1676, Mrs. Lydia (Brown) Pratt, born in November, 1658, died at Mendon, October 18, 1711. He married (third), June 22, 1713, Mehitable Metcalf, of Dedham, who died December 2, 1724. Children by first marriage (all born in Braintree, except the first): 1. Samuel, born in Weymouth, November 11, 1659, died at sea, April 10, 1692. 2. John, born June 11, 1661, died at sea, February 22, 1686. 3. Mary, born August 27, 1662, died June 14, 1687; married, February 20, 1682, Joseph Adams, Jr. 4. Deborah, born June 16, 1664, died August 16, 1668. 5. Josiah, born December 17, 1665, died May 20, 1693. 6. Shem, born May 11, 1667, died June 6,

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1667. 7. Seth, of whom further. 8. Joseph, born May 17, 1670, died April, 1722, unmarried. 9. Henry, born February 15, 1671, died March 20, 1671. 10. Ephraim, born December 18, 1673; married, January 23, 1705-06, Margaret Torrey. 11. Deborah, born February 12, 1675, died April 9, 1702; married, in 1693, Samuel Reed. Children by second marriage (all born at Braintree, except the last): 12. Lydia, born September 29, 1677, died March 31, 1758; married, in December, 1706, Daniel Taft. 13. Sarah, born March 12, 1679, died May 16, 1773; married, February 7, 1704, Ebenezer Reed. 14. David, born November 11, 1680, died October 9, 1704. 15. Hannah, born at Mendon, November 11, 1684, died April 12, 1770; married, in 1706, John Holbrook.

IV. Seth Chapin, son of Josiah and Mary (King) Chapin, was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, August 4, 1668, and died at Mendon, Massachusetts, April 1, 1746. He removed from Braintree to Mendon, Massachusetts, 1680-82, where he became a large landholder and a distinguished citizen; he also won the title of captain in the militia. He was an expert surveyor, and did much to reclaim the virgin land. He married (first), May 23, 1689, Mary Read (see "Chapin Book," p. 23, published at Hartford, Connecticut, 1924), born March 21, 1669, at Weymouth, died September 12, 1689, at Mendon, Massachusetts. He married (second), March 25, 1691, Bethiah Thurston, born in Medfield, April 30, 1671-72, died March 2, 1744, at Mendon, daughter of Deacon John and Mary (Wood) Thurston. He married (third), May 24, 1744, Mrs. Mary (White) Hill, born in 1672. Children, born in Mendon, Massachusetts, all by second marriage: 1. Seth, born July 2, 1692, died April 1, 1740; married (first) Abigail Adams; (second) Elizabeth French. 2. Bethiah, born February 16, 1694, died 1734; married, October 1, 1714, Jonathan Thayer. 3. Josiah, born March 1, 1695-96, died November 6, 1718; probably unmarried. 4. John, born May 13, 1698, died August 3, 1770; married, 1718-19, Dorcas ———; (second) Mrs. Bullard. 5. Mary, born April 30, 1700, died January 22, 1768; married, November 20, 1720, Captain Robert Taft. 6. Samuel, born June 2, 1702, died April 27, 1753; married, May 19, 1729, Anna Craggin. 7. Deborah, born June 14, 1704, died July 21, 1777; married, 1725, Nathaniel Nelson. 8. Hopeskill, born November 27, 1705, died October 12, 1805; married, December 27, 1727, Dr. John Corbitt, Jr. 9. Joseph, of whom further. 10. Abigail, born June 10, 1710, died September, 1738. 11. Lydia, born February 2, 1712, died 1778; married, December 28, 1731, Josiah Taft.

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12. Benjamin, born April 6, 1713, died May 6, 1782; married (first) Sarah French; (second), 1738, Annie Rice; (third), 1750, Mrs. Jemima (Draper) Morris. 13. Ebenezer, born December 23, 1714, died February 19, 1805; married, 1743, Mrs. Abigail (Perry) Whitney; (second), 1758, Mary Vose; (third), 1776, Mrs. Lydia (White) Staples. 14. Japhet, born February 24, 1716-17, died April 15, 1717.

V. *Joseph Chapin*, son of Seth and Bethiah (Thurston) Chapin, was born in Mendon, Massachusetts, March 6, 1708. ("Town Records," March 1); died in Milford, Massachusetts, July 1, 1788. (Milford changed from Mendon, 1780.) He married, February 5, 1730, Mary Nelson, born April 16, 1713, in Rowley, Massachusetts, and died February 16, 1798, in Milford, daughter of Gershom and Abigail (Ellithorpe) Nelson. Children, born in Mendon, Massachusetts: 1. Joseph, born January 29, 1730-31, died August 18, 1809; married, March 9, 1758; Ruth Taft. 2. Abigail, born May 10, 1732, died in Conway, Massachusetts; married, January 5, 1762, Silas Rawson. 3. Gershom, of whom further. 4. Ephraim, born May 5, 1745, died March 26, 1812; married, May, 1768, Hannah Rider. 5. Samuel, born October 29, 1736, died September, 1803; married, February 26, 1761, Beulah Taft.

VI. *Gershom Chapin*, son of Joseph and Mary (Nelson) Chapin, was born at Mendon, Massachusetts, May 27, 1734, died at Uxbridge, Massachusetts, August 23, 1801. He marched from Mendon on the alarm at Fort William Henry, August, 1757, in the French and Indian War, in Captain Phineas Lovett's company, Colonel Abraham Williams' regiment. He removed to Uxbridge at the time of his marriage. He married (first), March 9, 1758, Elizabeth ("Betty") Johnson, born 1736, died September 11, 1761. He married (second), May 5, 1762, Mrs. Deborah (Holbrook) Torrey, born February 24, 1731-32, died September 18, 1776, widow of Joseph Torrey. He married (third), November 5, 1778, Mary Sherman, born October 28, 1743, died December 15, 1819, daughter of Ephraim and Thankful (Temple) Sherman. Child of first marriage, born at Uxbridge, Massachusetts: 1. Hannah, born July 17, 1759, died November 22, 1832; married, 1779, Lieutenant Elisha Murdock. Children by second marriage: 2. Betty or (Betsey), of whom further. 3. Henry, born May 4, 1765, died October 5, 1844; married, in 1794, Abigail Baylies. 4. Joseph, born May 4, 1767, died April 12, 1814; married, 1797, Sarah Jacobs. 5. Phineas, born August 3, 1769, died May 3, 1839; married, September 3, 1795, Eunice Taft. 6. Lois, born

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June 27, 1771, died 1859; married (first), 1790, Abijah Legg; (second), 1797, Josiah Woodward. 7. Mary (Polly), born March 1, 1774, died January 24, 1804; married, May 20, 1797, John Warren. Children by third marriage: 8. John Sherman, born August 2, 1779, died December 19, 1849; married, October 21, 1806, Mary Capron. 9. Sally, born February 7, 1781; married, October 6, 1803, Moses Smith. 10. Nancy, born February 13, 1786; married, December 7, 1809, Obed Goldthwait.

VII. Betty (or Betsey) Chapin, daughter of Gershom and Deborah (Holbrook-Torrey) Chapin, was born in Mendon, Massachusetts, April 21, 1763, and died in Greenfield, Massachusetts, January 3, 1846. She married, November 4, 1790, at Uxbridge, Massachusetts (from "Chapin Genealogy," p. 646), Andrew Adams. (See Adams VI.)

(The Sibley Line).

From the Christen-name Sibylla, Sibylle, the family name Sibley is derived, brought by the Normans into England. Sibila of Conversana was the wife of Robert, Duke of Normandy, and the name Geoffrey Sibilie, is on the "Hundred Rolls" of County Suffolk, A. D. 1273, while Thomas Sibley is on those of County Cambridge. The Sybly-Sibley coat-of-arms is as follows:

Arms—Per pale azure and gules, a griffin passant between three crescents argent.

I. John Sybley, or Sibley, came to America with Higginson's fleet in 1629, with Richard, believed to be his brother. It was not clear whether that John, who was admitted to Charlestown, Massachusetts, Church, with his wife, Sarah, February 21, 1634-35, was the John who was freeman of Salem, Massachusetts, May 6, 1635, and jurymen and selectman in 1636, who may have been the son of the former. John, of Salem, held land at Jeffrey's Creek (now Manchester), in 1637, and died in 1661. He married Rachel Pickworth. Children: 1. Sarah, baptized September 18, 1642. 2. Mary, baptized September 8, 1644; married, January 26, 1665, Jonathan Walcott. 3. Rachel baptized May 3, 1646; married a Bishop. 4. John, baptized May 4, 1648. 5. Hannah, baptized June 22, 1651; married Stephen Small. 6. William, baptized July 3, 1653. 7. Joseph, of whom further. 8. Samuel, born February 12, 1657; married Mary. 9. Abigail, baptized July 3, 1659.

II. Joseph Sibley, son of John and Rachel (Pickworth) Sibley, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, 1655. He was a fisherman and was once impressed for hard service on board a British frigate for seven weeks.

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He married, February 8, 1683-84, Susanna Follett, daughter of William Follett, of Dover, New Hampshire. Children, born at Salem, Massachusetts: 1. Joseph, born November 9, 1684. 2. John, born September 18, 1687; married, 1713, Lerniah Gould; lived in Lynn. 3. Jonathan, born May 1, 1690. 4. Hannah, baptized May, 1695; married, in 1722, Ebenezer Dagget. 5. Samuel, of whom further. 6. William, born September 7, 1700. 7. Benjamin, born September 19, 1703.

III. Samuel Sibley, son of Joseph and Susanna (Follett) Sibley, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, where he was baptized May 16, 1697. He married, August 6, 1722, Martha Dike, and settled in Sutton, Massachusetts, where his death occurred. Children, born in Sutton, Massachusetts: 1. Samuel, of whom further. 2. Nathaniel. 3. Lucy, born April 26, 1726; married, June 28, 1743, Jonathan Park. 4. Jeremiah, born December 31, 1728. 5. Benjamin, born February 27, 1730; married, February 6, 1754, Lucy Park.

IV. Samuel Sibley, son of Samuel and Martha (Dike) Sibley, was born in Sutton, Massachusetts, in 1724 (see "History of Sutton," p. 723, by Benedict and Tracy, Worcester, 1878), and died there, August 31, 1801. He married, March 19, 1743-44, Abigail Park, daughter of a militia captain. Children, born in Sutton, Massachusetts: 1. Abigail, born May 30, 1745 (see "History of Sutton," p. 723); married, June 21, 1763, Bradford Chase. 2. Lucy, born October 15, 1750; married, October 19, 1767, John Burdon, Jr. 3. Samuel, of whom further. 4. Judith, born June 6, 1757; married, August 21, 1776, Caleb Putnam. 5. Nathan, born October 26, 1760; married, November 21, 1782, Rachel Studley. 6. Mehitable, born July 27, 1762; married, May 15, 1781, John Elliot. 7. Job, born February 12, 1766, died 1848; married, November 16, 1786, Polly Hicks.

V. Samuel Sibley, son of Samuel and Abigail (Park) Sibley, was born in Sutton, Massachusetts, April 26, 1756, and died in Barre, Massachusetts, June 30, 1840. He served in the Revolution for a short time. On December 10, 1778, he married Sarah Leland, who died April 11, 1842, and in the year 1785 he settled in Barre, Massachusetts. Sarah Leland was daughter of Moses Leland, a Revolutionary Soldier. Children, first three born in Sutton, rest in Barre, Massachusetts: 1. Charles, born October 29, 1779 (see Sutton Vital Records); married (intent), August 19, 1803, Huldah Harwood, of Barre. 2. Sardius, born January 11, 1782, died December 11, 1801. 3. Lyman, born May 18, 1784; mar-

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ried (first) Lydia Eaton; (second) Hannah Robinson; (third) Abigail Robinson. 4. Samuel, born in Barre, September 19, 1786, died March 8, 1842. 5. Sally, of whom further. 6. Jonathan, born May 13, 1794.

VI. Sally Sibley, daughter of Samuel and Sarah (Leland) Sibley, was born in Barre, Massachusetts, January 18, 1790, and died there, September 27, 1859 (see "Harwood Families," Vol. II, p. 21, by Watson H. Harwood, M. D., Chasm Falls, New York, 1912). She married, in 1806, Wilcut Harwood, who was born in 1783. (See Harwood Line VI.)

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MANSION HOUSE GREENFIELD MASS.

The Mansion House Corner*

BY ELIZABETH L. ADAMS, GREENFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.



HAT is now known as the Mansion House Corner, Greenfield, has been a site well known in the community ever since the old frontier days. The vigorous early settlers pushed their way up the Connecticut Valley from Springfield until they reached historic Deerfield in 1667. They reached the confines of Greenfield in 1686, but it was not until 1743 that Greenfield won its independence as a district and ten years later as a town.

Before Franklin County sprang into existence, before the incorporation of the town of Greenfield, even before the laying out of streets, this spot was destined to become truly historic, for here it was that the old Corse Fort stood, one of the earliest buildings of which we have any record in this vicinity.

It was the east end of the present lot which was within the confines of the fort, those palisades occupying what is now a part of the library grounds.

We must search the Hampshire Abstracts for the earliest records of this Lot No. 11 (the Mansion House Lot) which seems to have been granted to Benoni Moore who sold it to Ebenezer Severance April 17, 1720. Ebenezer Severance, by a deed dated April 18, 1720, transferred to James Corse, the old hunter, that lot on which now stands the Mansion House (together with other lands), described as follows "all that allotment on Green River which I bought of Benoni Moore, 30 acre allotment and an eight acre home lot No. 11 bounded east by home lot of Thomas French 2nd, west by home lot of Nathaniel Brooks, north by undivided lands and south by the street."

That street later received municipal sanction to be called Main Street.

The lot was eighty rods in length and sixteen rods in width.

James Corse, the celebrated hunter and scout, was probably the landlord of the first tavern kept in Greenfield.

The exact date of his building his house is not known, but it was undoubtedly soon after he obtained his title to this land in 1720, as he

*This paper was read by Elizabeth L. Adams before the Greenfield Historical Society, November 8, 1912.

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was married August 21, 1721. Nothing can be learned about the house, but a conjectural guess would be that it was of logs.

His house became the general meeting place for the people. Probably the first preaching services which occurred in Greenfield were held on Sundays when the town was almost a wilderness. Meetings of the ancient proprietors of grants were held here and other assemblies, and the house was thrown open as an inn.

James Corse was the historic hunter and trapper and his bear and wolf traps were scattered far and near, for his hunting ground covered a large territory about here. Doubtless many an epicure could testify to the sumptuous meals of bear meat and venison that were probably served at this country inn nearly two centuries ago.

During the French and Indian wars this Corse house was garrisoned by government soldiers and it was the place of refuge in times of sudden danger.

In 1754 it was voted that: "James Corse house should be one of three which should be picqueted in the district." The other houses were those of Joshua Wells and Shubel Atherton.

Among the records of town affairs in this frontier settlement, we find, December, 1755, voted: "that they would give James Corse thirteen pounds old tenour for the use of his house to meet in on Sabbaths and other necessary meetings this year." The amount of recompense which he received from the town for the use of his house for meetings for public affairs varied from year to year.

In 1757 they voted to give him "two pounds for his house to meet in on Sabbath and other necessary meetings. He giving the signal to meet." These signals were given by the beating of a drum and sometimes on a conch shell. This was when ecclesiastical affairs were a regular matter of business in which the town as a whole concerned itself.

In open town meetings votes were passed with relation to the meeting house and the settlement and dismissal of ministers. September, 1753, it was voted to "invite Rev. Mr. Edward Billing to settle in the work of the ministry among us" and for several years these meetings were held in the old Corse Fort. In the old town records I find James Corse's name as committee on church affairs and he held other offices.

In 1759 we find the first action of the town in relation to the building of a meeting house and a few years later that structure was erected on Trap Plain so-called, the site of which is now marked by the stone watering trough at Long's Corner.

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Aaron Denio's tavern was across Main Street near where the Masonic Block now stands, but it has long since passed away.

May 26, 1774, when James Corse was eighty years old, he conveyed the lot (the old tavern stand) to his son, Dan Corse, who, after a brief ownership of only about a year, sold it to Lemuel Bascom who owned much land in this vicinity. After ten year's ownership he sold to Caleb Alvord this property and about four and one-half rods of land, being that location at the corner of Main and Federal streets. Three years later Mr. Alvord purchased about six rods more where the central portion of the Mansion House now stands and that again became a portion of the original acreage.

Federal Street did not exist at that time, the only road to the north from Main Street being by way of High Street so that our Mansion House Corner had not yet been carved out.

A more direct road was needed to reach the meeting house and a road was laid out from Greenfield Street to the meeting house—our Federal Street of today—which passed through Mr. Alvord's land, the tavern standing east of the road on the spot occupied by the present old part of the Mansion House. This road was accepted April 25, 1789, according to the old records.

May 5, 1792, Caleb Alvord sold to Calvin Munn this property, containing one and one-half acres, more or less, for 360 pounds. The original large Corse lot had become reduced in size by the sale of several tracts of land from its north and east sides, but that part at the corner of Main and Federal streets always remained the old tavern stand.

Mr. Munn sold to Hart Leavitt 45 feet cut from the east end of his lot and on this the Leavitt store was built. Thompson's "History of Greenfield" tells us that this Hart Leavitt Building, where the middle portion of the Mansion House now stands, was the home of the first newspaper published in Greenfield, the first post office, and a book store. William Coleman was the father of the first newspaper, the "Impartial Intelligencer," which was published by Thomas Dickman, February, 1792. In the first numbers there is nothing to indicate the spot where the printing office was located, but November 5, 1795, the following notice was published:

"The public are respectfully informed that the Printing Office, Post Office and Book Store will in future be kept in the new building east of Mr. Munn's tavern (now the Mansion House). The 'Gazette' will be delivered and all business appertaining to the above mentioned occupa-

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tion transacted on the lower floor east part of said building. By their humble servant, Thomas Dickman."

The paper changed names and homes several times and is our "Gazette and Courier" of today. Some of the "Gazette" "ads." of over a century ago are amusing.

"Cash will be paid for beef bladders suitable to pack snuff in at the printing office." "Gazette."

Evidently printing business did not require the entire time of the publishers and they ran a side line—either for profit or for pleasure.

Thomas Dickman was appointed postmaster in 1789 and a post office for the first time was established in Greenfield. He received his commission from George Washington. There were at this time few post offices in the State and people within a radius of twenty miles came here for their mail. It is interesting to know that prior to this time the only post office in western Massachusetts was at Springfield. A post office was established in Northampton in 1792.

Now, when we have daily papers from distant cities delivered at our very doors almost before the ink is dry and special delivery letters and other mail matter speeding as fast as steam and electric power can carry them, do we stop to realize what the establishment of this post office meant in our town only about 120 years ago, when the swiftest modes of conveyance of Uncle Sam's mail bags were the steamboat, stage coach or post riders? Early in the nineteenth century the mail from Boston was brought once a week on horseback. Surely times have changed in that line.

The post office was located here until 1802 when Mr. Ames was appointed postmaster. About the middle of the century, when D. N. Carpenter was postmaster, the post office was again located near the original site, this site having been covered by the extension of the building and is now the American Express Company's office.

In more recent years when Mr. Peleg Adams owned the Mansion House he fitted up an office for post office where the Greenfield News Company now is, and for the third time in its history the post office was here.

This was almost the identical site of the first post office in Franklin County, then Hampshire County. The post office has hovered around the Mansion House, apparently keeping the original location, the center having been located always within a stone's throw of the Mansion House, north, west and south of the original site, and now expects a home of its

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own, a government building to be erected a few rods east of the Mansion House, where is now located the residence of Mrs. W. E. Wood on Main Street.

The newspaper, "Franklin Democrat," was later published in this Hart Leavitt Building, by the Miricks.

The late S. O. Lamb was editor for several years. Besides the sale of this Leavitt tract, Mr. Munn, owner of the Mansion House, also sold to Dr. John Stone a lot six rods wide adjoining Leavitt, which passed through the hands of William Coleman, Benjamin Swan, Jonathan Leavitt and Hart Leavitt to David Ripley, on which he built his house. Daniel Clay's cabinet shop was on the north.

The original Corse house which had served as fort, meeting house, tavern, and had been the center of so much of the activity of Greenfield, was burned and a long wooden building, a little farther west, had succeeded it as tavern, this building facing Main Street as does the present brick structure.

This country tavern of simpler days was smaller than the present hotel but finally with the advance of years and the increasing hotel business in the growing town of Greenfield, both these Leavitt and Stone or Ripley lots were bought back to add to the acreage and make possible a structure suitable to the demands of the times.

Mr. Munn was a Revolutionary soldier from Whitingham, Vermont, and proved to be a good hotel man, since Munn's tavern became famous for miles around, and for a long series of years he was the host of the traveler and wayfaring man, laying the foundation of a good hotel business.

This venerable and veteran soldier of the Revolution was not without his troubles however, in conducting the tavern business, for in looking over some old files of paper which have been presented to this society, I find the following notice in the "Greenfield Gazette or Massachusetts and Vermont Telegraph," September 29, 1796:

\$20 Reward.

Stolen from off the subscribers horse standing at the door of Mr. Calvin Munn's in Greenfield on the 22d inst. in the evening, one half of a pair of saddle bags containing one-hundred and eighty dollars in cash and two pieces of Indian Cotton of about 14½ yards each. Among the cash was a piece of gold 22 P 4 value. Whoever will secure the thief so that he may be brought to justice and the property recovered shall receive twenty dollars reward, or for the property alone fifteen dollars, and all charges paid by Daniel Baker, Gill, Sept. 26, 1796.

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This polite notice also appears in the same paper :

Somebody has taken a pair of new saddle bags from Mr. Munn's Tavern, they are desired to return them immediately. Samuel Clark, Greenfield, Sept. 26, 1796.

Evidently saddle bags were in great demand in those days and it would have been interesting had the succeeding papers chronicled the facts as to whether the thieves were captured and brought to justice, and what punishment was meted out to them; but, unfortunately the papers of those days did not furnish the news in serial form any more than they do today.

The papers of those days devoted much to foreign intelligence, news from the West Indies, foreign battles, extracts from London papers and occasionally some mention of the high price of flour and other commodities, which shows that the high cost of living is not entirely a modern subject. News was received by the arrival of certain vessels from abroad.

They seemed particularly anxious to give credit to the proper authority for the source of their information as appears from the following notice :

Boston, Sept. 12, 1796.

On Saturday arrived here Capt. Swain 56 days from Bremen. He brought no papers. However, by the politeness of the Captain we are enabled to state the following interesting particulars.

Then followed report of a severe engagement between French and Austrian armies.

There is a dearth of local news in the ancient files of papers. Evidently they thought everybody knew his neighbor's affairs—local news and possibly gossip being swapped at the tavern office and country stores.

That Mr. Munn treated the horses well which put up at his barn we judge from the fact that he advertises for one hundred bushels of good oats. This old patriot, Calvin Munn, also kept a store in connection with the tavern as appears from the advertising columns of the local papers of that time :

"Greenfield Gazette," July 7, 1796.

Calvin Munn

Has just received a very general assortment of European, East and West India Goods. Price current Brandy 12s. W. I. Rum 11s. Bohea

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Tea 2s. 8 and perhaps lower and all other articles upon the same scale. Cash and most kinds of produce will be received in payment and the smallest favor treated with due attention.

Think he must have been a sharp competitor with the merchant Beriah Willard for, in one of the advertising columns May 30, 1796, he "Respectfully informs his customers and the public at large that he has just bought a whole *Wagon Load* of goods" to sell.

But we must remember that this was the Greenfield of over a hundred years ago, when the combined population of Greenfield and Gill was not far from 1,500 and it bore little resemblance to the town as it is today, with its nearly 12,000 inhabitants. It was the Greenfield, when, with all seriousness, votes were passed in open town meeting that horses, sheep and swine should run at large on the common lands.

No shrill whistle of nearby locomotive or screech of passing automobiles rushing over the brick pavement disturbed the peaceful slumbers of the guest in this quiet country tavern. Indeed, such sights and sounds would have been more amazing to the people of those days than the whirr of flying machines would be today.

"Other times, other customs."

When the tax bills on this tavern property were presented, they were based on an assessed valuation of the modest sum of about \$3,000.00.

During Mr. Munn's ownership he was the landlord of the tavern most of the time. From 1797 to 1798 Elijah Lamb kept the house. Mr. Munn's competitor in the tavern business was the Willard tavern, called Well's Tavern, on the opposite corner across Federal Street.

Calvin Munn's name appears on the muster rolls of the Continental Army. He was a pensioner. What a fund of interesting reminiscences of Revolutionary days must have been his, and with what thrilling tales of battles and exciting incidents of war times he must have entertained his guests.

Mr. Munn owned other real estate in town, one of his holdings being the "mineral lot" so-called, from the supposed mineral deposits of copper, etc. In the old deeds it is referred to as the "mineral lot." This mineral lot is situated in the eastern part of Greenfield, bordering on the Connecticut River and is the east end of Rocky Mountain, so-called, opposite Turners Falls. Joel Meriam succeeded Munn in ownership and then it came into possession of Peleg Adams, who deeded it to his son and his son's wife, John and Charlotte Adams, and it is now owned by their chil-

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dren Ruth and Elizabeth Adams. I may say that none of the owners have become wealthy from the stores of minerals supposed to be deposited beneath its rocky surface. Some of Capt. Kidd's money is said to be buried on the steep bank sloping towards the river or on the island opposite. My grandfather told me that he knew of one man who avowed that he had seen these treasures.

It was on a moonlight night and the glittering gold lay all about in great quantities—more than he could carry. He hastened with all possible speed to his home to yoke up his ox team and load up his cart with these treasures of glittering gold. But, lo! when he returned to the scene with oxen and cart the gold had all disappeared!

To return to the Mansion House corner, the hotel property has increased in value, for May 13, 1815, Mr. Munn sold the Tavern Stand to Asa Goodenough for \$6,000. It had gained a prestige, too, for the deed refers to "That certain *mansion* situated in Greenfield, lately occupied by me as a tavern with the out buildings under and about the same." This is the first mention I find of the word "Mansion" in connection with the property. In former days it was not known as the "Mansion House." The hotel took its name from the owners—as "Mun's Tavern," "Goode-nough's Tavern," and later "Newton's Hotel," "Smead's Hotel," etc.

Asa Goodenough was an energetic man and soon purchased the old Willard tavern located just west of him, Federal Street having been cut through between them, no doubt considering this the best way to put an end to competition from that source.

Besides the land on the west of Federal Street the deed also included a few feet of land lying easterly of these premises, between Federal Street and what was then the corner of the Willard Tavern stand, this triangular piece having been cut off by the laying out of Federal Street. This street was three rods wide as originally laid out.

When he sold, he reserved the right of way which is now between the Franklin Savings Institution and the Fire Station.

Another restriction in this deed reads:

Provided, however, that if the said Munn, his heirs or assigns shall ever hereafter keep a tavern, or house of public entertainment upon the above granted premises, without the full license and consent of the said Asa Goodenough or his heirs and assigns first had and obtained therefor, this deed to be void, otherwise to remain in full force.

These restrictions have been observed—no hotel having been kept on these premises, and it seems hardly probable that Mr. Goodenough's deed

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of nearly 100 years ago will of necessity become void. These restrictions cover a part of the tract between Main, School, Ames and Federal streets.

Mr. Goodenough also purchased thirty-seven acres of land on Federal Street. His speculations brought him to grief and it was by sheriff's sale that Jeriel Preston came into possession of the hotel property in 1820 and he deeded it to Asaph and Homer Preston in 1823. They kept the house for two years and in April, 1825, sold it to Isaac Newton, Jr., son of Capt. Isaac Newton, for \$500 more than Asa Goodenough had paid for it and it now becomes the Greenfield Hotel. He uses the columns of the local paper, "Franklin Post and Christian Freeman" to make the following announcement :

GREENFIELD HOTEL.

Isaac Newton, Jr.—Informs his friends and the public that he has purchased the Tavern Stand in the center of the pleasant village of Greenfield, lately occupied by Messrs. Preston, has procured faithful and obliging attendants for Kitchen, Bar and Barn and every exertion will be made to render this house a quiet resting place to those who travel for business or pleasure. He will be constantly provided with choice Liquors and all the variety of provisions which the country and the season will allow. May 23, 1825.

A great change now takes place in the old hotel stand. Greenfield has grown. The population of the town is nearly 1,500. Greenfield needs a new hotel. Farmers from the hills drive into town from every direction and it is the market for the farmers of all Franklin. Greenfield has become more of a trading center and it is the chief town of the region. It is the head of river navigation, the port of entry being Cheapside, where the cargoes of merchandise are unloaded from the flat-bottomed boats which are poled up the Connecticut and Deerfield rivers. Stage routes from north and south and from east and west areas cross each other here and make Greenfield their stopping place. The old Mansion House stand of nearly a century ago was the stage house or center for the stages and drivers, thirty or forty of whom often stopped there over night.

There was a stage route from Boston to Albany and the mail stage from Hartford, Connecticut, to Hanover, New Hampshire. In their "ad." for this enterprise in 1796, when the mail stage went only three times a week, they said: "The proprietors pledge themselves to those who wish to travel with ease, speed and convenience that they will furnish elegant carriages and horses with careful and faithful drivers and that

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nothing on their part shall be wanting to render a seat in their carriages agreeable."

Greenfield, instead of Deerfield, has become the shire town and this has brought new dignity.

Men of high character practiced at the bar, men whose names have gained a State or National repute. Greenfield has become an important business center. The old stage tavern is inadequate to care for all its patrons. Surely Greenfield must have a new and up-to-date hotel. Mr. Newton realizes this and determines to keep pace with the times and retain the high hotel standard for which Greenfield was noted by building a new up-to-date brick hotel.

Busy scenes follow. The main part of the old building was moved down Main Street and converted into the dwelling house of George W. Mark, later occupied by Seaman's Silver Plating Works and recently torn down by Mr. Goodell. The new structure was of brick—one of the earliest in Greenfield constructed of such material. It was three stories high, 64x49 feet, cellar underneath with a two-story wooden ell, 68 feet long. Contained a hall 46x52. Eight parlors and fifty rooms. The main building extended as far east as what is now the American Express office. The entire lower floor of the house was used for hotel purposes, there being no stores there as now. There were three rooms on the front where Forbes' store, hotel office and Greenfield Savings Bank now are, which served as hotel office and parlors. In the rear were the dining rooms, kitchen and other rooms, there being entrances from both Main and Federal streets. It had a wide piazza, the full length of the front; on the east side was a stable yard with room to turn a coach and four, backed by roomy stables, the driveway to which was from Main Street. September 30, 1828, Isaac Newton formally opened this new brick hotel.

It was a grand hotel and good cheer prevailed in an abundant degree. The hall was on the third floor, occupying the entire west or Federal Street end of the hotel and it has been the scene of many social functions, assemblies of all sorts, and dances to the fiddles of Philo Temple, Charles Lyons, John Putnam and others. There were cotillion parties and levees—long vanished scenes of former days.

Newton's Hotel was built when construction work of this sort was done on honor, as the heavy stone bases, walls and supporting columns, which can be seen in the basement, testify today. Strong huge walls with mortar almost as hard as stone, which look as though they might stand

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for centuries to come, although the hands which built them have long since been laid to rest. Surely the house has a firm foundation, one of the first essentials in building construction.

The popularity of the house continued and in the palmy days of the old-fashioned stage coach the business flourished. There were two lines of stages passing through Greenfield between Boston and Albany, going through in two days now instead of three. Fare \$3.00 to either point. Another line was from Hartford, Connecticut, to Hanover, New Hampshire.

Thompson's History says: "One of the stage lines running north and south was the celebrated 'Telegraph Line,' which had the mail contract and was required to average seven miles per hour, including stops, running night and day."

The very best horses were used on this line and special coaches were built for it in Albany, weighing 1,800 pounds. They were not allowed to take over six passengers and must make time or forfeit \$100.00.

The regular coaches ran as usual, making ordinary time and passengers on the "Telegraph" paid about 20 per cent. higher than the "regular coach."

The distance was about 100 miles and by relays of horses at regular intervals this rapid traveling was made possible, and in those days seemed very appropriately named the "Telegraph Line."

Some of the older people remember seeing these elegant stages roll up to the piazza in grand style, their coming preceded by the blowing of the driver's horn. There were other stage lines—over the Hoosac Mountains and to other points and business was brisk for all.

Then there were the great four and six-horse freight wagons which made regular trips to Boston carrying down country produce and bringing back all sorts of merchandise. The round trip from Greenfield took about ten days.

Elijah S. Alvord kept the house in 1830.

July, 1833, Mr. Newton sold the Mansion House for \$14,000.00 to Charles, son of Colonel Asaph Smead, including in the deed "the aqueduct which I own and by which the conveyed premises are watered." In 1836 Smead's "Stage Tavern" employed ten people. Mr. Smead continued as landlord until 1842, when he disposed of it to Asher Spencer and Barnard Newell.

James Taggart became the landlord for a short time and was succeeded by Mr. Brewster from Northampton.

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Greenfield was a far different town from what it now is. There were no railroads, no telegraphs, and telephones were unknown. In 1843 Paul Chase, of Brattleboro, Vermont, purchased this noted hostelry and after four years sold it to George Field and Elijah Coleman, the acqueduct continuing to be mentioned in the deed. It is believed that this spring was located near what is now the residence of Samuel D. Conant on Grinnell Street.

Elijah Coleman was the son of Captain Thaddeus Coleman, of the Meadows.

After four years of hotel business he sold his interest to Wendell T. Davis and became interested in the Adams Express Company. He spent his life in their service and was a valued officer, being superintendent of the company at Philadelphia for many years. His death occurred in 1890.

His interest in his native town has shown itself in substantial manner, one memorial of his generosity being the well-cared for grounds of the North Meadows Cemetery, he having left a fund for its perpetual care.

Meantime the population of Greenfield had increased to over 2,500. There were over 100 well-built dwelling houses and four churches in Greenfield, besides mercantile establishments.

Field and Davis made many improvements and about 1849 extended the main brick building from the present Greenfield Savings Bank to Browning's clothing store, being the central portion of the present main structure. Where the express office now is, was an arched driveway to the stables and store entrances in the rear.

The rooms were large and some of those on the second floor used for offices.

Mr. Davis had his law office in one of these rooms and during the renovation of his room not long ago a card bearing his name was found in a crack back of the mantle.

The advent of the iron horse soon brought about the departure of the old stage coach and the passing of the river boats. With the coming of the railroads about 1846 passed the business of many an old country tavern which is left deserted and crumbling to ruin.

Not so the famous old Mansion House. Greenfield became a railroad center, their lines crossing each other here as did the stage coach lines in former days and the town prospered.

She soon adjusted herself to the new order of things and a familiar sight on our streets for many years has been the Mansion House bus

MANSION



(1889)

HOUSE



(1862)



(1877)

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going to and fro to meet the trains and carry hotel guests. Mr. William Munn, the present porter, has held that position for the past thirty-two years, a long period of faithful service. He is familiarly called "Billy" Munn by his hosts of friends among the traveling public.

The railroad facilities in Greenfield are an important factor in the town's prosperity today.

Greenfield is becoming a center for automobiles, their routes crossing each other here as did the old stage coach routes a century ago.

Some of the bricks used in the construction of this addition to the Mansion House were Meriam bricks, made in the brick-yard on the Meriam place near the top of the hill on the road leading from Factory Village to Greenfield, now one of the farms belonging to the Peleg Adams estate.

During the construction of these additions the masons on the staging above could be heard calling, "Meriam brick," "Meriam brick." A passerby on the street inquired the meaning of this and was told that the Meriam bricks, being harder and superior to other bricks, but the supply being limited, were used about the windows and where good strong bricks were most needed. The unusual superior quality of the sand—sharp with quartz—from the nearby sand bank was one reason why the bricks manufactured by the Meriams were so superior.

I am told that these Meriam bricks were used in some parts of Allen block and some other structures in town.

With the coming of the railroads brick making was discontinued by Joel Meriam and his sons for they could not compete with other brick-yards on the lines of railroads.

I. S. Tilton was hotel clerk for Mr. Field for a time. Mr. Field kept the house until June, 1855, and sold his interest to Henry W. Clapp, who purchased Mr. Davis' interest the same year, subject to the leases of D. N. Carpenter, Robert Wiley and Joseph Beals. Mr. Carpenter was postmaster from 1845 to 1861. Robert Wiley had a tin store and Joseph Beals was dentist.

For two years the house was closed while Mr. Clapp made extensive changes and in 1857 it was leased to J. M. Decker, of Lawrence. Other tenants in the Mansion House block that same year (1857) were:

T. S. Wade, apothecary, now the savings bank.

J. Day, music, now Forbes' store.

D. H. Kellogg, boots and shoes.

A. S. Fiske, boots and shoes.

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In 1858 M. W. White, of Hartford, leased the store which had been occupied by H. P. Eaton and continued in the dry goods business where is now the savings bank.

I find the name of Oren Wiley. He bought out Robert Wiley's tin store. Mr. Day sold out to Charles E. Graves, who kept jewelry and music.

These were some of the leading citizens of a former generation who were carrying the responsibilities of life here half a century ago.

In 1858 the hotel was leased to H. B. Stevens and under the management of the family which continued several years, the house gained a very high reputation among the traveling community.

Mr. Henry Clapp made additions and improvements to the hotel and it always continued to be the leading hotel in this vicinity.

When the addition was put on by Field and Davis, they left an archway to the stable, taking the place where the express office now is. This Mr. Clapp converted into an office and D. N. Carpenter kept the post office there. The driveway to the stable was made from Federal Street. He built the balcony with colonial pillars on the Federal Street side of the building. Formerly there was a bay window on the second floor, and an arched entrance from the sidewalk on Federal Street to the basement. There was also a balcony across the front of the building on Main Street.

Mr. Clapp purchased the Ripley House adjacent to the property and previously mentioned.

The Partenheimers and Schulers had occupied the buildings east of the Mansion House and Judge Leavitt's residence stood east of this—the Hovey place—now our public library.

In 1857 Mr. Clapp erected the stone monument at the corner of the sidewalk at the Mansion House, marking the east line of Federal Street. It is sixteen feet long, two feet square at the base and eighteen inches at the top, and is one of the landmarks of the town. I have been told that an attempt was made to drill a hole lengthwise of this pillar for the purpose of inserting a gas pipe, but the drill broke off inside the stone so the project was abandoned.

Mr. Clapp was for a time president of the gas company.

He fitted up a room in the Mansion House for a library and Miss Harriet B. Stone was librarian. The library remained in that room for twelve years until 1867, when by vote of the town, it was removed to the south side of Armory Hall in the town building. Away back in Calvin Munn's

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time I find references to meetings of proprietors of the library at Munn's Hotel. Now our public library adjoins the Mansion House grounds on the east in a buildings of its own.

The room over D. H. Kellogg's shoe store in Mansion House block was very neatly and comfortably fitted up for the Young Men's Christian Association and opened in 1858. James S. Grinnell's law office and Dr. Joseph Beal's dental office were also on the second floor. Other tenants in 1860 were Frank Park, billiard saloon, and Charles Keith, restaurant.

Much might be said of Mr. Clapp and his public-spiritedness. He was a particular benefactor of this town by his planting of so many shade trees on Franklin and other streets.

Mr. William Coleman also has the credit and thanks of the community for many beautiful elms which he planted long ago and which bear witness of his taste and public spirit.

July 17, 1856, Henry W. Clapp, for himself and his heirs and assigns, bought the right from Fanny H. Moody to build a brick drain through her garden to the land of Mary Leavitt, and July 26, 1866, a deed was recorded giving Henry W. Clapp, his heirs and assigns, the right to use and maintain the tile drain through the property of H. E. Keuran on Federal Street.

After Mr. Clapp's death the Mansion House and the Ripley House properties were sold to Mr. George Doolittle in 1869.

We must now think of Greenfield as a town of nearly 3,500 inhabitants. It was a beautiful town with its well-shaded streets. It had been fortunate in its citizens and families and was almost an ideal town. The hotel business had prospered and was increasing and there seemed a demand for more stores and a further increase of the hotel business.

Mr. Doolittle added to the extension easterly, where the old Ripley house had formerly stood, that four-story extension, including the stores now occupied by F. R. Browning, Victor Cote and the Cutler grocery, the present east portion of the block. This part had a Mansard roof. The fourth floor contained rooms for the Republican Lodge of Masons. The first meeting of Republican Lodge of Masons was held in the hall of the old Munn Tavern January 28, 1795. The charter was signed by Paul Revere, then Grand Master of the Grand Lodge. In those days the meetings were opened at six o'clock and closed at nine o'clock, the By-Laws not permitting the brethren to tarry longer. The place of meeting was moved to a building on Federal Street. In 1858 Mr. Clapp finished off a

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hall for the lodge in the Mansion House, which was occupied by them until the reconstruction of the house in 1873 by Mr. Doolittle, when the new hall, with better accommodations, was provided, as I have mentioned. This old hall was converted into guest rooms for the hotel and recently when the old paper was being torn off in preparation for repapering the room, some of the old fresco work on the walls was brought to light. Some of the Masonic emblems were in evidence. The new hall was well lighted and beautifully decorated. There was also a banquet room, regalia room, kitchen and various lockers. These rooms were occupied by the lodge until they outgrew them and about 1897 erected a building of their own—the Masonic Building across Main Street.

Unfortunately Mr. Doolittle invested far beyond his means and the property was closed out under foreclosure by the Franklin Savings Institution, January, 1877, and bid in by Mr. Peleg Adams.

Mr. Peleg Adams was born in Northbridge, Worcester County, Massachusetts, December 29, 1799. He was a son of Andrew and Betsey (Chapin) Adams, both of whom descended from old Colonial stock and the father of each having Revolutionary War records.

Peleg Adams' maternal grandmother was Deborah (Holbrook) Torrey Chapin; she was also the great, great grandmother of President William H. Taft. Both Peleg Adams and his illustrious relative, the President of the United States, were also direct descendants of the Puritan, Deacon Samuel Chapin, whose statue adorns the library grounds at Springfield, Massachusetts.

Andrew Adams and family removed to Greenfield in 1803, and purchased a farm in the eastern part of the town, which farm has been in possession of the family ever since. Andrew Adams, the father of Peleg, was identified in many ways with the early history of Greenfield. He enjoyed the distinction of being the foreman of the first traverse jury in the first session of the court held in Franklin County after its incorporation in 1811. This was the Court of old Common Pleas.

Peleg Adams was a man of sterling character and kindly impulses. He was conservative and yet had the wisest judgment and sound practical knowledge of business affairs. He was honest and fair in all his dealings and also of great influence in town affairs. He served as selectman and assessor several terms and also held other town offices. He was one of the most prominent farmers and drovers in this section.

Mr. Adams expended much money in additions and improvements to the hotel, making it one of the finest in New England—something far

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beyond the usual country hotel—an establishment that overshadowed many metropolitan hotels of far greater pretensions and wide repute.

I have spoken of the gable roof of the three-story old part of the hotel, built by Mr. Newton and the Mansard roof of the east portion built by Mr. Doolittle. Mr. Adams raised the old portion increasing the height of the rooms on the second and third floors and added a fourth story with Mansard roof to correspond to the new part, greatly improving both the exterior and interior attractiveness of the structure. By this arrangement the windows on each story were uniform in height. Prior to this those in the old part had been lower, for the old rooms were not as high studded as those in the new part.

The thick brick walls which had served as the exterior walls on the east end of the building before the extensions were made by Mr. Davis and Mr. Doolittle, now serve as fire walls inside the building, dividing the main building into three parts. Heavy metal covered doors in these walls can be closed in the corridors, thus entirely separating each of these portions of the building from the others in case of fire, making it practically fireproof.

Mr. Adams built the three-story brick ell on Federal Street, 82x38 feet with two-story ell in the rear 60x28 feet. The second story of this ell contains a dining room 70x38 feet. There are no obstructing pillars to support the 14-foot ceiling, a feature giving the spacious room unusual beauty and advantages. The third floor of the ell contains guest chambers.

There are about 100 rooms in the house.

"Uncle Peleg," as he was known to his hosts of friends, also installed in the house one of the first passenger elevators in this vicinity. It was an Otis hydraulic elevator. Electric bells substituted the old-fashioned pull bells. He built a vault for each of the banks, Greenfield Savings Bank and Packard National Bank.

He took especial pride in making the building first-class and adding every convenience and improvement that could be wisely suggested. The equipment which was of the best, displayed rare foresight and good judgment.

He built the substantial brick barn about 100 feet long.

The old ell which had been superseded by the new structure was utilized for other purposes. One section was moved to the rear of the hotel yard and is now the "Cottage" occupied by some of the hotel employees. Two other sections were moved to Federal and Maple streets and converted into dwelling houses.

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Electric lights superseded gas for lighting the rooms. Prior to the introduction of illuminating gas in 1860 the old-fashioned methods of lighting were used, and I fancy it was the dim light of a tallow dip by which some hasty toilets were made in days gone by, when travelers were aroused from their slumbers to make ready for the stage leaving the old village at three a. m. for Boston or Albany, or to go via the Phoenix line which left at two a. m.

The improved method of heating was by steam, the wood and coal stoves being discarded. Some of the old-fashioned fireplaces have been bricked up and a few have been converted into modern grates, giving a cheery homelike appearance to the rooms.

Many of the rooms are unusually large, a feature not found in many modern hotels.

In 1877 Mr. Adams leased the hotel to Mr. G. T. C. Holden, of Hudson, Massachusetts, a man who had had wide experience in the hotel business. He conducted the hotel very successfully and again the house was fortunate in having such a man for hotel proprietor. Mrs. Holden was a woman of pleasing personality and made many friends during their eight years' stay in Greenfield.

In 1885 Mr. Barry succeeded Mr. Holden and conducted the hotel for a few months and then it was leased to Thompson and Schoff. Mr. Thompson soon sold his interest to Alfred Schoff. The house sustained the good reputation gained for it many years since and the citizens of the town were proud to hear it well spoken of by the traveling public.

To reminisce a little: Peleg Adams was seventy-seven years old when, in 1877, he purchased the Mansion House. He drew up a deed of the property (to be recorded after his death) giving it in equal shares to his son, John A. Adams, and his son's wife, Charlotte E. Adams. This deed was never recorded, for December 3, 1880, John Adams was stricken with paralysis and died a few hours later.

The death of his only son was a great shock to the father, Peleg Adams, but he bore the affliction with the same fortitude which had characterized the lifetime of the man. Death had been a frequent visitor to his household, claiming two wives and four daughters, two of the daughters just entering womanhood and the other two younger.

Another deed was drawn up in three names, his sons' widow and their two daughters, his only grandchildren.

I have stated the consideration mentioned in some of the early deeds. The consideration in this was of "love and affection which I bear my

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daughter-in-law, Charlotte E. Adams, and my grandchildren, Ruth C. Adams and Elizabeth L. Adams, the widow and children of my late son, John A. Adams." It was something more than an inheritance.

Grandpa Adams died September, 1887.

Memories cluster around the dear old Mansion House and the owners have endeavored to make the improvements which have been necessary to keep up the high standard of the house. Mrs. Adams was always interested in the welfare of the house. Mrs. Adams and her daughters continued to own the property until the death of the mother, April 21, 1909, when the two daughters became the sole owners.

The hotel has been in the Adams family thirty-five years, a longer period than that of any other name, unless it may be in the olden days of Corse ownership, when it was not strictly a hotel.

Alfred Schoff continued to run the house until it was leased to William E. Wood in 1896. Mr. Wood was one of the best known hotel keepers in the East and was a natural landlord. The Mansion House, famous in memory, has always been fortunate in its proprietors and under the management of W. E. Wood new laurels and new popularity were gained for both the house and for Mr. Wood. He was a man of many friends.

The opening of the hotel, or housewarming, June, 1896, was a brilliant social event in Greenfield. The affair was under the patronage of leading citizens of the town. Upwards of 1,000 invitations were sent out and the entire house was thrown open to the public that evening. The merry dancers took possession of the spacious dining room, which has been the scene of so many banquets and social events during its history.

Mr. Wood was also a popular caterer. He conducted the hotel for a longer period than any other lessee has ever done.

Mr. Arthur Moore was a faithful hotel clerk for the long period of twenty-eight years until two years ago, when he left to make his home in California, much to the regret of his many friends among the traveling public, with whom he was very popular, as well as his friends here in Greenfield.

Mr. W. E. Wood died September, 1910. His widow, Mrs. Alice G. Wood, by her intimate knowledge of her husband's methods of conducting the hotel business, seemed well fitted to continue the business and she now holds a lease of the house; and with an able force of assistants she conducts the hotel. Mrs. Wood is especially fortunate in having the serv-

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ices of Mr. Hermon L. Wood as manager. He has been an efficient employee at the hotel for many years and by his close association with the business has an intimate knowledge of every detail of hotel business.

The famous old Mansion House has always been considered the center for measuring distances to outlying points. Distances to Greenfield as stated from other towns and on country guide boards are measured to the Mansion House Corner. The following is taken from a clipping seventy-five years old :

A very ornamental Guide Post has just been erected around the thrifty young elm at the corner of Smead's Hotel.

A poetic friend on passing it the other day took out his pencil and scribbled the following lines addressed to the gentleman by whose agency the work has been done :

To the "Gazette and Mercury,"
To W. H. Clapp, Esq.,

Extempore, on passing the ornamental guide post recently erected by him near Smead's Hotel.

A stranger, sir, has thought to write
His unprovoked opinion ;
For in this land of law and light,
The mind is no one's minion.

While wondrous things are going on,
Improvements far and near ;
A certain public minded one
Is doing something here.

That something is of such a kind
As all good people need ;
So plain that all except the blind
E'en as they run may read.

And while, at once, we mark with pride
Your village eye attractor
The traveler shall own his guide
A public benefactor.

May 12, 1838.

Names of some of the tenants in stores and offices in Mansion House block prior to the time it came into possession of Mrs. Adams and daughters in 1889 and which I have not mentioned, are as follows :

A. T. Thayer, who sold to W. H. Sanborn and Company.
Simon Sellers.

Thomas V. Hall, cash grocery, succeeded by

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C. T. Walcott about 1877, who, after about two years sold to L. L. Luey.

Snyder had a barber shop where the Greenfield News Company is, and later C. M. Moody occupied the same room for a book store.

S. P. Breck & Son, dry goods, called N. Y. Cash Store.

Upham and Fletcher had the restaurant sold to Mr. Barber, who was succeeded by H. Potter.

J. L. Lyons, furniture warehouse.

Silsby had dry goods store.

C. O. Haley, barber, was succeeded by Philip Partenheimer.

Robbins sold clothing in the extreme east store.

William Wunsch, millinery.

Mr. Pratt, Internal Revenue Office.

Miss Phila Wrisley had millinery parlors in one of the front rooms on second floor and Miss Mary Hicks had dressmaking parlors. She was succeeded by Miss A. Gerrett.

One of the oldest signs over the doors has been that of J. Beals, dentist, where it hung about sixty years. Dr. Joseph Beals came into the block in 1852. One of the first sets of teeth which he made in Greenfield was for Mrs. John Forbes, mother of our townsman, C. P. Forbes. The plate was of solid gold and the price \$100. Later Dr. Beals' sons, Drs. Frank and Herbert Beals, were associated with him and they were the best known dentists in the Connecticut Valley and had a reputation for the best workmanship. After Dr. Joseph Beals' death his son, Dr. Frank Beals, continued dentistry until his decease in 1897. Dr. J. E. Cornell, who had been associated with the latter, continued at the old stand until 1911.

The occupants of the corner store were: Josiah Day, who was in business in 1858.

Charles Graves, then Noah Moody.

The next sign over the door was Forbes and Foster, jewelers.

Mr. Forbes bought out his partner and the Forbes name has had the honor to remain there since December, 1865.

The livery stable has always been kept by the proprietor of the hotel until it was rented to Mr. John Shaw when Mr. Schoff was conducting the hotel. He sold out to Samuel B. Payne and Son, who conducted the business for ten year, until 1906, when Mr. Frank H. Cheever leased the livery stable. After two years he sold to Mr. Roger Rourke, who is one of the best known horsemen in the vicinity.

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For thirty-six years Mr. Philip Partenheimer has been the barber at the hotel. Such a long term is proof that he has served the public well.

Now taking the stores in order from 1889 C. P. Forbes has occupied the first store. Greenfield Savings Bank has occupied their rooms continuously.

The Packard National Bank occupied the next room until its failure in 1904. Since then the American Express Company have been quartered there.

After the post office vacated the next store in 1896, Miss M. A. O'Brien occupied it for millinery store until the Greenfield News Company came in 1911. Mr. E. A. Cowan, one of the owners, conducts the very prosperous business.

Mr. L. A. Luey succeeded his father in the grocery business in the next store east and remained there until 1898, when he went into the wholesale grocery business. He sold out to H. G. Goodell & Co., who, the next year, sold to W. A. Brown & Co., who conducted the business a few months and sold to A. J. Pullen, December, 1899. The next year F. W. Strong owned the grocery store and October, 1901, Clark & Barlow bought him out, and they carried on the grocery business until July, 1902.

Soon the Greenfield Fruit Company opened a fruit store, which, under the management of Arrighi Brothers, does a flourishing business.

Now we come to the name Browning over the door of the next store and it has been there since 1872. This is another example of a long and prosperous business made possible by the honest and upright business dealings of the founder of this clothing store, Anson Browning. He bought out Mr. Robbins, who had a clothing store in the extreme east store in the block. A few years before his death Mr. Browning took into partnership his son, F. R. Browning. Ernest R. Alexander was associated with him a few years, but now the son, Fred R. Browning, conducts the business.

The next store east was occupied by the Interstate Mortgage & Trust Company for a few years and then leased to W. E. Wood for a general office in connection with his hotel business and he sublet desk room to several people during his tenancy. When he removed his office to another part of the building, Victor Cote took the store for a tailoring establishment.

The extreme east store in the block was occupied by Lyons Bros., succeeded by Charles E. Lyons.

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Montague and Son had a clothing store there from 1894 to 1895.

Will M. Burt had a meat and provision store for three years, then it became the Cash Grocery and Market Co., managed by William F. Marsh and later by George W. Smith for several years.

In 1904 Mr. Nahum Cutler took the store and opened it as the Cutler Grocery.

The list of tenants during all these years is a long one, but it contains the names of many of the leading and most successful business men of the times and representative men of our fine old town of Greenfield.

This hotel was once shadowed by stately trees which are not. The majestic trees that adorn these beautiful streets are the gifts of a generation that has passed away and we should recognize our large responsibility to other communities and to mankind at large to preserve and increase so far as possible that heritage of beauty of which we are the present possessors. Oh! the pity of it that any trees should have been felled.

My grandfather mourned the loss of some of these beautiful elms in front of the Mansion House during the period of his ten years' ownership of the property from 1877. They were said to be killed by escaping gas. Three other young elms substituted these on Main Street, but it will require years before they will attain the size of those which were sacrificed about thirty years ago.

Four trees stood on Federal Street opposite the Mansion House, two elms and two horse chestnuts, but within a few weeks these four trees and several others on Federal Street were felled by the tree warden of the town in spite of the strong protest of many of our leading citizens.

In looking over a scrap book which has recently been presented to this historical society by Rev. C. C. Carpenter, of Andover, Massachusetts, I noticed a clipping from "Gazette and Courier," July, 1826, referring to a tree near this hotel, entitled:

THE BEAUTIFUL ELM NEAR NEWTON'S HOTEL.

This graceful elm a while shall stay,
And proudly yield a fragrant shade
To those, who from the sun's bright rays,
Shall often court its genial aid.

Awhile its sunny top shall wave
To the bright morning's gentle breeze;
And bear, unhurt, the evening gale
That fierce its spreading branches seize.

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A while the traveler shall admire
Its beauties, and its happy power,
And 'neath its grateful shade desire
To spend in social chat an hour.

Though now it seems to scorn the rage
Of furious storm; Time, in its course,
Shall make its branches stiff with age
Sport for the rude wind's wintry force.

Its form will slowly fade away,
As shadows of the morn grow less,
While Boreas sings its funeral lay,
In notes of seeming plaintiveness.

Thus man can bear misfortune's darts,
In the bright morning of his days;
In age, sorrow will break his heart,
And bear him slowly to the grave.—ADVENA.

This shows us the reverence which the people who were on the stage nearly a century ago had for trees and for this we call them blessed.

I am told there was also a beautiful elm west of the sidewalk on Federal Street. There was space enough for a team to drive between the curbing of the sidewalk and the tree. This was within the memory of some of our older inhabitants of the town, and the tree was removed not many years ago.

Hotel keepers of today may be interested to know the hotel rates in old Revolutionary days. These prices were fixed by a committee in 1776:

Dinners at taverns of boiled meat or equivalent, 8d;

Suppers or breakfasts of tea, coffee or chocolate, 8d;

Lodgings (soldiers sleeping on the floor not to be considered such), 4d.

Flip or toddy made with N. E. Rum, 9d a mug.

Willard's "History of Greenfield" is authority for these prices.

This history has been of great assistance to me in preparing this paper.

A special help and resource has been Thompson's "History of Greenfield"—that very valuable work.

Bound volumes of newspapers, "Franklin Democrat," which were presented to the Greenfield Public Library by Miss Jane Lamb, contained interesting data, as have also the old "Gazette and Couriers" and "Greenfield Recorders." Also old deeds at the Registry of Deeds.

I have availed myself of the privilege of looking over old books and papers which have been presented to this Historical Society and have

THE MANSION HOUSE CORNER

found the scrap books from Rev. C. C. Carpenter especially helpful, and I wish to thank all who have been of assistance.

In one of these scrap books I found an interesting article by Daniel Foster describing a series of six cotillion parties which were held at Smead's Tavern in 1836. Expenses per night for use of hall and side rooms \$3. This was the hall which extended across the entire Federal Street end of the hotel. Music \$2, prompting \$1 and other prices accordingly. "Uncle" Tom Rockward, so-called, "worked" the violin and Liberty Lamb was prompter.

This famous Mansion House has sheltered many noted guests, but this paper is already so long that I will mention only one of the most noted foreign personages.

Wu Ting Fang, minister of the Chinese Empire, one of the most interesting diplomatic representatives of the Oriental nations, was here in 1890. He wrote his autograph for Mr. Arthur Moore, the hotel clerk, who has a collection ranging from Gladstone to later day celebrities.

If the old walls of the house could speak what interesting stories they might tell of bygone days. Amid the cheerful warmth of the hotel office how much of long forgotten politics has been discussed. Every Presidential election has been speculated upon. George Washington was chosen President and John Adams Vice-President, during Caleb Alvord's time, and so on down the line. Political banners have floated across Main Street to Allen's block and when on gala days and the National holiday we see the Stars and Stripes floating from the building, do we stop to realize that the very men themselves who ran this hotel risked their lives in battles and helped to win our independence?

From this corner the "minute-men" could be seen marching off towards Lexington. We all know the story.

Days of peace followed.

The Mansion House corner has looked upon all sorts of scenes—processions festive and gay and those mournful and sad. And all sorts of gatherings and parades. The old-fashioned musters and cavalry drills were interesting and exciting.

Then came more stirring times—the days of 1860, followed by real war. One of the most impressive scenes ever witnessed from this corner was when the Tenth Massachusetts Regiment was lined up Main Street ready to march off to the Civil War and a multitude of citizens had gathered to bid their soldier friends good-bye. The venerable Rev.

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Amariah Chandler, with head uncovered and his white locks waving in the breeze stood up in an express wagon on Federal Street, facing Main, and offered prayer.

Greenfield did her share during the Civil War. The ladies of the village met frequently at the Mansion House to sew for the soldiers. *Some* of the boys came back and were banqueted at the Mansion House.

From this corner we look across the street to the soldiers' monument on the common. *That* tells a *part* of the story.

Truly the Mansion House may be proud to look back to the "honor and glory of a noble ancestry."

Since this paper was written, there have been a few changes in tenants on the Mansion House property.

Mr. Charles P. Forbes died in 1924 and that same year Mrs. Effie Forbes, the widow of his son Theodore, succeeded him in the jewelry business, which also includes a camera department. This year (1928) completes sixty-one years of jewelry business on this corner in the Forbes name. The hotel office is still next east of the corner store. Then comes the Greenfield Savings Bank just as before. When, in 1914, the American Express Company gave up their Main Street office, which was next east, these rooms were leased by Mrs. Moore and Miss Mabel Turner for a gift shop. Mrs. Moore soon sold her interest to Miss Turner, who operated the store for several years and August 1, 1924, sold out to Miss Lena E. Gibbons, who still conducts the very attractive needlework and gift shop. One of the busiest places in town comes next—the Greenfield News Company, as before. Mr. Edward A. Cowan is the owner. Besides attending to this flourishing business, this popular proprietor, who always has a pleasant and cheery word for his many friends and customers, and has always taken such a keen interest in civic affairs, has found time to serve his town as selectman for several terms.

Just east of the news room was the stairway, which in the old days, led to Dr. Beals' dental rooms, but which rooms had later been converted to use of the hotel. During the fall of 1926, the stairs, being no longer needed, this space was made into an office; and, with the addition of a pretty glass front and brilliantly-lighted sign, gave the town a much needed taxicab office. Mr. George E. Matteson is the proprietor and ably conducts his steadily increasing business. Indeed, horses are so seldom seen on our streets today that the rows of substantial granite hitching

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posts which stood near the curb of the sidewalk on Main and Federal streets have been removed.

The Greenfield Trust Company still occupy the next store east and the very prosperous business is still conducted by the Arrighi family. The partnership formerly consisted of the four brothers, Joseph, Peter, Charles, and Frank. Frank Arrighi died while on a trip to his native country, Italy, in 1926. The Arrighi sons, who have grown up in the fruit business, have entered the partnership and the business is still carried on in the same reliable manner. Many of the present-day customers have continued to trade there since the business was started, September, 1902, and the reputation enjoyed by this fruit store of having excellent and reliable goods is widespread.

Next comes the Shea and Farr clothing store—successors to the Brownings. William and James Shea bought out Fred R. Browning, April, 1923, and the following September Leslie Farr bought William Shea's share and the firm became Shea and Farr. Here the clothing business has been carried on at this same stand since 1872. Fred R. Browning died March 10, 1925. January 1, 1919, the Greenfield Tailoring Co., consisting of Peter and Louis Pettirossi, became the successors of Victor Cote, the tailor, in the next store. They also do an extensive cleaning and dyeing business. May 1, 1916, Mr. William Koch bought the Cutler Grocery, the extreme east store. This flourishing grocery business is conducted in an enterprising manner by Mr. Koch. Nearly sixteen years ago, when the foregoing paper was written, Mr. Roger Rourke was conducting the livery stable, which business he sold to Mr. Mark Tetrault, who sold it to Mr. Louis Sylvester, and he in turn to Mr. John Noble. The one declining business was the livery. Automobiles were increasing in number and most livery stables had gone out of business. Finally, Mr. Noble decided to discontinue this livery and April 1, 1923, the last horse was led out and the barn doors were closed. Mr. George Corsiglia now occupies a part of the barn in connection with his plumbing business. About nine years ago a new plate glass front and some other changes were made in the building known as the carriage repository, facing Federal Street, and that year a store was rented to Alvin Dobbrow and Justin McDuff, known as the Franklin Auto Supply Co. Soon Mr. Dobbrow bought his partner's interest, enlarged the store and does an extensive wholesale and retail business in automobile accessories and other lines of goods.

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The Mansion House Hotel is again fortunate in its proprietor and its popularity continues. In 1914 Mr. Hermon L. Wood bought the business of Mrs. Alice G. Wood, who died in 1915. Having been associated with the hotel for many years Mr. Wood was wonderfully qualified to carry on the business; and he has kept up the same high standard of the hotel which has characterized the house for many years and he has become widely known in hotel circles in the East. The dining room has been removed from second floor to the first floor on Federal Street, and much needed additional guest rooms took the place of the former dining room. "Billy" Munn (his friends would hardly know to whom I referred, had I written "William" Munn) still holds the position of porter and he is nearing his fiftieth year of service in that capacity at the Mansion House. I think he holds the record for the longest term of continued service in this line of work in the State. Mr. John E. Kiley has been a faithful bookkeeper for many years. Mr. Philip Partenheimer still conducts the barber shop as he has done for over fifty years. This completes the list of names of people who have been in business on the Mansion House corner and it contains the names of some of the town's most prominent people.

The exterior of the Mansion House has changed but little. We notice that the large granite monument at the corner of the sidewalk at Main and Federal streets has been removed. This is the monument which was erected by Mr. Henry Clapp in 1857.

Greenfield, the fastest growing community in New England, has steadily increased in population until it now numbers about 17,000. Here on this historic Mansion House corner, where a century ago could be heard the rumbling stage coach and the occasional hoof-beats of a lone horseman, we now see an almost ceaseless stream of automobile tourists from the Mohawk Trail and the White Mountains. No doubt James Corse, the famous old bear hunter and trapper, who about 1720, first opened his house as an inn, had little thought that a hotel would be conducted on this very site for over two hundred years.

February, 1928.





Campenau
(Campau)



Mac Dougall



Navarre



William the Conqueror



Throop



Hunt

CALIFORNIA (CALIFORNIA)

James—D. at point a cross circle the circle; in hand of the circle
of the (Wright and Co.)
T. (Wright and Co.)—A cross circle the circle; in hand of the circle
over all the circle

MAY TOWERS

James—Quarantine (at point a cross circle the circle; in hand of the circle)
of a (Wright and Co.) with a hand of the circle; in hand of the circle
James—An area in a cross circle the circle; in hand of the circle
James—James
James—James (at point a cross circle the circle; in hand of the circle)
(James "General (Wright and Co.)")

WYATT

James—James (at point a cross circle the circle; in hand of the circle)
(James "General (Wright and Co.)")
James—James

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

James—James (at point a cross circle the circle; in hand of the circle)
(James "General (Wright and Co.)")

THORP

James—James (at point a cross circle the circle; in hand of the circle)
(James "General (Wright and Co.)")
James—James (at point a cross circle the circle; in hand of the circle)
(James "General (Wright and Co.)")

HUNT

James—James (at point a cross circle the circle; in hand of the circle)
(James "General (Wright and Co.)")
James—James (at point a cross circle the circle; in hand of the circle)
(James "General (Wright and Co.)")

CAMPEAU (CAMPAU).

Arms—D'argent a la croix engrele de sable; au lambel de gueules en chef, brochant sur la croix. (Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

Translation—Argent, a cross engrailed sable; a label gules in chief, over all the cross.

MAC DOUGALL.

Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, azure, a lion rampant argent; 2d and 3d, or, a lymphad sable, with a flame of fire proper, issuing from the top-mast.

Crest—An arm in armor embowed proper, holding a cross crosslet fitchée gules.

Motto—*Vincere vel mori.* (To conquer or die.)

(Burke's "General Armory.")

NAVARRE.

Arms—Azure, a horse argent.

(Rietstap's "Armorial Général," recorded for Navarre of France).

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

Arms—Gules, two lions passant guardant or.

(Burke's "General Armory.")

THROOP.

Arms—Gules, a bar between two chevrons argent.

Crest—A naked arm grasping a coiled serpent; all proper.

Motto—*Debita facere.* (Crozier's "General Armory.")

HUNT.

Arms—Per pale argent and sable, a saltire counterchanged.

Crest—A lion's head erased per pale argent and sable, collared gules, lined and ringed or. (Crozier's "General Armory.")

Sibley, Campau and Allied Families

BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



THE Campau family, as its name implies, is of French origin, and has been settled in America since the latter part of the seventeenth century, where its sons have left deep and lasting impressions by their worthy efforts and attainments in both business and military affairs. It is interesting to note that the old French "Campeau" (Campau) still exists in the plural "Campeaux," as the name of a commune in Department Calvados, and in Department Oise, Arrondissement Beauvais, Normandy. ("La Grande Encyclopedie.") The exact date of the family's coming to America is not known, but it is known that Étienne Campeau was the first of the name to come to Canada and it is from him that the following Campau family descend. The name in America became Anglicized Campau.

Arms—D'argent a la croix engrele de sable; au lambel de gueules en chef, brochant sur la croix.

(Argent a cross engrailed sable; a label gules in chief, over all the cross.)
(Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

I. *Étienne Campeau* or *Campau*, American ancestor of the family, settled in Montreal, Canada, where he married, in 1663, Catherine Paulo, and had the following children: 1. Étienne, born in 1664; married, in 1690, Jeanne Fouche. 2. Michel, born in 1667; married, in 1696, Jeanne Masse; removed with his family to Detroit, Michigan, in 1707, where he was one of the pioneer merchants; returned alone to Montreal and there died in 1737; his widow died in Detroit in 1764. 3. François, born in 1671; married, in 1699, Madeleine Brassar. 4. Jacques, of whom further. 5. Jean Baptiste, born in 1681. 6. Agathe, born in 1685; married, in 1701, Paul Chevalier. 7. Catherine, born in 1669; married, in 1685, François Blot.

(From "Legends of Detroit.")

II. *Jacques Campau*, son of Étienne and Catherine (Paulo) Campau, was born in Montreal, Canada, in 1677, and died in Detroit, May 14, 1751. He was an armorer in calling, came to Detroit with his family in 1708, and obtained from the French Government, in 1734, a grant of what is now known as the Meldrum farm. He married, in 1699, at Mon-

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trear, Canada, Cecile Catin. (See Catin II.) Children: 1. Jean Louis, of whom further. 2. Henri, born December 3, 1704; married, February 5, 1731, Marguerite L'Huillier. 3. Marie Cecile, born June 21, 1707. 4. Marie Angélique, born December 7, 1708. 5. Nicholas, born at Niagara, August 4, 1710, died December 16, 1756. He married, September 4, 1737, Agatha Casse, of St. Aubin. 6. Jean Baptiste, born August 4, 1711, died June 12, 1783; was Royal notary and justice of the peace in Detroit, both very important offices in his time. He married, January 27, 1737, Catherine Perthuis. 7. Marie Ann, married, July 28, 1732, Joseph Donaire. 8. Thérèse Cecile, born June 16, 1714, died in 1746; married, May 18, 1734, François Marsac. 9. Claude, born August 25, 1715, died May 31, 1787; married, January 22, 1742, Catherine Casse, of St. Aubin.

III. Jean Louis Campau, son of Jacques and Cecile (Catin) Campau, was born in Montreal, Canada, August 26, 1702, and died in Detroit, March 15, 1774. He married, in Detroit, Michigan, January 7, 1725, Marie Louise (Robert) Pelletier, daughter of Pierre Robert, and widow of François Pelletier. (See Robert IV.) Children, born at Detroit, New France: 1. Marie Louise, born November 29; buried December 1, 1725. 2. Marie Thérèse, born January 9, 1727; buried March 28, 1730. 3. Marie Thérèse, born January 8, 1729, died June 13, 1765; married, April 24, 1747, Charles André Barthe. 4. Louis, born October 14, 1731; buried September 9, 1749. 5. François, born April 19, 1734. 6. Jacques, of whom further. 7. Simon, born February 1, 1739, died March 29, 1803; married, July 6, 1761, Véronique Bourdeau. 8. Jean Baptiste, born June 24, 1743; married, August 17, 1767, Genevieve Godet, *dit* Marantette. He owned the Chene farm.

IV. Jacques Campau, son of Jean Louis and Marie Louise (Robert-Pelletier) Campau, was born March 30, 1735. He married (first), August 17, 1761, at Montreal, Catherine Menard, daughter of Jacques-Marie and Susanne (Prejean) Menard, *dit* Prudhomme. (See Menard IV.) She died in 1781 and Jacques Campau married (second), January 5, 1784, Marie Françoise (Navarre) McDougall, daughter of Robert Navarre, and widow of Lieutenant George McDougall, a gallant officer of the British Army. Jacques Campau, who died February 16, 1789, was one of the captains of militia, and his services are frequently mentioned with high praise in the early annals of Detroit. He possessed much property which with the rapid growth of the city became immensely valuable.

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He possessed the gift of beautiful handwriting, which has characterized the family (there is a tradition that the grandfather of Jacques was for a time secretary to Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac) and which is peculiarly noticeable for its distinction. Children, all of his first marriage (born at Detroit): 1. Louis, born November 29, 1762, buried January 11, 1763. 2. A child, born and died October 19, 1763. 3. Marie Cecile, born September 11, 1764, died June 24, 1805; married (first), May 7, 1781, Thomas Williams; (second), May 1, 1790, Jacques Lozon. 4. Jacques, born February 7, 1766, died October 5, 1838; married, November 26, 1789, Susanne Cuillerier, *dit* Beaubien. 5. Louis, born July 26, 1767; buried May 13, 1834; settled at the Clinton River, and married, October 26, 1789, Thérèse Moran. 6. Joseph, born February 25, 1769, an eminently successful business man, died in July, 1863; married, May 18, 1808, Adelaide Dequindre. 7. Nicolas, born September 28, 1770, died in infancy. 8. Toussaint, born October 28, 1771, died March 3, 1810; unmarried. 9. Nicolas Amable, born October 20, 1773, died September 23, 1811; unmarried. 10. Barnabe, of whom further. 11. Catherine, born June 13, 1779, died October 17, 1834; married, June 16, 1880, Louis Vessière, *dit* Laferte. 12. Denis, born October 10, 1781, died December 17, 1818; married, May 8, 1812, Felicité de Joncaire, *dit* Chabert, who died February 14, 1814.

V. *Barnabe* (Anglicized *Barnabas*) *Campau*, son of Jacques and Catherine (Menard) *Campau*, was born in Detroit, June 27, 1775, and died there October 8, 1845. The following is quoted from "Barnabas Campau and His Descendants," by C. M. Burton, 1916:

He was five or six years of age when his mother died. In after years he complained that he had a hard time with his stepmother, but this may be only the notion that every boy gets that his stepmother is not as kind and attentive as his own mother would have been. She had two sons of her own, sons of Captain George McDougall, who had died in 1780; Captain McDougall, in pleading that provision be made by the British Government for his wife, said that she was frail and delicate. She certainly came from a good family. Her father, Robert Navarre, was the Royal Notary for this district, and it is very probable that Barnabas was raised with all the care that other children had at his time. He was fairly well educated, much better, in fact, than most boys of that time. His father died when he was fourteen, and much of his early after life was spent with his brother Joseph, who was fourteen years older than he was, and who was then, and even after, during a long life, an eminently successful business man. Barnabas must have thought considerable of his

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stepmother's family, for his second wife, Archange, was the granddaughter of his stepmother. General Friend Palmer, in his "Early Days in Detroit," says: "Barnabas (L'Abbie) Campau was a fine specimen of the French gentleman, of commanding presence."

Barnabas lived, in 1837, on the south side of Jefferson Avenue, west of Randolph Street. He is described as being tall and portly, dignified and polite, weighing about two hundred pounds. He was a merchant and fur trader. He had accumulated a fortune. In 1817 he bought the Island Park and left it as a rich legacy to his children. He also owned the McDougall farm, excepting one-ninth, which his wife had inherited from her father. He also owned a large tract of very valuable land called the Gore, lying between the Ten Thousand Acre Tract and the rear end of the farms fronting on the river. This property lies on both sides of Woodward Avenue, south of the boulevard, and is now traversed by the various railroads, Michigan Central, Bay City, Grand Trunk, and Lake Shore. He was also the owner of the land on which the Ford Building now stands, and many other valuable tracts in Detroit and in other places in Michigan.

Barnabas Campau married (first), May 18, 1808, Thérèse Cicot, born February 10, 1780, died August 20, 1817, daughter of Jean Baptiste and Angelique (Poupard) Cicot. Through this marriage he gained an interest in private claim 114 in Ecorse, and private claim 726, Detroit City, now called the Peter Godfroy farm. Barnabas Campau married (second) Archange MacDougall (in some records the prefix "Mc" instead of "Mac" is used in the name), born September 8, 1794, died October 31, 1829, daughter of John Robert and Archange (Campau) MacDougall. Through this marriage Barnabas Campau acquired interest in the MacDougall farm, private claims 11 and 453. The MacDougalls were a prominent Scottish family, the first of this line to come to America being Lieutenant George MacDougall. (See MacDougall I.) Children of Barnabas and Thérèse (Cicot) Campau, born in Detroit: 1. Edward, born and died in 1808. 2. Angélique, born November 17, 1809, died December 19, 1872; married, September 16, 1834, John B. Piquette, born September 29, 1809, died August 24, 1851. 3. Emilie, born February 9, 1811, died, unmarried, March 25, 1881. 4. Elizabeth, born October 12, 1812, died August 9, 1813. 5. Barnabas, born March 30, 1814, died December 13, 1820. 6. An infant son, died February 8, 1816, aged sixty days. Children of Barnabas and Archange (MacDougall) Campau: 7. John Barnabas, born March 18, 1822, met death by drowning, November 29, 1859. He married, August 23, 1847, Alexandrine M. Sheldon, who



Albert M. Compaan

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survived her husband and married (second), October 3, 1861, Richard Storrs Willis. 8. Alexander Macomb, of whom further. 9. George, born January 31, 1825, died October 24, 1826. 10. An infant son, died July 1, 1826.

VI. Alexander Macomb Campau, son of Barnabas and Archange (MacDougall) Campau, was born in Detroit, Michigan, September 13, 1823, died April 1, 1908. Alexander Macomb Campau graduated from Georgetown College before going to the University of Michigan. He was in the first class at the University of Michigan, and at that time there were only eleven students and two professors. His long life was passed in the honor and esteem of his fellows. He married, April 15, 1846, Eliza Stringham Throop, born in Auburn, New York, in 1828, died April 12, 1905, daughter of George B. Throop, and niece of Governor Enos T. Throop. (See Throop VII.) Children: 1. George T., born July 29, 1847, a graduate of the University of Michigan and the first "Grandson of the University"; studied a year in the University of Berlin, and took a two-year course at the Law School in Albany, New York; married, April 26, 1873, Mary L. Woolsey, daughter of Commodore M. B. Woolsey, U. S. N., who died in Florida, October 2, 1873. Their children were: i. Melancthon Woolsey, born July 14, 1874; married Edith Jackson Adams. ii. Alexander Macomb, born December 2, 1875; married, November 15, 1913, Nettie H. Humrichhouse. iii. Elise, born January 19, 1877; married, February 4, 1914, Hewitt L. Wells. iv. George Throop, born April 4, 1879; married Marie K. Cobourg. 2. Alexander Macomb, born October 24, 1848, baptized May 20, 1849; living in California. 3. Barnabe, born October 12, 1849; married (first), February 1, 1870, Alice C. Stevens; (second) Frances Saxton; and (third) Matilda ———. Children: i. Thomas Holdup Stevens, born December 2, 1870. ii. Alexander Macomb, born in October, 1873, died in 1874. 4. Emilie Angélique, born February 14, 1851; married, June 2, 1880, Henry W. Fitch, of United States Navy. They had issue: i. Emilie Campau, born June 25, 1882; married, April 17, 1909, Albert P. Gerhard. ii. Elise Alexandrine, born June 15, 1886; married Major Creswell Garlington, U. S. A. iii. Henrietta Winslow, born February 9, 1888; married Captain Stephen C. Rowan, U. S. A. 5. Montgomery Throop, born October 19, 1852, died in Denver, Colorado, May 31, 1881. 6. Frances Eliza, of whom further. 7. Robert McDougall, born November 29, 1856, died March 2, 1902; married, April 29, 1881, Lillie Batche-

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lor. Issue: i. Lillian Batchelor, born May 2, 1883; married, February 24, 1904, George C. Thrall. ii. Vita, born May 2, 1885; married (first) Richard G. Kirchner; (second) Arthur W. Jarvis. 8. Guy Philips, born May 24, 1858, died December 5, 1859. 9. Charlotte Cornelia, born December 12, 1864; married, as his second wife, October 2, 1913, Alexander W. Copeland.

VII. Frances Eliza Campau, daughter of Alexander Macomb and Eliza Stringham (Throop) Campau, was born in Detroit, Michigan, November 11, 1854. She married, April 12, 1877, Frederick Trowbridge Sibley. (See Sibley VIII.) Mrs. Sibley is prominent socially, has been a generous contributor to many phases of civic welfare, and finds delightful association with her large family of children and grandchildren.

(References: Generation II-VII—Tanguay's "Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes," Vol. II., pp. 531-35; Burton's "Baranabas Campau and Descendants.")

(The MacDougall Line).

Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, azure, a lion rampant argent; 2d and 3d or, a lymphad sable, with a flame of fire proper, issuing from the topmast.

Crest—An arm in armor embowed proper, holding a cross crosslet fitchée gules.

Motto—*Vincere vel mori.* (To conquer or to die.)

(Burke's "General Armory.")

The Mac Dougall family herein considered is of Gaelic origin, and traces back in Scotland to the clan Mac Dougal. In briefly reviewing the ancient history of the family, the following facts are disclosed:

Somerled, son of Gille-Bride, mac Gille-Adomnan (the first really historical ancestor of the Lords of the Isles). In 1156 A. D. the Scottish Isles were divided between Somerled, in right of his wife, and her brother Godred, Somerled receiving all south of Ardnamurchan Point in Argyllshire. Somerled was killed in 1164 with his son Gillecolum, and was succeeded by Somerled II, son of Gillecolum. He was killed in 1229 by the army of Alexander II, King of Scotland, and the mainland of Argyllshire taken away; but the Isles, except Arran and Bute, went to Dugall, oldest son of Somerled I by the daughter of Olaf, from whom they were inherited. Dugal's line failing, his next younger brother, Rognvaldr, known in history as Reginald or Ranald, by the law of tanistry became king of the Isles; and by gavel the clan was divided into three branches among his three sons: Clan Rory, Clan Donald, and Clan Dugall. The Rory male line became extinct; but Donald was succeeded by his son, Angus Mor; he by his son Angus Og (that is, the younger); he by John Mac-

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Donald, First Lord of the Isles, who married Amy, heiress of Rory; and was head of the MacDonald clan. He died in 1386.

Dugall, the third son of Reginald, and brother of Donald, was the ancestor of the clan Mac Dougall. He inherited lands, and was grandfather of Alexander Mac Dougall of Lorn, who defeated King Robert Bruce at the battle of Dalrìo in Perthshire, 1306. His son, John Mac Dougall, was succeeded by his son, Ewen Mac Dougall, and Ewen by his son, John Mac Dougall of Dunolly, of Dunolly Castle, Oban, Argyllshire, whose line are the present representatives of the family.

(The Family in America).

I. George Mac Dougall, the first representative of the Mac Dougall family to come to America, was of the Clan Mac Dougall. He received a commission from the British Government as lieutenant, May 3, 1759, in the 60th Regiment, to serve against the Indians in the French and Indian War, then in progress. After that war was concluded, he accompanied Major Campbell to Pontiac's camp to negotiate with that wily chief, who was then, 1763, engaged in a conspiracy against the white settlers on the frontier of the British Colonies in North America. They were treacherously held as hostages, but Lieutenant Mac Dougall was able to make his escape. The Mac Dougalls acquired considerable property, and among their land grants was that of Belle Isle to Lieutenant George Mac Dougall at the same time that Grosse Isle was granted to his brother-in-law, Alexander Macomb. He died near Detroit, Michigan, in 1780. He married Marie Françoise Navarre, daughter of Robert Navarre, Royal Notary for the Detroit district, by whom he had two sons. (See Navarre VII). She married (second) Jacques Campau, January 15, 1784. Children of first marriage: 1. John Robert, of whom further. 2. George, born in 1761.

II. John Robert Mac Dougall, son of George and Marie Françoise (Navarre) Mac Dougall, was born in Detroit, Michigan, June 30, 1764, and died there. He married, January 26, 1786, Archange Campau, born in 1766, daughter of Simon and Véronique (Bordeau) Campau, of Detroit. They were parents of a daughter, Archange, of whom further.

III. Archange Mac Dougall, daughter of John Robert and Archange (Campau) Mac Dougall, was born in Detroit, Michigan, September 8, 1794, and died there October 31, 1829. In the church records she is sometimes called Cécile Mac Dougall. She married, as his second wife, Barnabas Campau, after 1817. (See Campau V.)

SIBLEY, CAMPAU AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(References: "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XLIX, p. 47; Burton's "Barnabas Campau and His Descendants"; Tanguay's "Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes," Vol. V, p. 447.)

(The Navarre Line).

Arms—Azure, a horse argent.

(Rietstap's "Armorial Général," Recorded for Navarre of France.)

The French family name Navarre originated to designate a native of Navarre. This name is derived by etymologist from "nava," a flat valley surrounded by hills, and is a commonplace name in Spain. It began to appear as the name of part of Vasconia toward the end of the Visigoth epoch in Spain in the seventh century, but its early history is obscure. Sancho Garcio, its first historic King, ruled at Pamplona in the early years of the tenth century, and under him and his immediate successors Navarre reached the height of its power and its extension. In 1234, though the crown was claimed by the Kings of Aragon, Navarre passed by marriage to a succession of French rulers. In 1512, the Spanish part of Navarre was conquered by Ferdinand, the Catholic, and made a province. French Navarre survived as an independent little kingdom until it was united to the crown of France by King Henry IV, founder of the Bourbon dynasty. ("Encyclopedia Britannica.")

I. Jean Navarre, natural son of Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre, married, in 1572, Perette Barat. (See Bourbon VIII.) They had son Martin, of whom further. ("Legends of Le Detroit," by Marie Watson Hamlin (1884), page 307.)

II. Martin Navarre de Villeroy, son of Jean and Perette (Barat) Navarre, married, in 1593, Jeanne Lefebvre, and had son Jean, of whom further.

III. Jean Navarre, son of Martin and Jeanne (Lefebvre) Navarre, married, in 1623, Susanne LeClef, and had son Antoine, of whom further.

IV. Antoine Navarre, du Plessis en Bois, was the son of Jean and Susanne (LeClef) Navarre. He married, in 1665, Marie Lallemant, and they had two children: Antoine Marie François, of whom further; and a son who married Catherine de la Rue.

V. Antoine Marie François Navarre, son of Antoine and Marie (Lallemant) Navarre, married, in 1695, Jeanne Pluyette, and they had son Robert, of whom further.

(Generation I-V—"Legends of Detroit," by Marie W. Hamlin (1884), p. 307.)

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(The Family in America).

VI. *Robert Navarre*, son of Antoine M. François and Jeanne (Pluyette) Navarre, was born at Villeroy, in the diocese of Meaux en Brie, Department of Seine-et-Marne, France, 1709. His death occurred in Detroit, Michigan, where he was buried, November 24, 1791. Of his early history little is known. He was sent by the French Government as sub-intendant and Royal notary to Fort Pontchartrain of Detroit, and arrived there in 1730 to take charge of his office. He married in Detroit, February 10, 1734, Marie Lothman de Barrois, daughter of François and Marie Anne (Sauvage) Lothman de Barrois, and granddaughter of Wilibrord Lothman, who was sent to Canada in 1665 as secretary, councillor and general agent of the East India Company. He was a great linguist and was employed as an official interpreter of the Portuguese language. The Lothman family was originally of Holland, whence they removed to France in the Province of Berry, from which Barrois is a corruption. Marie Lothman de Barrois' parents were married May 31, 1717, in Montreal, Canada, and she was born in 1719. Children of Robert and Marie (Lothman de Barrois) Navarre: 1. Marie Françoise, of whom further. 2. Marie Anne, born October 15, 1737; married (first), October 28, 1760, Jacques Desbuttes; married (second) ——— Antony; he was buried October 11, 1773. 3. Robert, born November 29, 1739; married, in 1762, Marie-Louise de Marsac. 4. Joseph, born August 3, 1748, died August 8, same year. 5. Marie Catherine, born July 14, 1749, buried September 6, 1751. 6. Bonaventure-Marie-Pierre, born October 8, 1753, buried September 29, 1764. 7. Marie Catherine, born April 13, 1757; married Alexander Maccomb. 8. François, born November 20, 1759; married, February 26, 1781, Marie Louise Godet. 9. Jean-Marie-Alexis, born September 22, 1763.

(References: *Op. cit.*; Tanguay's "Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes," Vol. VI, p. 141.)

VII. *Marie Françoise Navarre*, daughter of Robert and Marie (Lothman de Barrois) Navarre, was born in Detroit, Michigan, January 10, 1735. She married (first) George Mac Dougall, and by this marriage had two sons, John Robert and George. (See Mac Dougall I.) Her husband died in 1780, and on January 5, 1784, she married (second) Jacques Campau, she being his second wife. (See Campau IV.) By this marriage there was no issue.

(Reference: Tanguay's "Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes," Vol. V, p. 447; Vol. II, p. 531.)

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(Royal Descent).

I. Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou and Blois.

II. Robert, second Count or Duke of Anjou and Blois, also King Robert I of France (see House of Capet), is thought to have married Beatrix, daughter of Heribert I, of Vermandois. (See Vermandois VIII.)

III. Hugh the Great, married Hedwiga, daughter of King Henry I of Germany.

IV. Hugh Capet, crowned King of the Franks at Reims, 987.

V. Robert II, King of France, married (first) Bertha, daughter of Conrad, King of Burgundy, and married (second) Constance, daughter of William of Toulouse. (See Counts of Toulouse VII.)

VI. Henry I, King of France. He married Anne of Russia.

VII. Philip I, King of France, married (first) Bertha, daughter of Florence I, Count of Holland.

VIII. Louis VI, King of France, married Adelaide, daughter of Humbert II, Count of Maruienne.

IX. Louis VII, King of France, married (third) Alice, daughter of Theobald II, Count of Champagne.

X. Philip II, King of France, married Isabella, daughter of Baldwin V, Count of Hainault or Hainaut. (See Hainaut XI.)

XI. Louis VIII, King of France, married Blanche, daughter of Alfonso IX, of Castile. (See Castile VII.)

XII. Louis IX, King of France, married Margaret, daughter of Raimond Berenger IV, Count of Provence. (See Provence VII.)

XIII. Robert of France, Count of Clermont, married Beatrix de Burgundy, daughter of Jean de Burgundy, Baron of Charolois, and his wife, Agnes de Bourbon. (See Bourbon I.)

XIV. Louis I, Duc de Bourbon.

XV. Jacques de Bourbon, Comte de la Marche.

XVI. Jean I, Comte de la Marche, married Catharine, heiress of Vendome.

XVII. Louise de Bourbon, Comte de Vendome.

XVIII. François de Bourbon, Comte de Vendome.

XIX. Charles de Bourbon, Duc de Vendome.

XX. Antoine de Bourbon, Duc de Vendome, married Jeanne D'Albret daughter of King Henry, of Navarre.

XXI. Jean Navarre, natural son of Antoine de Bourbon, married Perette Barat. (See Navarre I.)

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(The Bourbon Line).

Arms—(Royal House of France)—Azure, with three fleurs-de-lis or.
(Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

The noble family of Bourbon took its name from Bourbon l'Archambault, chief town of a lordship which in the tenth century was one of the largest baronies of the kingdom of France. The first of the Bourbons known in history was Adhemar or Aimar, who was invested with the barony towards the close of the ninth century. Matilda, heiress of the first house of Bourbon, brought this lordship to the family of Dampierre by her marriage, in 1196, with Guy, of Dampierre, Marshall of Champagne. It is through the daughter of Agnes of Bourbon-Dampierre and her husband John, of Burgundy, that the following line is traced. ("Encyclopedia Britannica.")

I. Robert de France, Comte de Clermont, son of King Louis IX, of France, and Margaret, his wife, was born in 1256. (See Capet XII.) He married, in 1272, Beatrix de Burgundy, daughter of Jean de Burgundy, Baron of Charolois and his wife Agnes, Dame de Bourbon.

II. Louis I, Duc de Bourbon, in 1327. He had son Jacques, of whom further.

(D. A. Bingham's "Marriages of the Bourbons," Vol. I, p. 14.)

III. Jacques de Bourbon became Comte de la Marche. Marche or la Marche was one of the former provinces of France, and passed into the hands of the Bourbon family in the early years of the fourteenth century.

(References: *Op. cit.*; "Encyclopedia Britannica.")

IV. Jean I. Comte de la Marche (1362-92), married Catharine, heiress of Vendome. They had Louis, of whom further.

V. Louis de Bourbon, Comte de Vendome (1412-46), had François, of whom further; also Louis, who began the Bourbon Montpensier branch.

VI. François de Bourbon, Comte de Vendome, married and had Charles, of whom further.

VII. Charles de Bourbon, Duc de Vendome (1495-1537), married Françoise, daughter of René, Duc de Alençon. They had four children, among them Antoine, of whom further.

(Generations IV-VII—N. L. Achaintre's "Genealogical Table of Bourbons"; H. B. George's "Genealogical Tables.")

VIII. Antoine de Bourbon, Duc de Vendome, married, in 1548, Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of King Henry, of Navarre. Antoine became King

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of Navarre in 1554. They were parents of the following children: 1. Duc de Beaumont, born in 1550, died aged one and one-half years. 2. Henri, born December 13, 1553; became King Henry IV, of France. 3. Comte de Marle, died young. 4. Madelaine, born in 1557, died in infancy. 5. Catherine, born February 7, 1559; married Henry, Duc de Lorraine.

Antoine (Anthony) de Bourbon, husband of Jeanne d'Albret, had one natural son, Charles de Bourbon, by Louise de Rouet, maid of honor to Queen Catherine of France, and he became Archbishop of Rouen. (Reference: "Life of Jeanne d'Albret.") From "Legends of Le Detroit," by Marie Caroline Watson Hamlin (1884), page 307, it is discovered that Antoine, King of Navarre, also had a natural son called Jean Navarre. (See Navarre I.)

(House of Capet).

Arms—(Ancient Royal Arms of France)—Azure, semée of fleurs-de-lis or.
(Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

Capet is the name of a family to which, for nearly nine centuries the Kings of France and many of the rulers of the most powerful fiefs in that country belonged, and which mingled with several of the other royal races of Europe. The original significance of the name remains in dispute, but the first of the family to whom it was applied was Hugh, who was elected King of the Franks in 987. The real founder of the house, however, was Robert the Strong, who received from Charles the Bald, King of the Franks, the countships of Anjou and Blois, and who is sometimes called Duke, as he exercised some military authority in the district between the Seine and the Loire. According to Aimoin of Saint-Germandes-Pres, and the chronicler, Richer, he was a Saxon, but historians question this statement. Descent is traced as follows:

I. Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou and Blois, sometimes called Duke of Anjou and Blois. He died in 866.

II. Robert, second Count or Duke of Anjou and Blois, also King Robert I of France, or, more accurately, King of the Franks, was the younger son of Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou, and the brother of Odo (or Eudes), who became King of the Western Franks in 888. He was himself crowned King of the Franks at Reims, June 20, 922, but Charles III marched against him, and he was killed in a battle near Soissons, June 15, 923. According to George's "Genealogical Tables," he is thought to have married Beatrix, daughter of Heribert I, of Vermandois.

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III. Hugh the Great, son of King Robert I, became Duke of France and Burgundy, his domain extending from the Loire to the frontiers of Picardy. He married Hedwiga, daughter of Henry I of Germany. He had a son Hugh, of whom further.

IV. Hugh Capet, son of Hugh the Great, was crowned King of the Franks at Reims, in 987, reigned to 996. The House of Capet continued to rule in France from 987 to 1328.

V. Robert II, King of France, was a son of Hugh Capet, born at Orleans and educated at Reims. He reigned from 996 to 1031. He married (first) Bertha, daughter of Conrad, King of Burgundy; (second) Constance, daughter of William, Count of Toulouse. (See Counts of Toulouse VII.)

VI. Henry I, King of France, reigned from 1031 to 1060. He married Anne, of Russia.

VII. Philip I, King of France, reigned from 1060 to 1081. He married (first) Bertha, daughter of Florence I, Count of Holland, and married (second) Bertrade of Montfort. This line continues through *Louis*, son of the first marriage.

VIII. Louis VI, King of France, reigned from 1081 to 1137. He married Adelaide, daughter of Humbert II, Count of Maurienne.

IX. Louis VII, King of France, reigned from 1137 to 1180. He married (third) Alice, daughter of Theobald, Count of Champagne.

X. Philip II, King of France, reigned from 1180 to 1223. He married (first) Isabelle, daughter of Baldwin V, Count of Hainault.

XI. Louis VIII, King of France, reigned from 1223 to 1226. He married Blanche, daughter of Alfonso IX of Castile. (See Castile VII.)

XII. Louis IX, King of France, reigned from 1226 to 1270. He married Margaret, daughter of Raimond Berenger IV, Count of Provence. (See Provence VII.) They had son Robert, who became head of the Bourbon House. (See Bourbon I.)

(References: "Encyclopedia Britannica"; George's "Genealogical Tables.")

(Counts of Vermandois).

Arms—Chequy, azure and or; in chief, azure, charged with three fleurs-de-lis or.
(Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

The county of Vermandois in Northeastern France takes its name from the Veromandin, who inhabited it in the time of Julius Caesar, a people of the province which he called Belgica. The counts began with Heribert, a grandson of Bernard of Italy, of the Carolingian line. ("La Grande Encyclopedia.")

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I. *Charles Martel*, died A. D. 741.

II. *Pepin the Short*, deposing the last of the Merovingian kings, 752-68.

III. *Charles the Great* (Charlemagne), son of Pepin the Short, King of the Franks, 768 to 800; 800-814 Emperor. His realm was divided between his three sons, Pepin becoming King of Italy; Charles, King of Franconia, who died childless; and Louis the Pious, ancestor of the Kings of France and Germany.

IV. *Pepin*, son of Charlemagne, and King of Italy, died in 810.

V. *Bernard*, son of Pepin, died in 818.

VI. *Pepin*, son of Bernard, King of Italy.

VII. *Heribert I*, son of Pepin, first Count of Vermandois, died in 902.

VIII. *Beatrice*, daughter of Heribert I, of Vermandois, married King Robert I, of France. (See Royal Descent II.)

(George's "Genealogical Tables," Nos. XII-XXV.)

(Counts of Toulouse).

Arms—Gules, a cross of Toulouse or, helmet crowned.

Crest—The head and neck of a ram, argent, horned or, langued gules, between a vol-banneret of the same. (Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

Toulouse was the town Tolosa under the Roman Empire, in Aquitania; capital of a duchy in 570 A. D.; French Guienne. Reorganized as a county in 771, whose ruler had the title of duke. Guillaume Courterez, called "de Gellone," reigned 790-806; succeeded by Beranger, who died in 835; succeeded by Acfrid or Ecfrid, who was deposed in 844; succeeded by Fridolo, 845-52; he was succeeded by his brother, Raimond, of whom further.

I. *Raimond I*, who died in 864. About 848 Toulouse was taken by the Normans. He had a son Bernard.

II. *Bernard*, son of Raimond, was "comte de Toulouse" or duke, succeeding his father, who was the founder of the final line of counts of Toulouse. Bernard died in 875.

III. *Eudes*, Count of Toulouse, in records 888 and 910 A. D.

IV. *Raimond II*, son of Eudes, Count of Toulouse, 918 to about 924.

V. *Raimond III*, son of Raimond II, Count of Toulouse, 924 to death, 950.

VI. *William Taillefer*, son of Raimond III, died about 1037. He married Emma, of Provence.

VII. *Constance*, daughter of William Taillefer, married Robert II, King of France. (See House of Capet V and Royal Pedigree V.)

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("La Grande Encyclopedia," Vol. XXXI, pp. 212-14; "The Encyclopedia Britannica.")

(The Hainaut Line).

Arms—Or, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules.

Crest—A conical hat barry per pale gules and argent counterchanged, surmounted by cock plumes sable.

Cry—*Haynault au noble comte.* (Haynault to the noble count.)

(Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

The medieval countship of Hainaut or Hainault is now included in Belgium and France. It passed to Burgundy in 1433, and afterwards shared the fortunes of the Belgian Netherlands. The parts acquired by France in 1569 and 1678 are now included in the Department of Nord. (Lippincott's "Gazetteer of the World.")

I. *Reginar*, called "Long Neck," bore the first title of Count of Hainaut, about 875 A. D. He later made himself master of the Duchy of Lorraine, and died in 916.

II. *Reginar II*, younger son of Reginar I, inherited the Countship of Hainaut.

III. *Reginar III*, Count of Hainaut.

IV. *Reginar IV*, Count of Hainaut.

V. *Reginar V*, Count of Hainaut, died in 1036.

VI. *Richildis*, heiress of Reginar V, of Hainaut, married Baldwin VI, of Flanders. (See Flanders VIII.) By this marriage he became Baldwin I, of Hainaut.

VII. *Baldwin II*, Count of Hainaut (1070-99).

VIII. *Baldwin III*, Count of Hainaut (1099-1120).

IX. *Baldwin IV*, Count of Hainaut (1120-71), married Alice, daughter of Godfrey, of Namur.

X. *Baldwin V*, Count of Hainaut (1171-95), married Margaret, who died in 1194.

XI. *Isabella*, daughter of Baldwin V, married Philip II, King of France. (See Royal Descent X.)

(References: "The Encyclopedia Britannica," Vol. XII, p. 822; H. B. George's "Genealogical Tables," No. XXIX.)

(Counts of Flanders).

Arms—Or, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules. Helmet crowned.

Crest—The lion sejant affrontée, between wings or.

War Cry—*Vlaandeeren den leeuw.* (Flanders to the lion.)

(Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

Flanders, a territorial name, is derived from the Flemish *Vlaandecren*, and its immediate neighborhood, but in the eighth and ninth centuries it

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was gradually extended to the whole of the coast region from Calais to the Scheldt. The ancient territory of Flanders comprised not only the modern provinces known as East and West Flanders, but the southernmost portion of the Dutch province of Zeeland, and a considerable district in northwestern France. On the break-up of the Carolingian Empire, the River Scheldt was by the treaty of Verdun (843) made the line of division between the Kingdom of East Francia (Austrasia) under the Emperor Lothaire, and the Kingdom of West Francia (Neustria), under Charles the Bald. In virtue of this compact Flanders was henceforth attached to the West Frankish monarchy (France). It thus acquired a position unique among the provinces of the territory known in later times as the Netherlands.

Baldwin I, Count of Flanders (858-879), the first ruler of Flanders of whom history has left any record, was known as Baldwin Bras-fer (Iron-arm). "This man, a brave and daring warrior under Charles the Bald, fell in love with the King's daughter, Judith, the youthful widow of two English Kings, married her, and fled with his bride to Lorraine. Charles, though at first very angry, was at last conciliated, and made his son-in-law margrave (*Marcio Flandriae*) of Flanders, which he held as an hereditary fief. The Northmen were at this time continually devastating the coast lands, and Baldwin was entrusted with the possession of this outlying borderland of the West Frankish dominion in order to defend it against the invaders. He was the first of a line of strong rulers, who at some date early in the tenth century exchanged the title of margrave for that of count." He married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, and they were the parents of Baldwin II.

(Reference: "Encyclopedia Britannica.")

II. Baldwin II, Count of Flanders, son of Baldwin I, from his stronghold at Bruges, maintained, as did his father, a vigorous defense of his lands against the incursions of the Northmen, and took an active part in the struggles in Lorraine between the Emperor Otto I and Hugh Capet. He married Aelfthryth, daughter of Alfred, the Great, and Elhelfrith or Elswith, and on his death, in 918, his possessions were divided between his two sons: Arnulf I, of whom further; and Adolphus.

III. Arnulf I, son of Baldwin II and Aelfthryth, inherited after the death of Adolphus, the whole of his father's possessions. He married Adela, daughter of Heribert II, Count of Vermandois.

IV. Baldwin III, son of Arnulf I, according to George, died in 962, but French history makes him a count, 964-68.

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V. Arnulf II, son of Baldwin III, held the countship from 965 to 988, when the title passed to his son Baldwin IV. He married Rosalie, daughter of Berengere II, Marquis d'Ivree and King of Italy.

VI. Baldwin IV, son of Arnulf II, was Count of Flanders from 988 to 1036. He was called *Barbatus*, or the Bearded. He fought successfully both against the Capetian King of France, and the Emperor, Henry II, from the latter of whom he received the Valenciennes in fief, the burgraveship of Ghent, the lands of Waes and Zeeland. The Count of Flanders thus became a feudatory of the Empire as well as of the French Crown. The French fiefs are known in Flemish as Crown Flanders (*Kroon-Vlaandeeren*), the German fiefs as Imperial Flanders (*Rijks-Vlaandeeren*). Baldwin IV married Ogive, daughter of Frederic I, Count of Luxemburg.

VII. Baldwin V (1036-67), son of Baldwin IV, was known as *Débonnaire*. He was an active, enterprising man, and greatly extended his power by wars and alliances. He obtained from the Emperor Henry IV the territory between the Scheldt and the Dender as an Imperial fief, and the margravite of Antwerp. He became regent of France on the death of Henry I, during the minority of Philip I. Baldwin V died in 1067. He married Adela, daughter of Robert of France.

VIII. Baldwin VI, son of Baldwin V and Adela, married Richildis, heiress of Hainaut. (See Hainaut VI.)

("The Encyclopedia Britannica"; George's "Genealogical Tables.")

(House of Castile).

Arms—(Ancient Royal Arms)—Gules, a tower triple-towered or.

Crest—The tower.

(Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

An ancient kingdom of Spain, Castile is said to have derived its name from the numerous frontier forts (*castillos*) erected in the Middle Ages as a defence against the Moors. The transformation of Castile from a small county in the north of what is now old Castile into an independent monarchy was one of the decisive events in the reconquest of Spain from the Moors. Ferdinand I of Castile (1035-65), by his marriage with Sancha (*Sancia*), widow and heiress of the last King of Leon, was enabled to unite Leon and Castile into a single kingdom with its capital at Burgos.

I. Ferdinand I married Sancha, heiress of Leon. They had a son Alfonso VI, of whom further.

II. Alfonso VI, son of Ferdinand I and Sancha, reigned in Castile

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from 1065 to 1109. He married Constance, daughter of Robert, Duke of Burgundy. They were the parents of Urraca, of whom further.

III. Urraca, daughter of Alfonso VI and Constance, married (second) Alfonso I of Aragon and VII of Castile and Leon. (See Aragon IV.) They were the parents of Alfonso VIII, of whom further.

IV. Alfonso VIII, son of Alfonso I of Aragon and VII of Castile and Leon, and of Urraca, reigned in Castile from 1126 to 1157. He married Berengaria, daughter of Raymond Berenger III, of Barcelona. They were the parents of Sancho III, of whom further.

V. Sancho III, son of Alfonso VIII and Berengaria, reigned in Castile, 1157-58. He married Blanche, daughter of Garcia IV of Navarre, and had Alfonso IX, of whom further.

VI. Alfonso IX, of Castile, son of Sancho III and Blanche of Navarre, married Eleanor, daughter of King Henry II of England. (See Descent from William the Conqueror V.)

VII. Blanche, daughter of Alfonso IX and Eleanor, married Louis VIII, King of France. (See Capet XI and Royal Descent XI.)

(Reference: H. B. George's "Genealogical Tables.")

(The Aragon Line).

Arms—Or, four pales gules, helmet crowned.

Crest—A dragon, winged or, issuant, holding a floating flag argent, charged with a cross gules. (Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

The Kings of Aragon sprang from the Kings of Navarre, the old county of Aragon having become an appanage of the rulers of Castile. ("La Grande Encyclopedia.")

I. Sancho III, called "the Great," was King of Castile, Navarre, and Aragon, 1000-35. He married Nuna, Countess of Castile.

("La Grande Encyclopedia," Vol. XXIV, pp. 856-57.)

II. Ramirez I, fourth son of Sancho III, of Navarre, ruled as King of Aragon from 1035 to 1067.

III. Sancho Ramirez, son of Ramirez I, ruled from 1063 to 1094. He was killed in battle.

IV. Alfonso I, second son of Sancho Ramirez, succeeded his brother Peter (or Pedro), 1104-34. He married Urraca, Queen of Castile. (See House of Castile III.)

(George's "Genealogical Tables"; "The Encyclopedia Britannica.")

(Descent from William the Conqueror).

Arms—Gules, two lions passant guardant or.

(Burke's "General Armory.")

Arms—Gules, three lions passant guardant or.

(Burke's "Royal Armory.")

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I. William of Normandy, later known as William the Conqueror, was born in 1027 or 1028, son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, sometimes called Robert the Devil, and of Arietta, daughter of a tanner of Falaise; and grandson of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. In 1034 Robert of Normandy induced his barons to acknowledge William as his successor. The following year he died, on the return journey from Jerusalem, and the barons kept their promise by acknowledging the lordship of the boy William. The conquest of England in 1066 and the years immediately following gained for William the title of Conqueror, as well as that of King William I of England. Recent authorities state that though in England many legends survive of arms borne by the Conqueror and his companions, nothing is more certain than that no armorial bearing appeared on either side of the Battle of Hastings. The arms described herewith are as recorded by Burke in his "Royal Armory."

William I married Matilda (sometimes recorded as Maud), daughter of Baldwin V of Flanders, and they had son Henry, of whom further.

II. Henry I, king of England, fourth and youngest son of William I and Matilda of Flanders, was known as Beauclerc. He was born on English soil in 1068, and died near Gisors in 1135 in the thirty-sixth year of his reign. He married (first) Edith Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III, King of Scotland, and by her had Matilda, of whom further.

III. Matilda, daughter of Henry I and Edith Matilda, of Scotland, died in 1167. She married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, and they were parents of Henry II.

IV. Henry II, King of England, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and Matilda, was born at Le Mans, March 25, 1133, and died at Chinon, July 6, 1189. He married, in 1152, Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine, by whom he had five sons and three daughters. Among the daughters was Eleanor, of whom further. From Burke's "Royal Armory," it is learned that he at first bore arms the same as those of his great-grandfather, but after his marriage to Eleanor, he adopted a third lion. He was the first monarch who used a badge, adopting for that purpose, first, an escarbuncle of gold, an ancient mark of his paternal house of Anjou. Later, he introduced the sprig of broom plant or *planta genesta*, from which the surname Plantagenet was derived. He is also said to have borne a jennet between two sprigs of broom.

V. Eleanor, daughter of King Henry II, of England, and Matilda, was born in 1162 and died in 1214. She married Alfonso IX of Castile. (See House of Castile VI.)

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(References: "The Encyclopedia Britannica"; George's "Genealogical Tables.")

(Ancient Counts of Provence).

Arms—Or, a chevron azure between three batons raguly gules.

(Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

The name Provence was applied to a province in the southeastern part of ancient France, and dates back to the first entrance of the Romans into Gaul in B. C. 125, when after the Roman Conquest the territory between the Alps, the sea, and the Rhone, with the Province of Narbonne on the right of the river, were formed into the "Provincia Romana." Later, when part of this section was added to other provinces, the name Provence remained with the territory between the Dauphine, the Rhone and Lanquedoc, the Alps and the Mediterranean. It was attacked by the Visigoths at the beginning of the fifth century, conquered by the Saracens at the beginning of the eighth century, later came under Frankish rule, and at the time of the partition of Charlemagne's Empire (843), fell to the share of Lothair I, from whom it passed to Emperor Louis II, who was also King of Italy. At his death (875), Provence passed to Charles the Bald. From Charles the Bald it passed to his brother-in-law, Duke Boso. After the middle of the tenth century the countship of Provence passed to William and Rouband (Rötbold), sons of Boso. A descendant of Rouband was Douce, who married Raimond Berenger III, son of Raimond Berenger II, of further mention.

I. Raimond Berenger II, of Barcelona, married Matilda, daughter of Robert Guiscard. He died in 1082.

II. Raimond Berenger III, died in 1130. He married, as his second wife, Douce, heiress of Provence.

III. Raimond Berenger IV, of Barcelona, died in 1162. He married Petronilla, of Aragon.

IV. Alfonso II, of Aragon, married Sancia, daughter of Alfonso VIII, of Castile.

V. Alfonso II, of Provence, 1196-1209.

VI. Raimond Berenger IV, of Provence (1209-45), married Beatrix, daughter of Thomas, Count of Savoy. (See House of Savoy VIII.)

VII. Margaret, daughter of Raimond Berenger IV, married Louis IX, King of France. (See Royal Descent XII and House of Capet XII.)

(References: "Encyclopedia Britannica"; George's "Genealogical Tables.")

(House of Savoy).

Arms—Gules, a cross argent (the upright and transverse both reaching to the edge of the shield).

Crest—The head of a lion, or, affrontée winged argent.

War Cry—St. Maurice.

(Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

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The House of Savoy is one of the most ancient of the reigning houses of Europe. The historic truth is that in the second realm of Burgundy and afterward in that of Arles reunited to the Holy Roman Empire, we find many powerful vassals by the name of Humbert, in the possession of Savoy, etc.

I. One of these families is that of Humbert *aux Blanches Mains* (Humbert of the White Hands), named in almost all the charters of Rodolph III and of Conrad II, and constable of the Emperor Conrad. His original fief seems to have been la Maurienne. He received the investiture of Chablais and of St. Maurice and then, new possessions in the Tarentaise and in the vale of Aosta. Thus was formed the little sub-Alpine State, half French and half Italian. Humbert seems to have reigned from 1027 to about 1051, leaving the title of Count de Maurienne and of Marquis of Italy, which passed to his successors. Amadeus I may have reigned 1048-51.

II. *Odo*, the youngest son of Humbert, reigned from 1051 to 1060. He married, in 1034, Adelaide, heiress of the Marquis of Turin, and widow of Henri de Montferrat, who inherited in 1035, Turin, Aste and Alberga, whence the title of Marquis of Italy. He had two sons: Pierre, who died childless; and Amadeus, of whom further.

III. *Amadeus II*, son of Odo and Adelaide of Montferrat, next was Count of Maurienne and Marquis of Italy, period 1060-72.

IV. *Humbert II*, son of Amadeus, was Count of Maurienne and Marquis of Italy, 1072-1103. His daughter Adelaide was the mother of Louis VII, King of France. (See House of Capet VIII.)

V. *Amadeus III*, son of Humbert II, married and ruled 1103-48.

VI. *Humbert III*, son of Amadeus II, ruled from 1148 to 1188. He married (second) Germaine of Zahringen; and (third) Beatrix of Vienne.

VII. *Thomas*, son of Humbert III and Beatrix of Vienne, was Count of Savoy, 1188-1233. He had six children, of whom Amadeus IV succeeded and ruled 1233-53; Thomas II, who died in 1259, ancestor of the reigning line of Kings of Italy; Beatrix, of whom further; Peter, ruled 1263-68, but died without male issue; Philip, Archbishop of Lyons, from 1268-85, died without issue; and Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, died in 1270.

VIII. *Beatrix*, daughter of Thomas, Count of Savoy, married Raymond Berenger IV, 1209-45, of Provence. (See Provence VI.)

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(The Menard Line).

Arms—Or, a fess azure, charged with two roses argent, accompanied with three roses gules. (Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

The French surname Menard is from the personal or Christen-name Menard, from the old Frankish Meginhard, mighty firmness or hardihood, later contracted to Meinhard. (Yonge's "History of Christian Names," Vol. II, p. 415.)

(The Family in America).

I. Jacques Menard, born in 1629, married, November 19, 1657, at Trois-Rivières (Three Rivers), Province of Quebec, Canada, Catherine Fortier, born in 1637, buried at Boncherville, March 31, 1694. Children, born in Quebec Province, Canada: 1. Jean Baptiste, of whom further. 2. Louise, born in 1662; married, in 1691, Marie Anne Fevrier. 3. Maurice, born June 7, 1664; married Madeleine Couc-Lefebore. 4. Jean, born March 16, 1666, buried May 8, 1702; married March 13, 1690, Marie Elizabeth Valiquet. 5. Jeanne-Françoise, born May 24, 1669; married three times. 6. Catherine, born September 29, 1673; buried January 2, 1727; married, February 1, 1699, Jacques Riviere.

II. Jean-Baptiste Menard, son of Jacques and Catherine (Fortier) Menard, was born in Quebec Province, November 27, 1660, and was buried at Montreal, October 29, 1728. He married, October 14, 1681, at Boucherville, Louise-Marguerite Etienne, born in 1661, buried February 1, 1737, daughter of Philippe and Marie (Vieu-Launqueteau) Etienne, of Deuil, in the Diocese of Xaintes, France. Children, born in Quebec Province, Canada: 1. Marguerite, born January 7, 1689; married, December 28, 1707, Lambert Cuillerier. 2. Jean-Baptiste, born April 27, 1690; married (first), January 17, 1712, Thérèse Provost; married (second), April 24, 1731, Marie Cardinal. 3. Madeleine, born August 29, 1692; buried November 22, 1756; married Joseph-Jean Baptiste Renaudet. 4. Marie Catherine, born July 5, 1694; married, January 17, 1712, Gilles Lecours. 5. Joseph, born January 11, 1701; married, October 25, 1723, Marie Anne Heurtebise. 6. Jeanne-Françoise, born June 10, 1703; buried March 23, 1717. 7. Jacques-Marie, of whom further.

III. Jacques-Marie Menard, son of Jean Baptiste and Louise Marguerite (Etienne) Menard, was born in Quebec Province, February 16, 1706. He married at Lachine, July 4, 1729, Suzanne Prejean, born in 1709, daughter of Louis and Marie Anne (Maillet-Ducharme) Prejean.

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Children, born in Quebec Province, Canada: 1. Marie Joseph, born in Montreal, April 29, 1730. 2. Suzanne, born in 1732; married, February 9, 1656, Claude Boyer. 3. Jacques, born January 18, 1734, buried July 24, 1762, in Detroit. 4. Jean Gabriel, born November 15, buried November 16, 1735. 5. Jean Baptiste, born January 29, 1737. 6. Child, born and died December 28, 1738. 7. Catherine, of whom further. 8. Joseph (twin), born July 15, buried December 7, 1743. 9. Marie Joseph (twin), born July 15, 1743; married, June 2, 1766, Jean Descarris. 10. Marie Agathe, born November 27, 1745. 11. Louis Joseph, born April 6, 1748. 12. Anne Arnable, born July 5, 1750; married, November 16, 1772, François Belinge.

III. *Catherine Menard*, daughter of Jacques-Marie and Suzanne (Prejean) Menard, was born November 26, 1739, buried in 1781. She married, August 17, 1761, at Montreal, Canada, Jacques Campau. (See Campau IV.)

(References: Tanguay's "Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes," Vol. V, pp. 590-94.)

(The Robert Line).

Arms—Gules, a paschal lamb with cross and banderole all argent; a chief *cousu* azure, charged with three estoiles or.

Above the shield a helmet, ornamented with the mantlings of colors of the shield.
(De Magny: "Nobiliaire Universeal de France," Vol. XV.)

The family name Robert originated from the personal or christen name Robert.

I. Among the families in France which bear the name Robert, the following is one of the most ancient, and appears to have had its origin in le Bazadais in Guienne, whence it has sent branches into Perigord, Saintonge, and finally into the United States. The first founder of this stock who is known to us by charters, is Guillaume Robert, qualified valet or squire, son of Stier Robert, living at Lugulhac (now Lugaignac) in the Arrondissement of Libourne in the Gironde, who is on record in a transaction of Guillaume de Laval, July 14, 1436.

II. *Arnaud Robert*, squire, son of Guillaume Robert, lived at Merignas, in the Gironde, in 1430, and had five sons: Jean, of whom further; Phillippe; Jean, 2d; Jean, 3d; and Guillaume.

III. *Jean Robert I*, of Merignas, son of Arnaud Robert, with his brothers received from the noble Jean d'Arros, Seigneur de la Nauze, investiture of houses and lands called "a la Saisarie" by an act passed June 2, 1475.

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IV. Denis Robert, son of Jean Robert I, was among eighty men of war, forming the garrison of the village and castle de Blaye on June 3, 1515, under the command of Bertrand d'Estillac, Chevalier. The elder line probably became extinct with Pierre Robert II, who was confirmed as a noble, March 15, 1700; but his brother Daniel was the founder of the cadet branch, Seigneurs du Barrail. He was a Calvinist and emigrated to England, where he obtained letters of naturalization, July 3, 1701; he soon after emigrated to New York, where he became a citizen July 9, 1702, and on December 24, 1702, was granted license to marry Suzanne Nicholas du Cailleux. There were many collateral branches from the first ancestor, who became lords or seigneurs of Tauzia, of Marcous, and other places.

(Reference: De Magny, "Nobiliaire Universeal de France," Vol. XV.)

(The American Branch).

I. Philippe Robert, of St. Jacques, in the diocese of Amiens in Picardy (which had been, about A. D. 1600, under the governorship of the Counts of Perigord), was probably of the Perigord branch of the Robert family. He married, about 1648, Jeanne Dupuis, of St. Jacques. They had Louis, of whom further; and Michel, born in 1656, who married, in 1681, at Sorel, Marie Madeleine Hayot.

II. Louis Robert, son of Philippe and Jeanne (Dupuis) Robert, was born in 1649, probably in Picardy, and died in the Province of Quebec, Canada. He married, in 1670, Marie Bourgerie, who was born in 1654, buried September 26, 1719, at Boucherville, Quebec Province. She was the daughter of Jean Baptiste and Marie (Gendre) Bourgerie. Children, born in the Province of Quebec, Canada: 1. Pierre, of whom further. 2. Joseph, born October 23, 1674; was buried, November 19, 1748; married, in 1701, Marie Joseph Larrive. 3. François, born February 20, 1678, was buried September 22, 1756; married, in 1712, Marie Lanctot. 4. Prudent, born in 1686; married, at Detroit, January 7, 1711, Madeleine Fafard, daughter of François Fafard. 5. Jean Baptiste, born June 3, 1688, was buried May 21, 1748; married, February 5, 1714, Geneviève Brobant. 6. Jacques, born March 15, 1694; married, April 25, 1718, Jeanne Dumets. 7. Louis, born March 15, 1695; married, November 25, 1715, Marie Prévost. 8. Antoine, born January 17, 1698; married, February 17, 1721, Charlotte Bourbon. 9. Marguerite, married, September 9, 1732, Charles Diel.

III. Pierre Robert, son of Louis and Marie (Bourgerie) Robert, was

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born in 1671 in Province of Quebec, Canada. He married, January 27, 1698, at Lachine, Quebec Province, M. Angélique Ptolomé, born in 1679, daughter of Charles and Barbe (Moisson) Ptolomé. Children, born in Quebec Province, Canada: 1. Angélique, married (first), November 8, 1720, Joseph Pepin; married (second), in 1734, Joseph Cicot. 2. Louise Marie, of whom further. 3. Jean Baptiste, born June 24, 1700; buried November 6, 1793; married, in 1739, Marguerite Ethier. 4. Pierre, born November 7, 1704, buried February 28, 1740; married, March 27, 1726, Marie-Reine Benoit. 5. Joseph, born in 1708; married, January 26, 1733, Marie Madeleine Laporte.

IV. Louise Marie Robert, daughter of Pierre and Angélique (Ptolomé) Robert, was born in Lachine, Quebec Province, December 15, 1698, and was buried at Detroit, Michigan, April 2, 1776. She married (first), March 25, 1718, at Detroit, François Pelletier; (second), January 7, 1725, Jean Louis Campau. (See Campau III.)

(Reference: Tanguay, "Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes," Vol. VI, pp. 594-600.)

(The Catin Line).

Arms—Azure, a helmet argent; in chief of the same three martlets sable.
(Rietstap's "Armorial Général.")

The French family name Catin originated from a nickname; a catin is a person of bold and free manners.

(The Family in America).

I. Henri Catin was born probably in Quebec Province, Canada, in 1653. He was buried in Quebec Province, July 13, 1723. Henri Catin married, at Montreal, November 20, 1679, Jeanne Brossard, who was born in 1663, and buried September 1, 1744. She was the daughter of Urbain Brossard. Children, born in Quebec, Canada: 1. Cécile, of whom further. 2. Marie, born June 8, 1684; married, August 23, 1706, Jean Sargnot-La fond. 3. Theresa, born October 15, 1686; married (first), March 19, 1710, Simon Reaume; married (second), September 27, 1734, Charles d'Autenil. 4. Thérèse, married Michel Montigny. 5. Marie Charlotte, born June 17, 1693; buried in Detroit, December 7, 1736; she married, May 15, 1713, Jean Baptiste Verger. 6. Catherine, born in 1693, was buried, December 29, 1742; married (first), November 27, 1717, Pierre Chartier; married (second), December 22, 1737, Charles Donaire. 7. Henri Nicolas, born February 26, 1697; married, April 16, 1732, Anne Chauvin. 8. Geneviève, born November 5, 1698;

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married, February 5, 1720, Joseph Dugast. 9. Henri, born October 16, 1703, buried June 21, 1749; married, March 20, 1747, Suzanna Tessier. 10. Elizabeth (twin), born April 4, 1706. 11. Marie Anne (twin), born April 4, 1706; married (first), June 28, 1728, Charles Neveu; married (second), September 5, 1746, Pierre Lucas. 12. Madeline, married, November 21, 1741, Jean Baptiste Deneau.

II. *Cécile Catin*, daughter of Henri and Jeanne (Brossard) Catin, was born in Montreal, Canada, August 26, 1681, and buried August 26, 1715. She married, December 1, 1699, Jacques Campau, son of Étienne and Catherine (Paul) Campau. (See Campau II.)

Reference: Tanguay, "Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes.")

(The Throop Line).

Arms—Gules, a bar between two chevrons argent.

Crest—A naked arm grasping a coiled serpent; all proper.

Motto—*Debita facere*.

(Crozier's "General Armory.")

While no actual and incontrovertible proof exists of the fact that William Throop, founder of the American family of the name, was the son of Adrian Scroope, one of the regicide judges of Charles I, tradition has long affirmed it and every evidence substantiates it. Many branches of the family for several generations have preserved the tradition that William Throop and Colonel Adrian Scroope are identical, on the ground that it is impossible otherwise to account for the autograph of Adrian Scroope, which appears in the Hartford Book of Possessions (p. 585) under date of March 11, 1666-67. Of this fact Savage says: "Strong probability from the union of such given name and surname arises that this man was son or near relative of the regicide."

The Scroope tradition is based on an old family record of a daughter of Rev. Benjamin Throop, who states that her father was the seventh child of Captain William Throop, who was the third son of William, whose father "Lord Scroope of Scotland," "in one of the Scotch Rebelions" fled to America and assumed the name of Throop. Endeavoring to verify this statement, Winchester Fitch, genealogist of the Throop family, ascertained that the Republican officials of the Commonwealth were called "Lord," as a title of courtesy; that Colonel Adrian Scroope, who fought in the Parliamentary army, was governor of Bristol Castle in 1649. He later was prominent on the Parliamentary side of the Civil War, and served on the High Court of Justice that condemned King Charles I, and signed his death warrant. In 1657 he was commissioner

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to Scotland with General Monk, and later was sheriff of Lithgow and Sterling until the Restoration. When Charles II ascended the throne of England he demanded the execution of the judges who had condemned his royal father. As an unrepentant regicide, the elder Scroope was excepted out of the Act of Indemnity and executed at Charing Cross, London, in 1660. The son escaped to America in the same year, settling at Hartford, where it appears he was first known by his proper name, but later assumed the alias William Throop, because of the further safety which it afforded.

The Throop family in America has figured prominently in the history of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York, since the early Colonial days. ("American Families," Vol. V, pp. 176-77—American Historical Society, Inc., Pub.)

(The Family in America).

I. William Throop (thought to have been the son of Colonel Adrian Scroope), is first of record in Barnstable, Massachusetts, where he married, on May 4, 1666, Mary Chapman, daughter of Ralph Chapman, of Marshfield. She was born October 31, 1643, and died in Bristol (now in Rhode Island), June, 1732, aged eighty-nine years. In 1680 William Throop was grand jurymen in Barnstable, Massachusetts, and in the same year he removed to Bristol, making the journey overland in an ox-cart. He was one of the original settlers of Bristol, and was active in official affairs of the town to the time of his death. In 1683 he was surveyor of highways; in 1689 selectman, and in 1691 he represented the town in the Rhode Island General Assembly. He died in Bristol, December 4, 1704, and his will is in the Records of Probate of Bristol County, which was organized in Plymouth Colony in 1685. Children, first six born at Barnstable, Massachusetts: 1. Mary, born April 6, 1667; married, November 4, 1686, at Bristol, John Barney. 2. Dan, born in 1670; married, August 23, 1689, Dorcas Barney, daughter of Jacob Barney; married (second) Deborah Marcy; (third) Deborah (Church) Gray, sister of Colonel Benjamin Church. 3. Elizabeth, born about 1672; married, March 31, 1695, Jonathan Peck. 4. John, born in 1676. 5. William, of whom further. 6. Thomas, born in 1681, at Bristol, died there September 18, 1756; married (first), November 18, 1702, Abigail Ware, who died in 1740; married (second) Zipporah Mann. 7. Mercy, living, unmarried, in 1704. 8. Lidiah, born in Bristol, July 15, 1686; unmarried in 1704.

II. William Throop, son of William and Mary (Chapman) Throop, was born in Barnstable, Massachusetts, 1678-79, and died in Lebanon,

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Connecticut, his will probated February 16, 1737-38. He accompanied his father to Bristol, which was his home during the early part of his life. Later he moved to Lebanon, Connecticut, where he took a leading part in public affairs. He represented the town in the Connecticut General Court from 1730 to 1735, and was captain of the militia. Captain Throop was land agent at Lebanon for the proprietors, and acted for the Colony on numerous committees to settle boundary disputes. He married, at Bristol, Rhode Island, March 21, 1698-99, Martha Colyn (Colye). Children, born at Bristol: 1. William, of whom further. 2. Joseph, born July 23, 1701; married Sarah Smith. 3. Elizabeth, born May 27, 1703; married, May 13, 1725, William Peck. 4. Martha, born June 30, 1705; married, November 23, 1725, Daniel Vaughan. 5. Mary (twin), born January 11, 1707-08; married, February 26, 1730, at Lebanon, Thomas Chapman. 6. Bathsheba (twin), born January 11, 1707-08; married, January 8, 1730, at Lebanon, John Syms. 7. John, born March 11, 1710-11, died May 7, 1711. 8. Benjamin, born June 9, 1712; graduate of Yale, 1734; minister; married, September 27, 1735, at Canterbury, Connecticut, Sybil Dyer.

III. William Throop, son of Captain William and Martha (Colyn) Throop, was born at Bristol, Massachusetts, January 8, 1699-1700, and died at Louisburg, Cape Breton Island, inventory April 22, 1746. He was cornet of Lebanon, Connecticut, troop of horse, October, 1736; ensign, February, 1745; and lieutenant in March, 1745, of the forces called together for the Cape Breton Expedition, in which he died. He married, at Pembroke, Massachusetts, October 8, 1719, Elizabeth Stansbury (Stansborough), a descendant of Josiah Stansborough, of Long Island. Children, first five born in Bristol, the rest in Lebanon: 1. William, born August 22, 1720; graduate of Yale, 1743; Princeton, 1755; minister at Southold, Long Island. 2. George, born March 10, 1723-24; minister at Johnstown, New York. 3. Elizabeth, born March 9, 1725-26, died August 27, 1727. 4. Josiah, born July 13, 1727; major under Captain Marinus Willett in New York (Roberts' "New York in the Revolution," p. 87); married Martha Lyman, born in 1735, daughter of Jabez Lyman. 5. Joseph. 6. Benjamin, born January 19, 1730. 7. John, born October 12, 1731. 8. Thomas, born September 9, 1733. 9. Elizabeth, born January 6, 1735. 10. Martha, born May 17, 1739. 11. Priscilla, born in July, 1741; married, August 16, 1759, Caleb Owen. 12. Mary, of whom further.

(Reference: "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. XXXVI, pp. 118-35.)



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IV. Mary Throop, daughter of William and Elizabeth (Stansbury) Throop, was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, August 11, 1744, and died in Connecticut. She married John Bliss, 4th, of Lebanon, son of John, 3d, and Hannah (Ticknor) Bliss. The records at Willimantic, Connecticut, show that Mary Bliss was guardian of her sons Elijah, born in 1759, and Jedediah, hence her husband died before Elijah was of age in 1780. He emigrated to Nova Scotia, but left there in the Revolution. Children: 1. John. 2. Elijah Dan, born in 1759, died between 1800 and 1805. 3. George, of whom further. 4. James, born in 1763, died August 12, 1831. 5. David. 6. Jedediah.

V. George Bliss, son of John Bliss, 4th, and Mary (Throop) Bliss, was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, April 12, 1761, and died in Albany, New York, November 13, 1794. He was adopted by his uncle, Rev. George Throop, whose children died young, and who was minister at Johnstown, New York, and tutor to the children of Sir William Johnson. George Bliss was made his heir and added Throop to his name. He received a college education, after which he taught school. He served in the Revolution in the 3d New York Regiment. His residence was at Johnstown, New York. He married, November 2, 1783, Abia Thompson, born in Dutchess County, New York, in September, 1762, died June 24, 1846, daughter of Enos and Sarah (Hitchcock) Thompson. Children, born in Johnstown, New York: 1. Enos Thompson, born August 21, 1784, died in Auburn, New York, November 1, 1874, Governor of New York, 1831-33. 2. Mary Ann, died March 2, 1867; married (first) ——— Aiken; (second) ——— Lacy. 3. Mehitabel, born August 3, 1786; married, October 10, 1805, Thaddeus Martin. 4. George Bliss, of whom further.

VI. George Bliss Throop, son of George Bliss and Abia (Thompson) Throop, was born in Johnstown, New York, April 12, 1793, died in Detroit, Michigan, February 23, 1854. Before moving to Michigan, he resided in Auburn, Cayuga County, New York, where he was a practicing lawyer, and won prominence in many walks of life. He was judge advocate in 1821, postmaster, county clerk, State Senator, and at one time served as cashier of the Cayuga County Bank. In Detroit, Michigan, he became president of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, and was a member of the Michigan Legislature. He married, April 10, 1826, Frances Hunt, born February 11, 1806, died in Detroit, July 7, 1872, sister of Hon. Ward Hunt, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. (See Hunt VI.) Children: 1. Montgomery Hunt, born January 26,

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1827, died at Albany, New York, September 11, 1892; married, at Utica, New York, June 22, 1854, Charlotte Williams Gridley, daughter of Philo and Susan (Williams) Gridley. 2. Elizabeth Stringham, of whom further. 3. Enos Thompson, born at Hamilton, New York, December 24, 1830, died in New York, November 16, 1900; married, October 10, 1855, Cornelia Gridley, daughter of Philo and Susan (Williams) Gridley. 4. George Bliss. 5. Garrow, died unmarried.

VII. *Eliza Stringham Throop*, daughter of George Bliss and Frances (Hunt) Throop, was born in Auburn, New York, in 1828, and died in Detroit, Michigan, April 13, 1905. She married, in 1846, Alexander Macomb Campau, of Detroit. (See Campau VI.)

(Reference: "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. XXXVII, pp. 35-39.)

(The Hunt Line).

Arms—Per pale argent and sable, a saltire counterchanged.

Crest—A lion's head erased per pale, argent and sable, collared gules lined and ringed or. (Crozier's "General Armory.")

The English family name Hunt is from the old English *hunte*, a huntsman. Thomas le Hunte is in the Hundred Rolls of County Cambridge, A. D. 1273, Gilbert le Hunte in the Writs of Parliament, 1302. (Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

(The Family in America).

I. *Thomas Hunt*, according to tradition a son of Thomas, who in turn was son of Richard Hunt, of Shrewsbury, in Shropshire, England, was at Stamford, Connecticut, in 1650, and in 1653 in the adjoining town of Rye, where he was made a freeman. In October, 1664, he was town representative. He is on record at Middlebury (now Newtown), in Queens County, New York, in 1661, and in Westchester in 1665-70. His will, dated October 1, 1694, was proved February 27, 1694-95. He married Cicely Paisley. Children: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. Josiah, of Westchester; married Bethiah Ferguson. 3. Joseph, left a daughter Martha; trustee St. Peter's, 1729. 4. John, married Grace Oakley. 5. Abigail, married John Pinckney, son of Philip Pinckney. 6. Mary, named in Edward Jessop's will.

II. *Thomas Hunt, Jr.*, son of Thomas and Cicely (Paisley) Hunt, died at West Farms, New York. He married Elizabeth Gardiner, who died in 1724, aged fifty-seven. Children: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. Lewis. 3. Robert, died in 1749. 4. Abigail. 5. Augustine, of Orange County, New York; married, November 11, 1741, Lydia Halloway.

SIBLEY, CAMPAU AND ALLIED FAMILIES

2. Lewis. 3. Robert, died in 1749. 4. Abigail. 5. Augustine, of Orange County, New York; married, November 11, 1741, Lydia Halloway.

III. Thomas (3) Hunt, son of Thomas, Jr., and Elizabeth (Gardiner) Hunt, was of Hunt's Point, New York, and married Sarah Ward. He was an alderman of Westchester, New York, in 1730 and 1732. Children: 1. Thomas, died July 4, 1808; married (first), in 1758, Millicent Wright; married (second) Hannah Drake. 2. Jesse, married (first) ——— Staples; married (second) Esther Brown. 3. Ward, of whom further.

IV. Ward Hunt, son of Thomas, 3d, and Sarah (Ward) Hunt, died (administration of his estate granted February 1, 1741-42), in Westchester. He married, December 25, 1767, Bathsheba Briggs, daughter of Walter and Lydia Briggs, born November 6, 1746, died December 16, 1786. Children, born in Westchester, New York: 1. Lydia, born March 27, 1773; married Judge Melanchthon Wheeler. 2. Walter B., born June 21, 1774. 3. Montgomery, of whom further. 4. Fanny, born April 18, 1783; married Colonel John Williams, of Salem, New York.

(Bolton's "History of Westchester," Vol. II, p. 738; Wyman's "Hunt Genealogy," pp. 160-69; New York Abstract of Wills, Vol. I, pp. 248-49.)

V. Montgomery Hunt, son of Ward and Bathsheba (Briggs) Hunt, was born in Westchester, New York, February 18, 1777, and died in Utica, New York, in 1837. He married, April 12, 1805, Eliza Stringham, and settled in Utica. Children: 1. Frances, of whom further. 2. James Stringham, born January 25, 1808, died April 27, 1862. 3. Ward, born June 14, 1810; married (first) Mary Ann Savage; married (second) Maria Taylor. 4. Lydia, born April 8, 1813; married Stephen Sicard, of Philadelphia. 5. Montgomery, born December 5, 1816; lost from sloop "Albany," October, 1854. 6. John Stringham, born July 5, 1818; lived in New York City. 7. Cornelia, born November 13, 1820; married Egbert Bagg, of Utica, New York. 8. Elizabeth, born August 8, 1823, died October 9, 1828.

VI. Frances Hunt, daughter of Montgomery and Eliza (Stringham) Hunt, was born February 11, 1806, died in Detroit, Michigan, July 7, 1872. She married, April 10, 1826, George Bliss Throop, a son of George Bliss and Abia (Thompson) Throop. (See Throop VI.)

(Reference: Virkus' "Abridged Compendium of American Genealogy," p. 917.)

SIBLEY, CAMPAU AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Sibley Line).

Arms—Per pale azure and gules, a griffin passant between three crescents argent.
(Burke's "General Armory.")

The family name Sibley is derived from the Christian-name Sibilla or Sybyle and is a very ancient one, having been brought into England by the Normans. One instance is that of Sibila, of Conversana, who became the wife of Robert Duke of Normandy. In the Hundred Rolls of County Suffolk, A. D. 1273, is found the name Geoffrey Sibilie, and in those of County Cambridge that of Thomas Sibely. (Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames"; H. B. George's "Genealogical Tables.") From the American ancestor, John Sybley, have descended many sturdy citizens who have made valuable contributions to the development of the country.

I. John Sybley or Sibley came from England in 1629 with Higginson's fleet, accompanied by Richard, who is believed to be his brother. It is not clear whether the John who was admitted to the Charlestown, Massachusetts, church with his wife Sarah, February 21, 1634-35, was the same John who was made freeman of Salem, Massachusetts, May 6, 1635, and juryman and selectman in 1636, or whether he was a son of the former. John, of Salem, held land at Jeffrey's Creek (now Manchester), in 1637, and died in 1661. His wife was Rachel Pickworth, daughter of John Pickworth. Children, born in Salem, Massachusetts: 1. Sarah, baptized September 18, 1642. 2. Mary, baptized September 8, 1644; married, January 26, 1665, Jonathan Walcott. 3. Rachel, baptized May 3, 1646, married a Bishop. 4. John, baptized May 4, 1648. 5. Hannah, baptized June 22, 1651; married Stephen Small. 6. William, baptized July 3, 1653. 7. Joseph, of whom further. 8. Samuel, born February 12, 1657; married Mary. 9. Abigail, baptized July 3, 1659.

(Salem Vital Records; Savage's "Genealogical Dictionary of First Settlers of New England.")

II. Joseph Sibley, son of John and Rachel (Pickworth) Sibley, was born at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1655. He was a fisherman in calling, and on one occasion when returning from a fishing voyage he was impressed for hard service on board a British frigate for seven weeks. He married, February 8, 1684, Susanna Follett, daughter of William Follett, of Dover, New Hampshire. Children: 1. Joseph, Jr., of whom further. 2. John, born September 18, 1687. 3. Jonathan, born May 1, 1690. 4. Hannah, baptized May 9, 1695; married, August 10, 1722, Ebenezer Daggett. 5. Samuel, baptized May 16, 1697. 6. William, bap-

SYBLY (SIBLEY).

Arms—Per pale azure and gules, a griffin passant between three crescents argent.
(Burke's "General Armory.")

SPROTT (SPROAT).

Arms—Vert, three quatrefoils argent, stalked or.
(Burke's "General Armory.")

WHIPPLE.

Arms—Sable, on a chevron between three swans' heads erased argent as many crescents of the field.
(Burke's "General Armory.")

WOOD.

Arms—Azure, three woodmen proper, each armed with a club over the right shoulder and a shield in front argent, thereon a cross gules, head and waist encircled with a wreath vert all standing on a ground proper.
Crest—An oak tree proper, charged with acorns or.
Motto—*Pro patria.* (For my country.)
(Burke's "General Armory.")

HAWES.

Arms—Sable, a chevron argent between three leopards' faces or.
(Burke's "General Armory.")

SAMPSON.

Arms—Per bend or and gules, a cross flory between two escallops in bend dexter, and as many billets in bend sinister all counterchanged.
Crest—A fret or, thereon a wyvern's head erased gules, collared and semée of billets gold.
Motto—*Pejus letho flagitium.*
(Crozier's "General Armory," recorded for Henry Sampson, Boston, 1620—Gloucester.)

STYLISH (218 H)

Stylish—A person who is very fashionable and elegant in dress and manner. (French: *élégant*)

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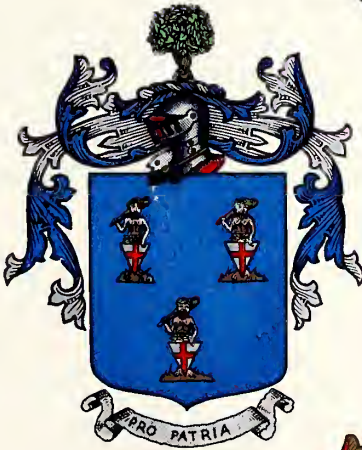
Sybly
(Sibley)



Sprott
(Sproat)



Whipple



Wood



Hawes



Sampson



Wm. L. Lillie

SIBLEY, CAMPAU AND ALLIED FAMILIES

tized September 7, 1700, died in 1763; married, July 4, 1726, Sarah Dike. 7. Benjamin, baptized September 19, 1703.

III. Joseph Sibley, Jr., son of Joseph and Susanna (Follett) Sibley, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, November 9, 1684, and was baptized in August, 1687. He settled in Sutton, Massachusetts, and was the father of the following children: 1. Joseph, born in 1709. 2. John, born August 2, 1711. 3. James, born in 1714; married, March 14, 1739, Elizabeth Chase, daughter of Philip Chase. 4. Jonathan, of whom further.

IV. Jonathan Sibley, son of Joseph Sibley, Jr., was born September 11, 1718, and died in Sutton, Massachusetts, March 30, 1787. He married, December 3, 1739, at Sutton, Hannah Burnap. Children: 1. Jonathan, born February 10, 1741; married, April 26, 1762, Eunice Perkins. 2. Reuben, of whom further. 3. Huldah, born September 13, 1745; married, June 26, 1765, John Howard. 4. Paul, born April 26, 1748; married, December 2, 1766, Sarah Putnam. 5. Gideon, born November 20, 1750; married, April 28, 1772, Tamar Fitts. 6. Tarrant, born September 1, 1754; married Hannah Putnam.

V. Reuben Sibley, son of Jonathan and Hannah (Burnap) Sibley, was born in Sutton, Massachusetts, February 20, 1743, and died there November 17, 1810. He married, January 30, 1765, Ruth Sibley, who died November 30, 1814. Children, all born in Sutton: 1. Reuben, born October 25, 1765; married, November 16, 1784, Elizabeth Marble. 2. Phebe, born November 5, 1767. 3. Solomon, of whom further. 4. Jonathan, born February 4, 1772; married, April 8, 1798, Tirza Lamson. 5. Martha, born February 24, 1774. 6. Nathaniel, born April 20, 1776, died March 13, 1859; married, in 1820, Miranda Chase. 7. Hannah, born March 27, 1778; married, May 3, 1798, Amasa Roberts. 8. Ruth, born March 13, 1780; married, July 15, 1803, William Warren Rice. 9. Huldah, born August 6, 1782; married, December 10, 1804, Moses L. Morse.

(Benedict and Tracy: "History of Sutton, Massachusetts," pp. 717-726; Savage's "Genealogical Dictionary of First Settlers of New England"; Sutton Vital Records.)

VI. Judge Solomon Sibley, son of Reuben and Ruth (Sibley) Sibley, was born in Sutton, Massachusetts, October 7, 1769, died in Detroit, Michigan, April 4, 1846. As a young man he was a student at Brown University and later studied under the distinguished lawyer, William Hastings. After the completion of his course he decided to cast in his

SIBLEY, CAMPAU AND ALLIED FAMILIES

lot with the developing West, and about 1795 he migrated to Marietta, Ohio, later locating for a time in Cincinnati, where he formed a law partnership with Judge Burnet. Thence he came to Detroit, where he was elected in 1798-99 to the first Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territory, which met at Chillicothe, Ohio. Judge Burnet, one of his fellow members in this body, said of Mr. Sibley that "he was one of the most talented men in the House." The history of Michigan shows that for more than fifty years he was one of the most public-spirited, prominent, and able of its citizens. Among the official positions which he filled were those of delegate to Congress, 1821-23, United States attorney, 1815-33, and judge of the Supreme Court of the Territory, 1821-37.

Judge Sibley married, in October, 1802, Sarah Whipple Sproat. (See Sproat V.) Children, born in Detroit: 1. Ebenezer Sproat, of whom further. 2. Katherine Whipple, married C. C. Trowbridge. 3. Henry Hastings, born February 20, 1811, first governor of the State of Minnesota, brigadier-general in the Civil War, and later brevet major-general. His home at Mendota, Minnesota, was the first stone house built in the State, and is now maintained by the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution as a historic museum. 4. Augusta, married J. A. Armstrong, and died soon afterward. 5. Mary, married Charles Adams, and died soon afterward. 6. Alexander Hamilton, married Marie L. Miller. 7. Sarah Alexandrine. 8. Frederick Barker. 9. Dan, who died in infancy.

VII. Colonel Ebenezer Sproat Sibley, son of Solomon and Sarah Whipple (Sproat) Sibley, was born in Detroit, Michigan, and died in this city August 14, 1884. After preparatory study he entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, and was graduated at the head of his class in 1827 with a commission in the United States Army. He served as an officer of the line for a few years and was then transferred to the Quartermaster's Department of the Lakes, where he remained for more than a quarter of century, rising through regular promotions to the rank of colonel, June 12, 1864. Colonel Sibley was chief quartermaster of General Taylor's army during the Mexican campaign and was an officer of such accomplishments and ability that he was attached to army headquarters at Washington, D. C., for many years. During the Civil War his chief duties were those of a quartermaster-general, but excessive duties broke down his fine physique and he was compelled to retire from the service to which he had devoted his life on April 15, 1864.

Colonel Ebenezer Sproat Sibley married (first) Charlotte Saxton; (second) Elizabeth Cuyler. Children of first marriage: 1. Frederick Trowbridge, of whom further. 2. Henry Saxton, born June 6, 1853, died



Frances Campbell Sidley

SIBLEY, CAMPAU AND ALLIED FAMILIES

September 16, 1909; married Elizabeth Sarbuck Gifford. Children of second marriage: 3. Katherine Whipple, born in 1862, died in 1925. 4. Alexandrine Hamilton, born in 1864, died in 1910.

(Benedict and Tracy: "History of Sutton, Massachusetts"; Burton's "City of Detroit, Michigan," Vol. III, pp. 591-92, 675; Appleton's "Cyclopædia of American Biography"; Family Records.)

VIII. Frederick Trowbridge Sibley, son of Colonel Ebenezer Sproat and Charlotte (Saxton) Sibley, was born at Fort Union, New Mexico, March 15, 1852, and died at Riverside, California, November 17, 1916. He received his early education in private schools in Rochester, New York, and then continued his studies in the Military Academy (a boarding school) at Sing Sing (now Ossining), New York. He then studied law and as a member of the firm of Miller, Bissell and Sibley, of Detroit, was for many years engaged in legal practice. Politically, he gave support to the Republican party. He was a member of the Society of the Order of the Cincinnati, of the Loyal Legion, the Society of the Mexican Wars, and of the Society of Colonial Wars, and was also a member of the Detroit Club. His religious affiliation was with the Episcopal Church.

Frederick Trowbridge Sibley married, April 12, 1877, Frances Eliza Campau. (See Campau VII.) Children: 1. Eliza Throop, married, October 10, 1905, Horace Baxter Peabody. They have children: i. Charlotte Campau, born August 20, 1911. ii. Alice Beaumont, born December 25, 1912. iii. Dorothy Sibley, born April 18, 1919. 2. Charlotte Saxton, born April 3, 1880, died November 15, 1921; married, February 14, 1901, Stephen Paul Harwood, of Baltimore, Maryland, and had children: i. James Kemp, born November 24, 1902. ii. Francis Campau, born May 22, 1905. iii. Stephen Paul, Jr., born August 8, 1908. iv. Charlotte Sibley, born April 13, 1910. v. Henry Hamilton, born April 20, 1912. 3. Frances Campau, married, October 7, 1911, Kirkland Barker Alexander. They have children: i. Charles Town, born August 23, 1912. ii. Kirkland Barker, Jr., born September 9, 1914. iii. Frances Campau, born October 29, 1915. 4. Dorothy, married, December 15, 1908, Gaylord Wilson Gillis, son of Ransom Gillis, and has: i. Ransom, born October 26, 1909, died December 3, 1918. ii. Gaylord Wilson, born December 2, 1911. iii. Campau, born July 20, 1913. iv. David Carter, born July 25, 1915. v. Dorothy Sibley, born October 25, 1920. 5. Alexandrine (twin), married, February 10, 1909, Frank Michael Brennan. They have children: i. Margaret Frances, born July 16, 1911. ii. Frank

SIBLEY, CAMPAU AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Michael, Jr., born July 3, 1913. iii. Frederick Sibley. Mr. Brennan died in 1918, and Mrs. Brennan married (second), June 15, 1925, Frederick Deveau Johnson, and they have one son, Frederick, born May 16, 1927. 6. Frederica (twin), married, October 8, 1910, Lucian Selwyn Moore. They have children: i. Lucian Selwyn, Jr., born January 7, 1912. ii. Jean, born October 10, 1914. iii. Sibley, born February 15, 1919. 7. Henry Whipple, died October 27, 1881, aged twenty-one days.

(Burton's "Barnabas Campau and Descendants"; Family Records.)

(The Sproat Line).

Arms—Vert, three quatrefoils argent, stalked or.

(Burke's "General Armory.")

As a surname, Sprot, Sproat, Spratt is derived from the Christen-name Sprot, found in Domesday Book (Derby), A. D. 1086. Sproat is a northern English form. Henry Sprot is in the Hundred Rolls of County Cambridge, A. D. 1273, Richard Sprot in those of County Oxford, and Edward Sprott or Spratt of County Stafford, in register of Oxford University, 1594.

(References: Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames"; Erdswick's "Survey of Staffordshire," p. 241.)

(The Family in America).

I. Robert Sproat (Sprout), of England, was in Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1660, and died in Middleborough, Massachusetts, between November 3 and December 11, 1712. A descendant says that he was a son of James Sproat, of Yorkshire, England, and was a soldier in Cromwell's army, having gone from England to the West Indies and thence to Scituate, Massachusetts. He married, before 1662, Elizabeth Sampson, daughter of Henry Sampson, of Duxbury, a passenger of the "Mayflower," 1620. (See Sampson II.) She survived him, the mother of the following children, who are named in his will, which was made November 23, 1712, and proved December 11, 1712: 1. Mercy, born in 1662; married, June 27, 1683, Thomas Oldham, Jr. 2. Elizabeth, born in 1664. 3. Mary, born in 1666. 4. Robert, born in April, 1669, died in Phipps' Canada expedition in 1690. 5. Ann, born in 1671, married a Richmond. 6. James, born in 1673; married (first) Elizabeth Southworth; (second) Rachel Dwelly. 7. Ebenezer, of whom further. 8. Hannah, born in 1680; married, April 1, 1703, Ephraim Keen (Cane).

II. Ebenezer Sproat, son of Robert and Elizabeth (Sampson) Sproat, was born in Middleborough, Massachusetts, in 1675, and died there Sep-

SIBLEY, CAMPAU AND ALLIED FAMILIES

tember 28, 1726. He held the rank of lieutenant in the militia. Ebenezer Sproat married, March 1, 1703-04, Experience Hawes, daughter of John Hawes. She survived him and married (second) Francis Miller. She died November 19, 1758.

III. Ebenezer (2) Sproat, son of Ebenezer and Experience (Hawes) Sproat, was born in Middleborough, Massachusetts, in 1717, and died there, January 23, 1786. He was proprietor of an inn originally built by James Soule in 1700, which in 1775 hung forth the sign, "Entertainment for all Sons of Liberty." He was an influential man, of large and commanding figure, and held the offices of town treasurer and selectman for a number of years. He married, June 8, 1749, Bathsheba Wood, daughter of Ephraim and Patience Wood. (See Wood IV.) Children, born in Middleborough: 1. Mary, born May 1, 1750. 2. Ebenezer, of whom further. 3. Bathsheba, born July 11, 1754. 4. Thomas, born October 1, 1755, died February 3, 1833. He succeeded his father as an inn keeper. 5. James, born December 7, 1758. 6. Abigail, born October 31, 1761, died January 18, 1763. 7. Samuel, born December 7, 1763.

(References: Savage's "Genealogical Dictionary of Early Settlers of New England"; "Representative Men and Old Families of S. E. Massachusetts," pp. 1418; "Mayflower Descendants," Vol. VI, pp. 9-11; Vols. XVIII and XXIV; Scituate, Massachusetts, Vital Records.)

IV. Ebenezer (3) Sproat, son of Ebenezer (2) and Bathsheba (Wood) Sproat, was born in Middleborough, Massachusetts, February 9, 1752, and died at Marietta, Ohio, in February, 1805. When quite young he became interested in the public and political affairs of the times and was one of the first to enlist in the Revolutionary Army, entering with the rank of captain with the troops opposing the British possession of Newport, Rhode Island. This was at the time of its first invasion and he served with Cotton's Massachusetts regiment, enlisting April 23, 1775. He was promoted to the rank of major, June 27, 1775, Tenth Massachusetts Regiment, under Colonel Shepard, being transferred to the Third Continental Infantry in December, 1775. He was major in the command from January 1, 1777; lieutenant-colonel commandant, Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment, September 29, 1778; transferred to the Second Massachusetts Regiment, January 1, 1781; colonel, September 30 to November 3, 1783. After the cessation of hostilities he lived in Providence, Rhode Island, and in 1786 he was appointed surveyor for Rhode Island, of the lands west of the Ohio, and in 1788 settled in Marietta,

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Ohio. Four fourteen years he served as sheriff of Washington County, Ohio, 1788-1802, at a time when that office carried with it responsibility for the peace and safety of the district in far greater measure than at any time since.

Colonel Sproat was buried in the historic Mound Cemetery at Marietta. In a sketch of the cemetery and its history by Willia Dawson Cotton, the following occurs:

Colonel Sproat was the first sheriff of Washington County and opened the first court ever held in the territory, which according to Dr. Hildreth, was an august spectacle, conducted with great dignity and decorum. Colonel Sproat, preceded by a military escort, marched with his drawn sword and wand of office at the head of the judges, governor, secretary, etc., to the block-house of Campus Martius, where the court was held. The Indians, watching the little procession wend its way up the Muskingum, admired greatly the commanding figure of Colonel Sproat, who, being six feet four inches in height, towered head and shoulders above his companions. They always called him hereafter Hetuck, or Big Buckeye, and thus originated the title now applied to the natives of Ohio.

Colonel Sproat married, in Providence, Rhode Island, Katherine Whipple, daughter of the famous Commodore Abraham Whipple, of the Revolutionary Navy. (See Whipple II.) They were parents of Sarah Whipple, of whom further.

V. Sarah Whipple Sproat, daughter of Colonel Ebenezer and Katherine (Whipple) Sproat, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, January 28, 1782, and died at Marietta, Ohio, in 1851. She married, in October, 1802, Judge Solomon Sibley. (See Sibley VI.) From "The History of the Old Sibley House," published in 1910 by the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution, the following, under the caption, "A Real Daughter of the American Revolution," appears:

. . . . When she was but seven years old—her parents left their Rhode Island home for the then unsettled and mostly undiscovered West, traveling far out to the mouth of the Muskingum River, Ohio, and settling at a place which soon became known as Marietta.

They were compelled to live in log huts, surrounded by Indians, with poor food and scanty clothing, continually exposed to hardships and privations which were enough to discourage the strongest hearted pioneer. Here she lived until she was ten years old, when an Indian War threatened the settlers. Her father's first thought was naturally of his only daughter, whose life he felt he could not risk in the face of such appalling danger, and so he traveled with her on horseback seven hundred miles to the Moravian School at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where she remained

SIBLEY, CAMPAU AND ALLIED FAMILIES

three years. Having completed her elementary training she went to Philadelphia to finish her education. At seventeen she returned to Marietta, which was now much larger and safer. Not long after her return a handsome lawyer named Sibley came into the settlement. A short time afterwards he became acquainted with Colonel Sproat's handsome daughter; the friendship soon ripened into love, and terminated in their marriage in October, 1802, when Sarah Sproat was in her twentieth year.

Every reader of history is aware of the terrible suffering Detroit experienced from the hands of the British during the War of 1812, and of the disgraceful surrender of the fort by General Hull. When the attack was made on the city, the women and children were all placed in the fort for safety. Mrs. Sibley, then the mother of three children, was found holding her youngest child, Henry Hastings, in her arms, while with her busy hands she was making cartridges for the soldiers. Four officers, including her cousin, were killed by a cannonball in the adjoining room. Her husband was out in the field commanding a company of militia at the time, yet amid all the discharging of rifles, the roar of cannon, the wails of the dying, and the crashing of falling timbers she continued her work with coolness and bravery, up to the moment of the disgraceful surrender.

. . . . To the life and memory of this good woman, Mrs. Ellett, in "The Pioneer Women of the West," has assigned a place of honor. In speaking of Mrs. Sibley, she says: "The duties incumbent on her as a wife and mother she faithfully performed. A large family grew up around her, in whose minds it was her constant endeavor to instill such high principles as would make them true to themselves and useful members of society. To her, most truly, could the scriptural passage be applied: 'Her children shall rise up and call her blessed.'"

(References: Weston's "History of Middleboro, Massachusetts," pp. 322-25; Heitman's "Historical Register of Officers of Continental Army," p. 513; Summer's "History of Marietta, Ohio," pp. 47, 101, 167; Family Records.)

(The Whipple Line).

Arms—Sable, on a chevron between three swans' heads erased argent as many crescents of the field. (Burke's "General Armory.")

The Whipple family, according to Charles H. Whipple's genealogy of the family, originated with Henri De V. Hipple, of Normandy, of the Vale de Suere, who for his gallantry was granted the manorial estates of Wraxwall. He was knighted on the battlefield of Agincourt. Later, on account of persecution, he left Wraxwall, and resumed the name Hipple, which in the time of Henry VII (1485-1509) was Anglicized into Whipple.

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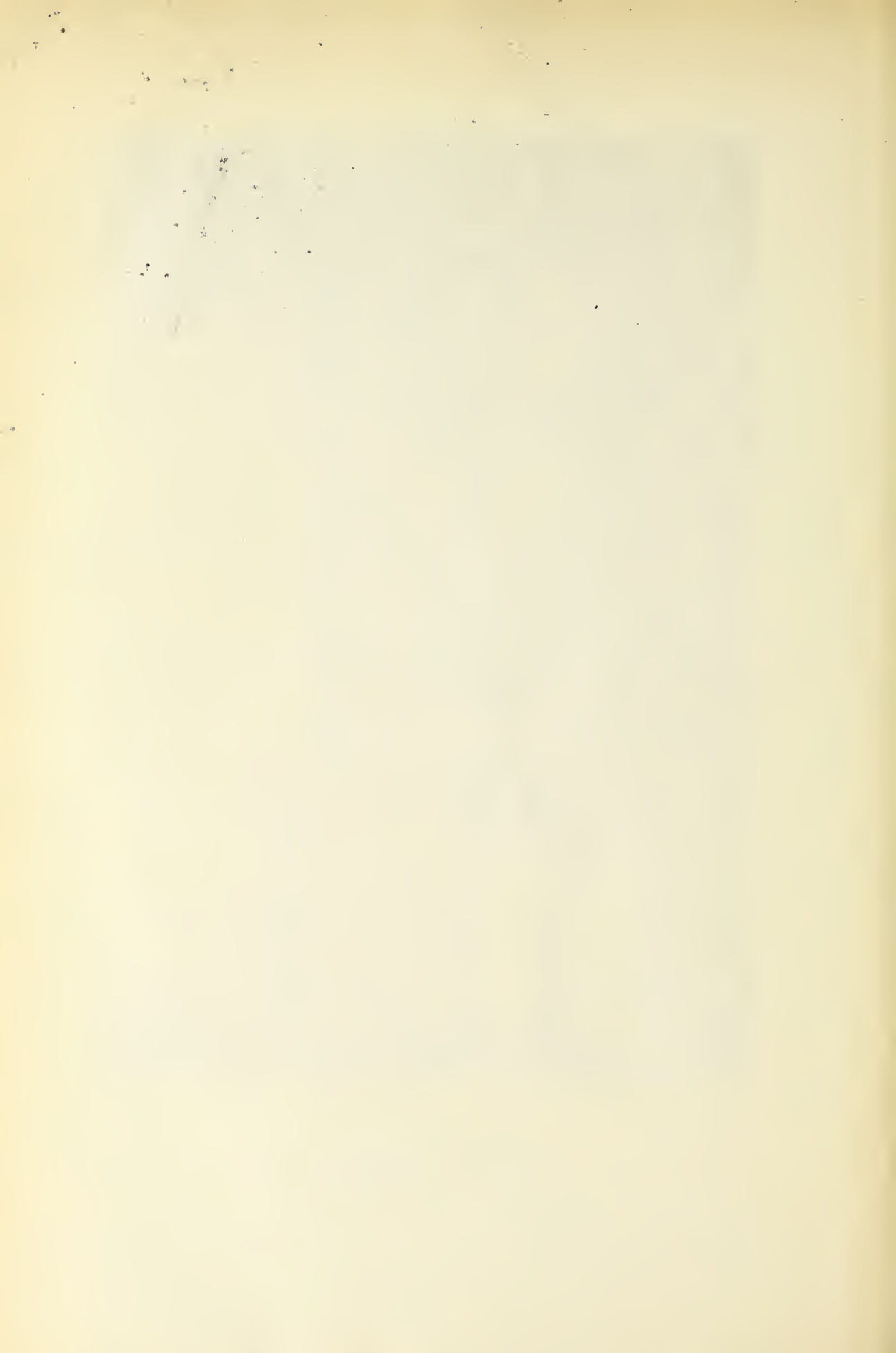
Whipples have been associated with American life and affairs since the early part of the seventeenth century, and many of the name have played their rôles in the drama of life so well that they have been given high places of honor and distinction. Among this number might be mentioned William Whipple, who was born in Kittery, Maine, in 1730, and became distinguished as a signer of the Declaration of Independence; also Commodore Abraham Whipple, of Providence, Rhode Island, whose story of the heroic part played in the naval battles of the Revolutionary War is here briefly related. He is the great-great-great-grandfather of Frederick T. Sibley, of previous mention.

I. Captain Abraham Whipple was born in Providence, Rhode Island, September 26 (old style September 16), 1733, and died near Marietta, Ohio, May 27, 1819, having been one of that sturdy band of pioneers, who, in 1788, left their New England homes to establish new ones in the then wilderness of the West. These New Englanders named their new settlement, Marietta, in honor of the Queen of France, Marie Antoinette, who by her love and sympathy had helped so many of them during their country's struggle for liberty.

At an early age Abraham Whipple went to sea and when a young man he was appointed captain of a merchant vessel in the West Indies trade. In the French and Indian War he served first under Captain Esek Hopkins, but later he commanded the privateer "Gamecock," and in one cruise in 1759-60, captured twenty-three French vessels. Captain Whipple's most memorable action was the capture of the schooner "Gaspé," a tender to a British vessel of war stationed in Rhode Island waters to enforce the Stamp Act under which vessels could not regularly leave a port unless furnished with the required stamps. On June 17, 1772, the "Gaspé" chased the Providence Packet "Hannah" and became stuck on a sandbar. Captain Whipple immediately selected sixty-four men from the crowd that had collected, and taking eight launches and a quantity of paving stones, approached the "Gaspé," whose commander ordered them off. After a short conflict all the "Gaspé's" crew were taken prisoners, and the "Gaspé" was burned. In 1775 Captain Whipple was put in command of two armed vessels fitted out by Rhode Island, and was given the title of commodore. On December 22, 1775, Congress made him captain of the "Columbus," with which a few days later he captured a tender of the British sloop "Rose," off the Rhode Island shore; this marked the first sea-fight of the Revolution. After this, Captain



Abraham Whipple



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Whipple was made commander of the twelve-gun cruiser "Providence," which is said to have captured more British prizes than any other American vessel. After she was captured, he was placed in command of the new frigate "Providence," carrying twenty-eight guns, and in 1778 he ran the blockade in Narragansett Bay, forcing his way through the British fleet, and carried important dispatches to France, relating to the treaty between France and the United States. He returned in safety to Boston and had command of a squadron during the remainder of the war. One of his most daring exploits was performed in July, 1779, when by concealing his guns and hoisting the British flag, he joined the homeward-bound Jamaica fleet of nearly one hundred and fifty sail, convoyed by a seventy-four gun ship and smaller vessels, and captured each night a merchant vessel until he had eight manned from his own fleet, their value being estimated at \$1,000,000. In 1780, in attempting to relieve the siege of Charleston, South Carolina, Sir Henry Clinton with a strong force of ships and troops captured the "Providence," and Captain Whipple was held prisoner until the end of the war. He then retired to his farm in Cranston, Rhode Island, but removed in 1788 to Ohio, and there settled on a farm near Marietta, where he remained until his death. He lies buried in the historic Mound Cemetery in Marietta, Ohio, not far from his old comrade-in-arms, General Rufus Putnam, Revolutionary officer, and leader of the colony which made the first settlement in Ohio. Commodore Whipple is given the honor of having fired the first naval gun in the cause of American Independence. The following, quoted from the "Sketch of Mound Cemetery," by Willia Dawson Cotton, gives a fairly good estimate of the man and is a fitting close to this memoir:

Commodore Whipple gave not only his services to his country, but thousands of dollars which were never repaid. "It is presumed that no other one amongst the military or naval commanders of the Revolution expended as much for the men under their care, with the exception of that extraordinary and good man, the Marquis LaFayette." On the white marble monument erected in his memory by Mr. Nahum Ward can be read these words:

Sacred
to the memory of
COMMODORE ABRAHAM WHIPPLE
whose naval skill and courage
will ever remain the pride and boast of
his country.
In the Revolution he was the

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first on the sea to hurl defiance at
proud Britain.

Gallantly leading the way to wrest from
the mistress of the Ocean, her sceptre,
and there to wave the Star-Spangled
Banner.

He also conducted to the sea the first
square-rigged vessel built on the Ohio,
opening to commerce
resources beyond calculation.

Born Sept. 26, 1733 Died May 27, 1819 Aged 85 years

Abraham Whipple married, August 2, 1761, Sarah Hopkins, daughter of William and Ruth (Wickenden) Hopkins, of Providence (the part set off as Scituate in 1731), and sister of Governor Stephen and Commodore Esek Hopkins. They were the parents of two daughters, one of whom was Katherine, of whom further.

II. Katherine Whipple, daughter of Captain Abraham and Sarah (Hopkins) Whipple, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, and died in Detroit, Michigan, in 1834, of cholera. She married Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, son of Ebenezer and Bathsheba (Wood) Sproat. (See Sproat IV.)

(References: "Whipple's "Brief Genealogy of Whipple Family," p. 53; "National Cyclopedia of American Biography," Vol. II, pp. 16-17.)

(The Wood Line).

Arms—Azure, three woodmen proper, each armed with a club over the right shoulder and a shield in front argent, thereon a cross gules head and waist encircled with a wreath vert, all standing on a ground proper.

Crest—An oak tree proper, charged with acorns or.

Motto—*Pro patria*. (For my country.)

(Burke's "General Armory.")

The coat-of-arms herein described was granted to Giles Wood, of Pickering, in the time of Henry VIII (1509-47) and used by his descendants, of Copmanthorpe, now represented by Wood of Hollin Hall, County York. Henry Wood, the American progenitor, was of the Leyden Pilgrims, who were gathered from Scrooby and Gainsborough, near the juncture of counties Nottingham, Lincoln, and York. The family name Wood is the same as the earlier Atte Wood, Atwood, signifying a dweller at a wood.

(Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Henry Wood was born in England about 1594, and died in Middleboro, Massachusetts, about September, 1670. According to Governor

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Winslow, Henry Wood was with the Pilgrims in Leyden, Holland, in 1611 and 1614. The will of Samuel Fuller corroborates this. He is sometimes called "Atwood" and is thought to be a brother of John and Stephen Wood-Atwood, of Plymouth Colony. Henry Wood appeared in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in September 1641. He married, April 28, 1644, Abigail Jenney, a daughter of John and Sarah (Carey) Jenney, who was still living in 1690. They lived in Yarmouth for three or four years, then returned to Plymouth, and about 1655 settled finally in that portion which became Middleboro in 1669. Children, except the first two, born in Plymouth, Massachusetts: 1. Sarah, born in Yarmouth in 1645, died March 4, 1675; married, November 22, 1667, John Nelson. 2. Samuel, of whom further. 3. Jonathan, born at Plymouth, January 1, 1649, died 1675-76, unmarried. 4. David, born October 17, 1651. 5. Joseph, born 1652-53; married Hester Walker. 6. Benjamin, married, in Middleboro, in 1677; will proved December 2, 1690. 7. Abigail, married after July 16, 1675, David Thomas, Jr. 8. Abiel, born in 1658; married Abijah Bowen. 9. Susanna. 10. James, born about 1660; married Experience Fuller. 11. Mary, living in 1675.

(References: Davis' "Land Marks of Plymouth"; "American Ancestry," Vol. V, p. 101; Savage's "Genealogical Dictionary of First New England Settlers"; "American Families," Vol. XVII, American Historical Society, Inc., Publ.)

II. Samuel Wood, second of the eleven children of Henry and Abigail (Jenney) Wood, was born at Yarmouth, Massachusetts, May 25, 1647, and died in Middleboro, Massachusetts, February 3, 1717-18. He was selectman, 1684, 1689 and later. He joined the church in Middleboro, December 26, 1694. He married, before June 1, 1675, Rebecca (probably) Tupper, born about 1650, died February 10, 1717-18. Children, born in Middleboro, Massachusetts: 1. Henry, born about 1676; married, December 24, 1717, Mary Tinkham. 2. Ephraim, of whom further. 3. Rebecca, born April 9, 1682; married, November 28, 1710, Henry Smith. 4. Samuel, born September 19, 1684; married Elizabeth. 5. Ame, born January 20, 1687; probably Ame, who married a Whitaker. 6. Jabez, born in 1690; married, April 5, 1716, Mercy Fuller. 7. Joanna, married, November 10, 1710, John Smith. 8. Susanna, married, December 11, 1718, Nathaniel Smith.

III. Ephraim Wood, second of the eight children of Samuel and Rebecca (Tupper) Wood, was born in Middleboro, January 16, 1679,

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and died July 9, 1744. He married (first) Susannah Howland, daughter of Isaac and Elizabeth (Vaughn) Howland, and granddaughter of John Howland of the "Mayflower," 1620. She was born October 14, 1690, and died in 1723. He married (second) Patience. Children, born at Middleboro, five by first marriage: 1. Josiah, born June 18, 1710; married, in 1736, Mary Holmes. 2. Samuel, born February 12, 1712-13, and died at Middleboro, July 12, 1750. He married, January 6, 1736-37, Joanna Cobb. 3. Ephraim, born January 23, 1715-16; married, in 1742, Mary Lazell. 4. Rebecca, born November 29, 1717. 5. Isaac, born February 7, 1719-20. Children by second wife: 6. Bathsheba, of whom further. 7. Manasseh, born April 4, 1729; married, in 1756, Sarah Pomeroy.

IV. Bathsheba Wood, daughter of Ephraim and Patience Wood, was born in Middleboro, Massachusetts, June 19, 1724, and died there, June 28, 1798; she married, June 8, 1749, Ebenezer Sproat, son of Ebenezer and Experience (Hawes) Sproat, of Middleboro. (See Sproat III.)

(Reference: "Mayflower Descendants," Vol. IV, p. 74; Vol. VI, p. 228; Vol. XVIII, p. 82; "American Families," Vol. XVII, American Historical Society, Inc., Publ.)

(The Hawes Line).

Arms—Sable, a chevron argent between three leopards' faces or.
(Burke's "General Armory.")

The English surname Hawe, Hawes, usually originated to designate a dweller at the haw, a yard or enclosure. John de la Hawe is in the Hundred Rolls of County Huntingdon, A. D. 1273; Peter in le Hawe in those of County Kent; and Alan del Hawes in those of County Cambridge. (Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.") The following family arose in Warwickshire. The earliest mention of a Hawe in that vicinity, is of Richard de Hawe, of Littleover, Derbyshire, in 1284, and of William de Hawe about the same time in Bottesford, Leicestershire. Mention of the family in Solihull, County Warwick, whence ours originated, is first found in a deed of 1313, in which Robert Hawe agrees with his brother Richard to dig two ditches and maintain two hedges in the manor of Solihull. In 1327 William Hawe of Solihull was taxed three shillings. In 1340, John, son of Richard Hawe, of Solihull, grants plots of land in Solihull, and in 1368 and 1373, John, son of William Hawe, of Solihull, grants land. From one of these Johns we can construct the line as follows:

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I. Richard Hawes (1313) or *William Hawes* (1322).

II. John Hawes (1371).

III. Thomas Hawes, born about 1390; married (first) Margaret; (second) Catherine.

IV. Thomas (2) Hawes, born about 1415, probably married Joan ———.

V. Thomas (3) Hawes, born about 1440; married, in 1465, Ann Greswold.

VI. Thomas (4) Hawes, born after 1465; married, about 1500, Johanna Rainsford.

VII. Thomas (5) Hawes, born about 1500; married, in 1527, Elizabeth Brome.

VIII. William Hawes, born in 1531; married, in 1562, Ursula Colles.

IX. Edmond Hawes, born after 1562, married before 1600, Jane Porter, daughter of Richard Porter of Bayham, Sussex, and by purchase, he and his cousin Humphrey Colles, became Lords of the Manor of Solihull, which they sold in 1607 for 1020 pounds. Children, born at Solihull Manor; last three at Hillfield: 1. Jane, baptized October 5, 1600. 2. Ursula, baptized January 19, 1601-02, buried April 16, 1602. 3. Lucy, baptized January 12, 1602-03. 4. William, baptized December 30, 1604. 5. Ursula, baptized October 26, 1606; unmarried in 1643. 6. Mary, baptized October 25, 1607; unmarried in 1643. 7. Ann, baptized September 5, 1609. 8. John, baptized April 23, 1611. 9. Edmond, of whom further. 10. Elizabeth, baptized August 18, 1616; married Prosper Nicolas. 11. Ruth, baptized June 18 (or 28), 1618; unmarried in 1643. 12. Thomas, died without issue.

(The Family in America).

I. Edmond Hawes, son of Edmond and Jane (Porter) Hawes, was born in Solihull, where he was baptized October 15, 1612. He died in Yarmouth, Massachusetts, June 9, 1693. It is very probable that his education was received in the parish school of Solihull, which existed as early as 1560, and whose master in the boyhood of Edmond Hawes, was Mr. Horne, a graduate of Oxford University. Edmond had an interest of one-half of the estate of François Hawes, a relative, which he sold by deed dated February 12, 1633-34 for 250 pounds. He had, on February 14, 1626-27, bound himself to Edmond Warnett, a cutler of London, for a term of eight years from February 2d preceding. He completed his apprenticeship, and was sworn free cutler, December 9, 1634. He

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had for some time contemplated emigration and having sold his property, he joined a company of fifty-three persons, who on or about April 5, 1635, shipped as passengers at Southampton on the ship "James" of London, which arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, June 3, 1635. He was granted ten acres of land in Duxbury, Plymouth Colony, October 2, 1637. On November 2, 1640, he was granted thirty acres lying within what was later the town of Marshfield; March 1, 1641-42, he is mentioned as constable of Duxbury; June 7, 1642, he was on a jury and June 5, 1644, was on the grand jury; but removed to Yarmouth before the end of 1644. On June 6, 1646, he was appointed, in Yarmouth, a member of the committee on collecting excise; and was reappointed June 1, 1647, June 7, 1648, June 8, 1664, and October 3, 1665. He was also one of the auditors of the Colonial Treasurer's accounts. On April 2, 1667, he was appointed in the town of council of war, and February 29, 1675-76, he was head of the council of war. He was deputy for Yarmouth to the General Court at Plymouth in 1645, and for fifteen terms thereafter, including the year 1675; was one of the selectmen, 1666 to 1688, inclusive; town clerk and treasurer from 1667 to his death, a period of twenty-seven years. Edmond Hawes married, but there is apparently no record extant to show whether in England or New England. The Yarmouth records give the date of his wife's death, June 19, 1689, but not her name. Winsor's "History of Duxbury" says it was Lucy. The will of Edmond mentions his son John and his son's wife and children; it is not certain whether he had other children.

II. John Hawes, son of Edmond and Lucy Hawes, was born at Duxbury, Plymouth Colony, between 1635 and 1650, and died in Yarmouth, Massachusetts, November 11, 1701. On June 3, 1668, he was appointed by the General Court receiver of the excise; June 1, 1669, he was on the grand jury; June 5, 1677, constable of Yarmouth; October 31, 1682, he was appointed ensign of the Military Company of Yarmouth; and about 1700 was chosen captain. He was chosen a representative in the Legislature at Boston in 1697 and 1698. He married, October 7, 1661, at Barnstable, Desire Gorham, born at Plymouth, April 2, 1644, oldest child of Captain John Gorham, of King Philip's War, and Desire Howland, who was daughter of John and Elizabeth (Tilley) Howland, both passengers in the "Mayflower." Children, born in Yarmouth: 1. Elizabeth, born October 5, 1662, died at Edgartown, between December 25, 1732, and February 15, 1732-33; married, January 22, 1683-84, Thomas

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Doggett. 2. Mary, born June 10, 1664, died March 5, 1725-26; married, June 17, 1686, John Bacon, of Barnstable. 3. Edmond, born May 2, 1669, was living in 1692, but was not mentioned in father's will of 1701. 4. John, born May 14, 1671, died at Providence, Rhode Island, December 27, 1723; married before March 14, 1708-09, Mary; (second), November 26, 1723, Mary Mason. 5. Joseph, born July 16, 1673; married (first) Mary; (second) Bethiah Winslow; (third) Sarah Hopkins. 6. Jabez, born May 20, 1675, died probably before September 13, 1700, unmarried. 7. Ebenezer, born March 24, 1678-79; married Sarah Norton. 8. Isaac, born March 9, 1679-80; married, July 8, 1701, Bethiah Howes. 9. Desire, born last of February, 1681-82, died before May 1, 1724; married Josiah Hatch. 10. Benjamin, born March 20, 1682-83; married, in 1724, Abigail Fisher. 11. Experience, of whom further.

III. Experience Hawes, daughter of John and Desire (Gorham) Hawes, was born in Yarmouth, Massachusetts, September 24, 1686, and died at Middleborough, Massachusetts, November 19, 1758. She married, March 1, 1703-04, Ebenezer Sproat, son of Robert and Elizabeth (Sampson) Sproat (Sprout), who died September 28, 1726. (See Sproat II.) She married (second), before September 28, 1732, Francis Miller.

(References: Hawes' "Edmond Hawes of Yarmouth, Massachusetts: Ancestors and Some Descendants"; "Camden Visitation of County Warwick," 1619, pp. 404-05; Harleian Society Publications, Vol. XII.)

(The Sampson Line).

Arms—Per bend or and gules, a cross flory between two escallops in bend dexter, and as many billets in bend sinister all counterchanged.

Crest—A fret or, thereon a wyvern's head erased gules, collared and semée of billets gold.

Motto—*Pejus letho flagitium.*

(Crozier's "General Armory," recorded for Henry Sampson, Boston, 1620 (Gloucester).)

The patronymic Samson, Sampson, is derived from Sam, the shortened form for the Christian name Samuel, and means Sam's son. Sampson Foliot is in the Testa de Neville (1216-74). Later it became a family name. (Bardsley's "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

(The Family in America).

I. Henry Sampson came with his uncle, Edward Tilley, of the Leyden, Holland, congregation, in the "Mayflower" in 1620 to Plymouth, a lad of about six years. He was probably, like a majority of the passengers of the "Mayflower," from the east or the southeast of England; Norfolk furnishing thirty-two, Kent seventeen, and Essex eleven, of the

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passengers, making a total of sixty of the one hundred and one passengers. A Robert Sampson of Groton, Suffolk, came with Governor Winthrop in 1630. He is enumerated in the division of cattle at Plymouth in 1627, in company with Elder Brewster, living on the Duxbury side of Plymouth. He was admitted freeman of Plymouth Colony in 1637, and in the same year was a volunteer in the Pequot War. In 1661 he was constable of Duxbury, and died December 24, 1684. He married, February 6, 1635-36, Ann Plummer. Children, born in Duxbury, Massachusetts: 1. Stephen, died January, 1714-15; married Elizabeth; lived in Dartmouth. 2. John, born about 1645, died in Duxbury about 1680; married, October 22, 1667, Mary Pease. 3. James, married and was living in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, in 1686. 4. Caleb, married Mercy Standish, daughter of Alexander Standish. 5. Elizabeth, of whom further. 6. Hannah, married Josiah Holmes. 7. Mary, married John Summers. 8. Dorcas, married Thomas Booney. 9. A daughter (name not known), married John Hammond.

II. *Elizabeth Sampson*, daughter of Henry and Ann (Plummer) Sampson, was born in Duxbury, Plymouth Colony, about 1641-42, and died there after 1712. She married, before 1662, Robert Sproat (Sprout), of England, and Scituate, Massachusetts. (See Sproat I.)

(References: Savage's "Genealogical Dictionary of First Settlers of New England"; Ames' "The Mayflower and Her Log"; Sampson's "The Sampson Family"; Sinnett's "Henry Sampson of the Mayflower," p. 1.)



